

¹ In the year 530 A.H. Nasir Khan son of Alam Khan the ruler of Asir raided a part of the territories of the Dakini kingdom. Th

² But it has not mentioned this invasion of 530 A.H. Nasir Khan who will be remembered as Sultan Al ud din's father-in-law. But owing to what is said here he is as that in 541 A.H. Zainat (who had the title Malika Jahān Sultan Al ud din's queen and the daughter of Nasir Khan) sent a letter to the latter that the Sultan was also threatening her. He was paying all attention to the daughter of the Raja of Sonkha (which Col. Briggs has not been identified). From Dalwar Khan first after defeating his father brought him and had presented to the Sultan of own charmed by her beauty and her great knowledge of music and had given her the name of Ziba Chhira (Col. Briggs calls her as Chhira) having the face of a fairy. On receiving the letter Nasir Khan planned the conquest of Berar. The Sultan of Gujerat promised to support him. Nasir Khan also made secret overtures to the Raja of Berar and they promised to join him as he was a descendant of Lala Kharaq and they would become brothers (as Nasir Khan died fighting on his side and he marched into Berar with his own army and that went by the Raja of Gondwana. The Raja of Berar wanted to take Khan Jahān the governor of Berar prisoner and to link him to Nasir Khan but he shut himself up in the fort of Tari Ma (Col. Briggs calls it Narvali) and sent a report to Sultan Al ud din. The latter held a council of war in which it was suggested that the Sultan should march in person against Nasir Khan as the latter would be joined by probably by the Sultan of Gujerat and Mewar as well as the Raja of Gondwana. The Sultan sent a peeling trench on the part of his adviser appointed Khalif Hasan Nahib ul Tajdar to the command of the army. The latter accepted the appointment but pointed out that his defeat at Nahāmān was due to the treachery of the Dakini and Habshi who were envious of the foreigners like himself. He hoped to be successful if the Sultan placed under him only foreigners (Mughals) without any Dakini or Habshi. The Sultan complied with his prayer and he marched to Daulatabad where he disputed the Dakini and Abramani areas to guard the frontier of Gujerat and Mewar. Then with seven thousand Arab horsemen he marched into Berar. At this time Khan Jahān came out of Tari Ma and joined him. Khalif Hasan sent him to help him to prevent the Raja of Gondwana to enter Berar by that route and himself marched to Nohankhera where Nasir Khan was encamped. At the foot of the ghat he was met by a body of Khondali troops whom he routed with great slaughter. Nasir Khan considering this defeat to be an evil omen retreated with precipitance to Burhanpur. Khalif Hasan after recovering possession of the neighbouring country pursued Nasir Khan to Burhanpur. The latter was unable to meet him and shut himself up in the fort of Laling (Col. Briggs says in a note that Laling is a small and now insignificant fort but Nasir Khan apparently considered it his safest retreat).

BIBLIOTHECA INDICA

WORK No 225

THE TABAQĀT I AKBARI

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

THE TABAQĀT-I-AKBARĪ

OR

KHWĀJAH NIZĀMUDDĪN AHMAD

(A HISTORY OF INDIA FROM THE EARLY MUSALMĀN
INVASIONS TO THE THIRTY EIGHTH YEAR OF
THE REIGN OF AKBAR)

VOLUME III

(8392)

TRANSLATED AND ANNOTATED BY

BRAJENDRANATH DE M.A. I.C.S. (RETIRED)

AND

REVISED EDITED AND COMPLETED WITH PREFACE AND INDEX BY
BAINI PRASHAD, D.Sc FRASB FNI FRSE

Printed at the Baptist Mission Press
Published by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal

GALCUTTA

1939

GARG BOOK CO. JAIPUR.

PREFACE

In the Monthly General Meeting for August 1864 of the Asiatic Society of Bengal Calcutta Dr W N Lees one of the Vice Presidents of the Society read a memorandum¹ detailing the progress of Persian historical works in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series and the policy decided on in connection with the publication of such works. In discussing the projected publication of the *Muntakhab al Tawarikh* or the *Tarikh-i-Badaoni* which had been suggested by Mr E B Cowell in 1862 he referred to the *Tarikh-i-Nizami* or the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* as a very important work of reference and added that it is well worth consideration however whether in conjunction with this work we should not publish in lieu thereof a certain portion of the *Tahqiqat-i-Akbari* which Ahd al Qadir professes only to have abridged and which all later historians have made good use of the consideration of this suggestion however was deferred to a future meeting. In 1868 he wrote³ it is inconceivable to me why so erroneous an estimate seems to have been formed of the *Tabaqat-i-Akbar Shahi* that it has not attracted more attention. It is the history which joins on to the *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* and is admitted by all contemporary and subsequent authors to be the standard history in continuation of those authorities. Unquestionably then the thread of the narrative as given by Nizam ud din Ahmad should be taken up where the authors of the *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* have dropped it giving him the preference to Ahd al Kadir of Badaon or any other author however excellent Blochmann⁴ in 1869 remarked It is a matter of regret that the printing of the *Tahqiqat-i-Nizam-i-Bakhshi* was allowed to be deferred. Unfortunately nothing further happened till the

¹ *Journ. Asiatic Soc. Bengal* vol LXXXIII pp 464-469 (1864)

See Blochmann *Journ. Asiatic Soc. Bengal* vol LXVIII pt 1 pp 115 116 (1869)

³ *Journ. Roy. Asiatic Soc. (n.s.)* vol III p 453 (1868)

⁴ Blochmann *op. cit.* p 115 (1869)

work was taken up by Mr Brajendranath De in 1911, and the first fascicles of the text and translation of the first volume were issued in 1913. After this date the work remained in abeyance till the author was induced to take it up again in August 1925, and publication of the text and translation of the first volume ending with the fall of the Afghān Kings of Dehli was completed in 1927. The second volume of the text, ending with the 38th year of Akbar's reign and accounts of the *Amīns* of high rank, the *Shākhīs* of Hindūstān, the *Hakīms* and the poets of the reign of Akbar, was issued in 1931, while the printing of the English translation was completed in 1936—some 4 years after the death of Mr De. The text of the third volume was completed by Shams-ul-'Ulāma Khān Bahādūr Hidāyat Ḥosain from an incomplete manuscript prepared by Mr De in 1935. The work of editing and completing the third volume of the translation was assigned to me in April 1939, it was hoped that I would have the collaboration of Prof Mahfūz-ul-Haqq in this work, but this has not been possible. The first half of the volume was published in July and the concluding part is now issued.

It is a matter of regret that a historical work of such importance, which the Society hoped in 1864 to publish at an early date, should have been delayed for almost three quarters of a century, but this was due to a variety of causes among which may be mentioned several large works which were being published by the Society, lack of funds and probably also the issue of a lithograph edition of the *Tabaqāt* by the Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow, in 1875.

The subject-matter in the following pages of the preface has been arranged under the following heads

- 1 Life of Khwājah Nizāmuddīn Ahmad Bakhsī
- 2 *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, its sources and importance
- 3 Life of Mr Brajendranath De, M A , I C S (ictd),
the editor and translator of the work
- 4 Concluding remarks and acknowledgments

LIFE OF KHWĀJAH NIZĀMUDDĪN AHMAD BAKHSI.

The author is variously styled as Muizā Nizāmu-d-dīn Ahmad, Khwājah Nizāmu-d-dīn Ahmad or Nizāmī (*vide* Lowe's

translation of *Muntakhabut Tauarikh* vol II p 479 (1924) In *Maathir ul Umara* he is called Khwajah Nizamuddin Ahmad while by Abu'l Fadl¹ Mir Abu Turab² Firishtab and others the appellation of *Balshi* is added after his name

Unfortunately the information about the life of the author is very limited and the two accounts in *Maathir ul Umara*³ and by Elliot⁴ seem to be based only on casual references in *Tabaqat-i-Albari Akbarnama A'in-i-Akbari* and *Muntakhab ul Lubab*. None of the authors give the date or year of the birth of Khwajah Nizamuddin Ahmad and the information in this connection from contemporary sources is rather conflicting. Mrs Beveridge in her translation of *Babur Nama*⁵ states that Nizamuddin Ahmad was not born till 20 years after Babur's death. As Babur died on Jumada I 937 A.H. (December 26 1530 A.D.) this would mean that the Khwajah was born in 956 or 957 A.H. (1549 or 1550 A.D.). According to Al Badaeni (*vide* Lowe *op cit* pp 411-412) Mirza Nizamuddin Ahmad died at the age of forty five in the 38th year of Akbar's reign of a burning fever on the 23rd Safar 1003 A.H. (7th November 1594 A.D.) which would mean that he was born some time in 958 A.H. (1551 A.D.). According to Shaikh Ilahdad Faizi Sirhindī the author of *Akbar Nama* (*vide* Dowson in Elliot's *History of India* vol VI p 130 1875) he died at the age of nearly 48 years on the 22nd Safar 1003 A.H. in the 39th year

¹ *Albarnama* text edition vol III p 605 (1880) and Beveridge's translation of vol III p 9-4 (1912-1939). In these notes various volumes of the *Albarnama* and the *A'in-i-Albari* are cited as they have been issued in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series. It may however be noted that the *A'in* which has been issued in three volumes really formed the third and final volume of *Albarnama* (see Blochmann's Preface to the first volume of the *A'in* Philott's edition p v 1939).

Mir Abu Turab Vali's *History of Gujarat* edited by E. Denison Ross p 104 (1909)

³ *Maathir ul Umara* by Samsamud Dowla Shah Nawaz Khan *Bibliotheca Indica* edition vol I pp 660-664 (1887-1894)

⁴ Elliot's *Bibliographical Index to the Historians of Muhammedan India* pp 180-184 (1849) and Elliot's *History of India* vol V pp 178-180 (1873)

⁵ *Babur Nama* vol II p 704 (1921)

of Akbar's reign Al-Badāoni's statement, in view of the fact that he was a close friend of Nizāmuddin Ahmad, and was actively associated with him in the compilation of the *Tabaqāt*, appears to be more reliable, and I have little hesitation in accepting it as correct. The year of his birth may, therefore, be taken as 958 A.D. or 1551 A.D.

Unfortunately we have very little information about Khwājah Nizāmuddin Ahmad's ancestry beyond the fact that he was the son of Khwājah Muqīm Ḥaiawī (of Herat), who was one of Bābur's officials and about the close of his reign was the *Dīwān-i-buyūtāt*.¹ After the death of Bābur, when Gujarat was conquered by Humāyūn and the province of Ahmadābād was entrusted to Mīrzā 'Askārī in 1535 A.D., Khwājah Muqīm was appointed his *wazīr*. He accompanied Humāyūn to Āgra when the latter fled after his defeat by Sher Khān Sūl at Chausā in Bihār on 26th June, 1539. Khwājah Muqīm also, according to the *Tabaqāt* (De's translation of vol. I, p. 1) and *Maṭlūb-ul-Umarā*, served under Akbar, this is again referred to in the *Tabaqāt* (De's translation of vol. II, p. 336) where in the account of the twelfth year it is stated "the author's father remained in Āgra, performing government work."

We know very little about the earlier years of life or the education of the young Khwājah, but according to Dowson² he was one of the pupils of 'Mullā Ali Sher', a learned man, and the father of Fāidī Sirhindī, the author of *Bābur-Nāma*. There can be little doubt, however, that Nizāmuddin Ahmad was a well-educated and well-read young man who, "according to the instructions of his worthy father"³, occupied himself with the study of historical works, which brightens the intellect of the

¹ According to Mrs. Beveridge "a Barrack officer" (*Bābur-Nāma*, vol. II, p. 703, note 2), but Dowson translates *Dīwān-i-buyūtāt* as the *Dīwān* of the household (*Elliot's History of India*, vol. V, p. 178, 1873).

² *Elliot's History of India*, vol. VI, p. 116 (1875).

³ In this connection also see Mrs. Beveridge's remarks where she conjectures that Khwājah Muqīm lived long enough "to impress the worth of historical writing on his son" and probably "transmitted his recollections to him" (*vide Bābur-Nāma*, vol. II, p. 693, 1921).

studious and inspires the intelligent with awe and by the study of the accounts of the travellers in the stages of the journey of existence which is like a progress of the soul rubbed off the rust of his nature.¹ In addition to being a student of history and literature Khwajah Nizamuddin Ahmad was a patron of poets and apparently himself used to write poetry though except for the few stray verses in the *Tabaqat* no extensive poetical work by the author is known. A reference however to Al Birdaoni² shows that various poets such as Amani Barqa i Hayati and Sarfi were invited to Gujurāt by the Khwajah during the seven years of his stay in that province and they flourished under his patronage. It was also during this time that he started writing his *Tabaqat* and had as his associate Mir Ma sum of Bhakkar who was distinguished as a man of learning and historian.³ The interest of Khwajah Nizamuddin Ahmad in historical matters and his skill as a writer is evidenced by the fact that when the Emperor Akbar ordered the preparation⁴ of a history of the Kings of Islam in 990 A.H. (1582 A.D.) he employed the Khwajah as one of the seven authors for its compilation. According to Elliot (1849 *op. cit.* p. 179) the compiler of the *Sahihul Akhbār* attributes another work on Indian History under the name of *Tarikh-i-Irshad* to the author of the *Tabaqat-i-Akberi* but I am not aware that there is any good authority for the statement. I have also not been able to find any other reference beyond a reference in the account of Sarup Chund's *Sahihul Akhbar* in *Elliot's History of India* vol. VIII p. 314 (1877).

¹ *Tabaqat* De's translation of vol. I p. iv (1911)

Muntakhabut-tarikh Haig's translation of vol. III (1925)

² See *Ain-i-Albari* translation of Blochmann vol. I Phillott's edition p. 579 (1939)

⁴ *Vide Muntakhabut-tarikh* Lowe's translation of vol. II p. 328 (1924). This is the famous *Tarikh-i-Alif* the introduction of which was written by Abu'l Fadl but curiously the Emperor commanded its preparation in 990 A.H. even though the history was to deal with the events that had happened in the seven zones for the last one thousand years. See *Ain-i-Albari* translation of Blochmann vol. I revised by Phillott pages xl and 113 (1939).

His interest in Sufism and theology is indicated by his association with Sūfis¹, Shaikhs and religious people in general. He may thus be assumed to have had a religious frame of mind, and his writings and the regard in which he was held by such bigoted Muhammadans as Al-Badāoni seem to indicate that he must have been quite orthodox in his views and observances.² Mīyān Kamāl-dīn Husam of Shūāz³, a well-known religious leader, wrote to Al-Badāoni after the Khwājah's death as follows— “For a long time I endured great grief and sorrow from hearing of the death of that repository of humanity, inseparably connected with liberty, him (*sic*) who had acquired all perfections, Mīrzā Nizāmu-d-dīn Ahmad, and from the passing away of all the excellency of that phoenix of the age and of his love and faithful affection for you, my lord.” After his recall from Gujārāt in 1589 A.D., when he came into closer contact with the Emperor Akbar, he became less orthodox apparently in accordance with the prevailing atmosphere of the Royal Court, and does not appear to have looked askance at the innovations of the Divine Faith (*Dīn Ilāhī*) of the Emperor Nizāmuddīn Ahmad's ruse in mentioning Shaikh Husain's name when some of the orthodox leaders⁴ were summoned to the Imperial Court, also indicates the skilful way in which he managed to keep himself safe from his own religious beliefs being questioned. This view is confirmed by Bloehmann (*loc. cit.*, 1869, p. 138) who in commenting on the change in the religious feelings of Al-Badāoni resulting from his past misfortunes and exclusion from Akbar's Court, sums up the situation in the following sentences— “He may have found it necessary to assume a more conciliating attitude towards the ‘heresies’ of the Court, and the members

¹ *Vide Muntakhabu 't-tawārīkh*, Haig's translation of vol III, p. 167 (1925)

² See Al-Badāoni in Ranking's translation of vol I of *Muntakhabu 't-tawārīkh*, p. 9, where he is described as “a kind and complaisant man of wealth, orthodox and religiously disposed”

³ *Vide Muntakhabu 't-tawārīkh*, Haig's translation of vol III, pp. 186, 187 (1925)

⁴ *Vide* Haig's translation of *Muntakhabu 't-tawārīkh*, vol III pp. 137, 138, 151, and Lowe's translation of vol II, p. 309

people (Lowe translates سعادتِ عالیٰ as the people of piety), who were accompanying the army or were absent, prepared by the *Sadr-i-Jahān*, he arranged that Al-Badāoni, who was absent, be shown in the return as sick. In the 29th¹ year of Akbar's reign (991 A.H., 1583 A.D.) the government of Gujarāt was transferred from Shihābuddīn to I'timād Khān who, after the murder of Sultān Mahmūd, had been the virtual king of Gujarāt till its conquest by Akbar in 980 A.H., and Khwājah Nizāmuddīn Ahmad was appointed the *Bakhshī*² Abū Turāb's

Nizāmuddīn Ahmad's activities at Āgra in 974 A.H. referred to above and in the *Muntakhab* (text, vol. II, p. 99), states that Al-Badāoni met him at Āgra in 974 "and became his warm friend".

¹ Khwājah Nizāmuddīn Ahmad in the *Tabaqāt* (De's translation of vol. II, p. 561, 1936) includes this in the account of the events of the 29th year which begins on page 558 and is followed by Al-Badāoni (Lowe's translation of vol. II of *Muntakhabu't tauārīkh*, p. 332) and in *Ma'āthī-ul-Umarā* (text edition, vol. I, p. 661). Abū-l-Fadl in *Albarnāma* (vol. III, text edition, p. 403, English translation, p. 596) states, these appointments took place in the 28th year of the reign. In this connection reference may be made to Do (*Tabaqāt*, English translation of vol. II, p. 559, note 1) where several discrepancies in the dates between *Albarnāma* and *Tabaqāt* are pointed out, the former places the various events enumerated by Do a year advance of the dates given in the latter. Inaccuracy in regard to the reckonings of the years of Akbar's reign on the part of Nizāmuddīn Ahmad are pointed out by Al-Badāoni (*vide* Lowe's translation of vol. II, pp. 353, 363), and he explains these as being due to the author having not taken into account "the intercalated days, which every three years makes a difference of one lunar month, there is a difference in each cycle of a whole year, between the solar and lunar years", and his being away from the Imperial Camp in Gujarāt. After the death of Nizāmuddīn Ahmad the dates in the *Tabaqāt* were checked and at least one corrected by his son Muhammad Sharif. In spite of the above, as Al-Badāoni follows the *Tabaqāt*, it seems that the dates as they now stand in the *Tabaqāt* are the corrected dates.

According to Denison Ross (*A History of Gujarat*, introduction, p. 5, 1909) the year in which 'I'timād Khan was made governor of Gujarāt' was 992 A.H. (1583 A.D.).

² Nizāmuddīn Ahmad's name is included in the list of *Bakhshīs* of Akbar's reign (*vide* Phillott's edition of Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in-i-Albarī*, vol. I, p. 596), and apparently at this time no distinction was made between *Bakhshī* and *Mir Bakhshī*, as what is called *Bakhshī*

account (*loc. cit.* pp 100 101) of these appointments is rather vague but in the *Tabaqat* (p 563) the author refers to his joining Itnad Khan at Bijapur *en route* to Ahmadabad after his appointment as the *Balhshi*. The vacillating policy in reference to the affairs in Gujarat¹ adopted by Itnad Khan and the disturbances due to the intrigues of Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan and Qutbuddin Khan led to Ahmadabad being occupied by Nannu or Muzaffar Gujarati and the rout of the Imperial forces outside the town. The Khwajah sent an account of all that had happened to Akbar and as a result Mirza Khan² son of Bairam Khan was sent with a well equipped army to quell the disturbances in Gujarat. It is not necessary to deal here with the campaign against Sultan Muzaffar of Gujarat but a review of the period distinctly shows that throughout the campaign and earlier Nizamuddin Ahmad proved a very valuable officer and whether as a commander and even as an active fighter he gave a very good account of himself.

He successfully carried out negotiations with Shihabud-din made arrangements for the defence of Ahmadabad in the

in the *Tabaqat* is *Mir Balhshi*; in *Muntakhab ut tauaris h* Abu'l Faqil in his introduction of the *Ain* (vide Phillott *loc. cit.* p 5) mentions the *Mir balhshi* as one of the nobles of the State and Blochmann gives Paymaster of the court as its equivalent. For an account of *Balhshi* see Banarsi Prasad *History of Shahjahan* (1932) page 276 from which it appears that this officer was the head of the Military Department and looked after recruitment reviews and other similar affairs connected with the army. Further distinction had been introduced in reference to the *Mir* or Chief *Bakhshi* while separate *Balhshis* were attached to each division during military campaigns. According to Sarkar (*Moghul Administration* p 24 19 4) there were three subordinate *Balhshis* at the end of Aurangzib's reign. In view of the above and the active part played by Nizamuddin Ahmad in the military campaigns and the administration of Gujarat the equivalents pay master (De *op. cit.*) and paymaster general (Lowe *loc. cit.* p 393) hardly appear to be appropriate. For a detailed discussion of *Balhshi* and its various grades see Irwine—*The Army of the Indian Moghuls* pp 37–40 (1903).

¹ See Beveridge's translation of *Albarnama* vol III pp 607–611 and *Tabaqat* De's translation of vol II pp 563–567

² *Tabaqat* De's translation of vol II pp 567 571 572 and Beveridge's translation of *Albarnama* vol III p 613

absence of the main force, defeated the forces of Sher Khān at Jūtānah, arranged for the attack on Muzaffar's forces by Quṭbuddīn Khān from Bahīoj and Baroda, attacked Muzaffar's army from the rear at Sairkhej which resulted in its defeat, and later was mainly responsible for the defeat of Muzaffar in the hills of Nādot. For his services in the Gujārāt campaign he was honoured with the gift of a horse and a robe of honour and an increase in his stipend. Later he carried out a successful campaign in Sorath and in the Rān of Kach. Mīzā Khān, who had meanwhile been honoured with the title of *Khān Khānān*, was, at his own request, recalled to the Royal Court, and Nizāmuddīn Ahmad with Qulīj Khān and Naūang Khān was left in charge of Gujārāt. During the *Khān Khānān*'s absence Nizāmuddīn Ahmad proved a very energetic officer, and successfully carried out a protracted campaign against Muzaffar and his partisans in the Rān of Kach, and later subjugated the *Kolīs* and *Grāssiyahs* in the neighbourhood of Ahmadnagar. His skill as a commander and administrator is indicated throughout all these campaigns by the fact of his skillfully arranging the movements of the troops, attacking the enemy before its forces could be consolidated, his ruse for the relief of Ākhār, launching vigorous rear attacks in various battles, the establishments of *thānas* or military posts and the construction of forts.

This very successful term of office culminated in the Khwājah's being summoned to the Imperial Court in 996 A.H., when A'zam Khān was appointed as the Governor of Gujārāt.¹ Nizāmuddīn Ahmad traversed a distance of some 600 *karohs* in the course of twelve days, and reached Lāhore on the 3rd *Nawroz* of the 35th year of Akbar's reign. According to Al-Badāoni², Akbar gave orders that the camel-drivers should appear before him in the *Mahzar* in the same condition in which they had arrived, and they were a wonderful spectacle. After that he received boundless favours from the Emperor, and gained a great ascendancy over the mind of his royal patron. It was

¹ For details see *Tabaqāt*, De's translation of vol II, pp 563-595, where references to other works and several discrepancies in dates and the different accounts are noted.

² See Lowe's translation of *Muntakhabu't-tawārikh*, vol II, p 384.

about this time that he was appointed in charge of the provinces of Ajmir Gujarat and Malwah apparently of the *Khalsa* lands¹ Towards the end of *Shaban* 999 A.D. he was granted the *par ganah* of Shamasabad as his *jagir* and was allowed five months leave of absence to arrange matters there In the year 1000 A.D. (1591-92 A.D.) when *Asif Khan Bahshi* was appointed to the Kabul campaign Nizamuddin Ahmad was appointed as the *Bakhshi*² in his place

Nizamuddin Ahmad accompanied Akbar to Kashmir and apparently was a great favourite of the Emperor at this time His account of Kashmir is not very detailed and the history of Akbar terminates with the end of the 38th year of his reign This author describes it as having been written in a summary manner by the pen of broken writing but most of the great events have been succinctly narrated If life helps (me) and God's favour helps (me) the events of the coming years also, if the dear God so wills will be noted down and will be made a part of this worthy book Otherwise anyone who may be guided by the grace of God having engaged him self in writing it down, will attain to great good fortune³

While staying at Lahore in attendance on the Emperor Nizamuddin Ahmad laid out or purchased a garden and it was in this garden that he was buried after his death At this time he is described by Al Badaoni as having entered on affairs with great energy and activity He became the focus of all sorts of favours from the Emperor and the recipient of his perfect trust with regard to his ability good sense sincerity honesty and perseverance He would probably have risen to much greater heights but suddenly at the very acme of his eminence and the height of his activity, to the disappointment of the hopes of friends and strangers a dreadful blow was received from Fate and at the age of forty five he succumbed to a burning fever⁴

¹ See Beveridge's translation of *Albarnama* vol III p 94

² See Lowe's translation of *Muntakhabut tauarikh* vol II p 393 According to Lowe *Bakhshi* was the paymaster general

³ Vide *Tabaqat De*'s translation of vol II p 622 The last sentence is quoted incorrectly in the life of the author in *Maathir ul Umara*

⁴ Lowe's translation of *Muntakhabut tauarikh* vol II p 411

The events preceding his death are described in greater detail in *Albarnāma*¹ where it is stated that on 11th *Safar*, 1003 A.H. (19th October, 1591 A.D.), at Shāhīn 'Ali, near Lāhore, he developed high fever while on a hunting expedition with the Emperor. His sons obtained leave to convey him to Lāhore, but he died on the 23rd² *Safar* (28th October, 1591 A.D.) on the banks of the river Rāvī.

In the *Albarnāma* (*loc. cit.*) it is stated that Akbar's "discerning heart was somewhat grieved, and he begged for forgiveness for him at the court of God. Strangers and acquaintances mourned, and honesty (*rāstī*) indulged in grief."

Al-Badāoni's account (*vide* Lowe, *op. cit.*, p. 112) is more detailed and is quoted here to indicate the regard and reverence in which he was held by all:

"There was scarcely anyone of high or low degree in the city, who did not weep over his bier, and recall his gracious qualities, and gnaw the back of the hand of regret." The last line of the *Qit'ah* which was composed on this occasion gives the year (1003 A.H.) of his death:

³ گوہر می سماز دیوارہ

(A priceless pearl has left the world)

TĀRĪKH-I-AKBARĪ ITS SOURCES AND IMPORTANCE

Before dealing with the work itself it would be useful to add a note here regarding the various names assigned to it. The author in his introduction⁴ designated it the *Tabaqāt-i-*

¹ Beveridge's translation of *Albarnāma*, vol. III, p. 1005

² Fādī Sirhindī in *Akhbar-Nāma*, as noted already, gives 22nd *Safar*, 1003 A.H. as the date of death of Khwājah Nizāmuddīn Ahmad Bakhshī (*vide* Dowson in *Elliot's History of India*, vol. VI, p. 130, 1875), this is certainly incorrect.

³ Text edition of *Muntakhab Al-Tawarikh* by Lees, Kabir al-Din Ahmad and Ahmad Ali, vol. II, p. 398 (1865)

⁴ See De's translation of vol. I, p. 6 (1911). The date comes to 1001 A.H. (50+900+1+40+10) or 1592 A.D. The author died in 1003 A.H., 1594 A.D., and he was apparently working at it for several years before his death. See Ranking's translation of *Muntakhabu-t-tawā'iḥ*, vol. I, pp. 9,

Akbar Shahi and stated that the word *Nizami* the name of the author gives the chronogram of the date of its compilation. In *Raudat ut Tahirin* by Tabir Muhammad the work is called *Tarikh-i-Sultan Nizami*¹ but this name has not been adopted by any of the later writers. The work is called the *Tarikh-i-Nizami* by Muhammad Hashim Khafi Khan in *Muntakhab ul lubab* (vide text edition in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series vol I p 238 1869) The same name was also used by Abd ul Qadir also known as Al Badaoni² in his *Muntakhab ut tauarij* but he also calls it *Nizamu t Tauarij* (vide Rinkings English translation in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series vol I pp 9 10 1898) Firishtah (*Tarikh-i-Firishtah* Persian text Newal Kishore Press Lucknow p 4 1884) designated it as the *Tarikh-i-Nizamuddin Ahmad Bakshi* and Col Briggs in his translation (*History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India* vol I Author's Preface p xlvi 1829) calls it *History of Nizam ood Deen Ahmad Bukhshy* Blochmann (*loc cit* p 115) as noted already calls it *Tabaqat-i-Nizam-i-Bakhshi*. Several manuscripts however bear the name *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* and under this name the work is cited in various descriptive catalogues of Persian Manuscripts in most well known European libraries (for details

10 footnote - 1898) In this connection reference may also be made to Al Badaoni's remarks where in his description of the events of the year 100 A H he says Let not the intelligent reader be ignorant of the fact that as to that which has been written up to this point the source of the greater part of it is the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari Shahi* (sic) the date of which I this erring author after much thought found to be *Nizam*. Having persuaded the said author to allow me I wrote a part of the book myself (Lowe's translation of vol II p 403)

¹ Vide W H Morley *A Descriptive Catalogue of Historical Manuscripts* p 68 (1864) and Dowson in *Elliot's History of India* vol V p 177 (1873) For details of the work *Raudat ut Talirin* see Beveridge *Journ As Soc Bengal* (ns) vol XIV pp 69-77 (1918) Unfortunately the only manuscript of this work in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal (No 4) vide Itanoff's *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts* p 13 19-4 is incomplete and I have not therefore been able to verify this reference

For a critical note in reference to *Al Badaoni* see Blochmann *loc cit* pp 119 1-0 (1869)

see M. Hidāyat Hosain's preface to *Tārīkh-i-Shāhī*, p. viii. footnote 1, 1939) This name was apparently first adopted by Elliot¹ who remarked that "the name by which it is best known in literary circles is Tabakāt-i-Akbarī", and this was also selected for the edition issued by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal in preference to *Tabaqāt-i-Albār-Shāhī*, to avoid confusion with a work of the same name by Khwājah 'Atā Beg Qazvīnī written about 1014 A.H., 1605 A.D. According to Ranking (*loc. cit.*) the work is simply known as 'Tabaqāt,' while Lees (*Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* (n.s.) vol. III, p. 455, 1868) erroneously designates it as the '*Tārīkh-i-Tabakāt-i-Albār-Shāhī*'

Beveridge² in dealing with the sources of *Albārnāma* stated that the 'Tabaqat-Akbarī' and 'Badavuni's abridgment thereof' (*Muntalhab-ut-tawārīkh*) "were probably written under Akbar's orders or inspired by his action" In the introduction to *Albārnāma*³ while referring to Abū-l-Fadl's love for sources or the *Quellen*, he remarked that "to him we owe not only the *Akbārnāma* but also the Memoirs of Gulbadan Begam, Jauhar the ewer-bearer, Bajazat (Bāyazīd) Biyat and perhaps Nizāmu-d-din's history" Neither of the two views is upheld by a study of the contemporary sources The work was started and completed by the author at his own initiative and there is no mention anywhere of either Akbar or Abū-l-Fadl having sponsored or inspired its compilation He certainly was helped⁴ in the work by such friends as Mir Ma'sūm of Bhakkai⁵, 'Abdul Qādir Al-Badāoni⁶ and others, but the major part of the work

¹ Elliot's *Bibliographical Index to the Historians of Muhammedan India*, vol. I (the only volume ever issued), p. 179 (1849). Also see Elliot's *History of India*, vol. V, p. 177 (1873)

² *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Bengal* (n.s.) vol. XIV, p. 469 (1919)

³ *Albārnāma*, Beveridge's translation of vol. III, introduction p. xi (1939)

⁴ *Maāthīr-ul-Umarā*, text edition, vol. I, p. 663

⁵ For an account of this great author, historian and administrator see *Ā'īn-i-Albārī*, Phillott's edition of Blochmann's translation of vol. I, pp. 578-580 (1939)

⁶ Lowe's translation of *Muntalhabu't-tawārīkh*, vol. II, p. 403

was his own composition based on a study of several historical works and such independent information as he could collect from various sources by research and industry.¹ His history of the Akbar's reign is based on personal observations or information obtained from firsthand sources and probably to some extent on Abu'l Fadl's *opus magnum* the *Akbar-nama*.²

In the introduction and dedication of the *Tabaqat Khwajah Nizamuddin Ahmad* explains the genesis of the work as follows

It came to the dull understanding of the author that he should with the pen of truth and candour write a comprehensive history which should present in a clear style in its different sections an account of the Empire of Hindustan from the time of Sabuktigin which began with the year 367 A.D. when Islam first appeared in the country of Hindustan to the year 1001 A.D. corresponding with the thirty seventh year of the Divine era which was inaugurated at the epoch making accession of His Majesty the vicegerent of God and should embellish the end of each section with the story of the victories of His Majesty's glorious army which is as it were an introduction to the sublime chronicle of renown then he should give a comprehensive account of all the victories and events and occurrences of His Majesty's reign each in its own place. The details of these events are contained in the great history called the *Akbar-nama* which that embodiment of all excellence the learned in all truths and knowledge the personification of worldly and spiritual perfection the favoured of his Majesty the Emperor the most erudite Sheikh Abul Fazl who is the preface of all excellence and

¹ The words in *Maathir (loc. cit.)* are

و حرب حر دسی و دس دو مفعع احتار و سعی تمام نفر امام آوردن

* مواد نکار برداشته

² I have included *Akbar-nama* as one of his sources as it is mentioned in the introduction but in view of various discrepancies in the account in the *Tabaqat* and *Akbar-nama* it is very doubtful whether he really utilized it to any extent in the compilation of his own History.

emmenee has written with his wonder-inscribing pen, and has made a chronicle for all times.¹

The history actually starts from about 377 A.H. corresponding to 986-987 A.D., and not 367 A.H. as stated by the author in the introduction. In account of the earlier years in a few lines merely introduces Amir Nāṣiruddin Sabuktigin and can by no stretch of imagination be regarded as a history of those years. According to the author, as will be seen from the quotation above, he deals with the history of India up to the year 1001 A.H. corresponding to the thirty-seventh year of Akbar's reign and apparently it was this which was responsible for Mr. De describing it on the title-pages of volume I, both of the text and the translation, and of the text edition of volume II, as 'A History of India from the early Musalmān Invasions to the thirty-sixth year of the reign of Akbar'. The work, on the other hand, as is clear from a perusal of the author's concluding

¹ Do's translation of the *Tabaqāt*, vol. I, p. v. The corresponding passage of the Persian text runs as follows:

رساطر فاطر رمید - که تاریخی که حامع و مشتمل بر تمدنی احوال ممالک
مددوستان باشد - بمعارقی واضح از رمان سکنگین، که سه سده و سی هزار
و نیم هزار سال است - که اسلام در بلاد مددوستان اسسه احمدی
والله - موافق سی و هفتم سال الهی - که صد و شصت آن از حلول اند فریض
حضرت حلیله الهی ۱۰۰ - طبقه بر طبقه معرفه شده مددو و سداد گرداند -
و حاممه هر طبقه را دقت هموک عالی آنحضرت که عدوان رفت نامه
مقاحرست - اتصال دهد آنکه مددو از جمیع فتوحات و واقعات و واردات
حضرت حلیله الهی که این مدت پیشتر ناید بحای حویش عرصه نهاد -
و تفصیل این احوال - مخصوص به کتاب عالیههای اکبر داشته است - که اصل
سدها - معارف و حقایق آنکه - حامع کمالات صوری و معدوی - مقرب الحضرت
الحاکمی - علامی شیخ ابوالفضل که دیناچه مکارم و معالیست - نقلم
دانع روم نگاشته صحابه، ایام ساخته *

It will be seen that حامع و مشتمل بر تمدنی احوال has been translated by Mr. De as "comprehensive", as "with the pen of truth and candour" and as "in a clear style".

paragraph of the account of Akbar's reign¹ succinctly narrates the events up to the end of the 38th year corresponding to 1002 A.H. (1593-1594 A.D.) and this is confirmed by a reference to the *Akbarnama*.² The consultation with the Khan Khanan regarding the Deccan campaign which took place after the 8th Dhu (or Di) of the 38th year near the town of Sultanpur (or Shukhpur) is mentioned in the penultimate paragraph of the account of Akbar's reign in the *Tabaqat*. The mistake was corrected on the title page of the translation of volume II but to avoid ambiguity it would have been better to add the words 'the end of' before 'the thirty eighth year' or still better to use 'to the thirty ninth year of Akbar's reign'.

Excluding the *Akbarnama* the author cites the following twenty eight works which he utilized in the compilation of his *Tabaqat*:

- 1 *Tariikh-i-Yamini*
- 2 *Tariikh-i-Zain ul Akhbar*
- 3 *Raudat us Safa*
- 4 *Taj ul Maathir*
- 5 *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*
- 6 *Khaasain ul Futuh*
- 7 *Tughlaq Nāmah*
- 8 *Tariikh-i-Firuzshahi* by Diya Barni
- 9 *Futuhat-i-Firuzshahi*
- 10 *Tariikh-i-Mubarakshahi*
- 11 *Futuh us Salatin*
- 12 *Tariikh Mahmudshahi Hindu* (Mandvi according to Rieu)
- 13 *Tariikh Mahmudshahi Khurd Hindu* (Mandvi according to Rieu)
- 14 *Tabaqat-i-Mahmudshahi Gujarati*
- 15 *Maathir-i-Mahmudshahi Gujarati*
- 16 *Tariikh-i-Muhammadī*
- 17 *Tariikh-i-Bahadurshahi*
- 18 *Tariikh-i-Bahamani*

¹ *Tabaqat* Do's translation of vol II p 65 (1936)

² *Akbarnama* Beveridge's translation of vol III p 936 (1910-1939)

- 19 *Tārīkh-i-Nāṣirī*¹
 20 *Tārīkh-i-Muzaffarshāhī*
 21 *Tārīkh-i-Mīrzā Hādar*
 22 *Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr*.
 23 *Tārīkh-i-Sind*
 24 *Tārīkh-i-Bāburī*
 25 *Wāqī‘at-i-Bāburī*
 26 *Tārīkh-i-Ibrāhīmshāhī*
 27 *Wāqī‘at-i-Mushtāqī*
 28 *Wāqī‘at-i-Hadrat Jannat Āshiyānī Humāyūn Bādshāh*

Unfortunately some of the works cited in the *Tabaqāt* are not traceable, but I give below short bibliographical notes on the authorities referred to in the above list

1 *Tārīkh Al-Yamīnī*² by Abū Nasr Muhammad bin ‘Abd al-Jabbār al-‘Utbī is a history of the first two Ghaznavid sovereigns Subuktigīn and Mahmūd. It was written about 411 A.H. (1020 A.D.) This work has been translated into Persian, and an English translation of the Persian version by Reynolds was published for the Oriental Translation Fund, London, in 1858. Full bibliographical details of this work were published by M. Hidāyat Hosain in his *Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the British Library*, vol. II, pp. 260, 261 (1923).

2 *Kitāb Zain-ul-Akhbār* by Abū Sa‘id ‘Abd-ul-Hayy bin ad-Dahhak bin Mahmūd Gardezī is a very rare historical work. Only two incomplete manuscripts³ of this work are known, one in the library of King’s College, Cambridge (213), and the other in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (Ouseley,

¹ Rieu (*Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, vol. I, p. 220, 1879) cites numbers 19 and 20 as a single work under the title ‘*Tārīkh-i-Nāṣirī u-Muzaffarshāhī*’, but in the text the two read as

تاریخ ناصری و تاریخ مظفر شاهی *

² ترجمہ یہاںی in Fuislīyah and ‘*Turjooma Yemuny*’ in Briggs (*loc. cit.*, p. xlvi)

³ For details see pages 1–4 of the Preface to Muhammad Nāzim’s edition of sections i–xiii of *Kitab Zain ‘l-Akhbār* (E. G. Browne, Mem. Ser. I, 1928).

240) it has further been suggested that the Bodleian manuscript is only a copy of the one at King's College Cambridge.

Zain ul Akhbar is a general history of Persia from the Pishdadiyan dynasty dealing particularly with the governors and rulers of Khurasan up to ca 440 A.H. (1048 A.D.) Unfortunately a large portion of the work is lost but an edition of the first thirteen sections of the text was published by Muhammad Nazim¹.

As is pointed out by Muhammad Nazim Khwajah Nizamuddin Ahmad Bakhshi was the first author to utilize this work for his account of the Ghaznavid sovereigns in the *Tabaqat-i-Albari* and the discovery of this rare work must remain to his credit. Firishtah also includes *Zain ul Akhbar* amongst the sources of his *Tarikh* but in view of the fact that his account of the period dealt with in the *Zain* was based mainly on the *Tabaqat* it seems likely that he had only taken this reference from Nizamuddin Ahmad's list.

3 *Raudat us Safa* by Muhammad bin Khwand Shah bin Mahmud. Very little information is available about the birth or early life of the author but he is stated to have died at Herat in 903 A.H. (1497 A.D.) *Raudat* is a work on general history from the creation of the world to the author's time. For details see *Habib us Siyar* Bomhay edition volume II pp 198-339 and Rieu's *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum* vol I p 87 (1879). A full account of the work and translations of some extracts by Sir H. M. Elliot are published in *Elliot's History of India* vol IV pp 127-140 (1872).

4 *Taj ul Maathir* by Hasan Nizami of Nishapur deals with the history of part of the reign of Mu'izzuddin (assassinated 602 A.H. 1206 A.D.) the entire reign of Qu'thuddin Aibak.

¹ Vide note 3 p xxii. The editor cites *Elliot's History of India* 1869 as the first notice of this work. This is incorrect as Elliot in his *Bibliographical Index to the Historians of Muhammadan India* p 83 (1849) had published a detailed note regarding the Ouseley Manuscript No. 40 which is now preserved in the Bodleian Library Oxford; this was reprinted in *Elliot's History of India* vol IV pp 557-558 (1872) while the 1869 reference cited by the editor is only a casual notice of the work in vol II of the same publication (p. 43).

(602–607 A.H., 1206–1210 A.D.) and the first seven years of the reign of Shamsuddin Iltutmish (1211–1217 A.D.). A detailed account of the *Tāj* was published in *Elliot's History of India*, vol II, pp 201–243 (1869), while Ethé in the *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the India Office*, vol I, p 209 (1901) gives full bibliographic references.

5 *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣī* by *Mīnhāj Sūj Jūzjānī* is a very valuable historical work from the earliest times to 658 A.H. (1259 A.D.). The author in honour of his patron Nāṣīuddīn Mahmūd Shāh, king of Delhi (644–664 A.H., 1246–1266 A.D.), named it *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣī*. A detailed account of the work was given in *Elliot's History of India*, vol II, pp 259–383 (1869) and vol VIII, pp i–xxxii (1877), and full bibliographical references are given in Rien's *Catalogue*, vol I, pp 72, 73 (1879).

6 *Khazā'īn-ul-Futūh* or the *Tārīkh-i-'Alāī* by Amīr Khusrau is a short but very important contemporary history of the reign of 'Alāuddīn dealing with the period 695–711 A.H. (1296–1312 A.D.). The work is very rare¹, only two manuscripts one in the British Museum (O.I. 1638) and the other in King's College Library, Cambridge, are known. A lithograph edition² based on the British Museum manuscript was published under the editorship of 'Moinul Haq' in 1927, but, as has been pointed out by Dr Mīrzā³, it is "full of mistakes, due either to faulty transcription or to careless editing".

In his excellent study of Amīr Khusrau Dr Mīrzā (pp 222–225) has given a detailed list of contents of the historical material of the *Khazā'īn-ul-Futūh* and discussed its literary peculiarities, Prof M Habib⁴ in his introduction to the text-edition had also dealt with the literary peculiarities and the historical importance of this work.

¹ For details see Mohammad Walid Mirza—*The Life and Works of Amīr Khusrau*, p 225, footnote 1 (*Punjab Univ Orient Pub*, Calcutta, 1935).

² *The Khazainul Futuh* edited by Syed Moinul Haq (*Publications of the Sultania Hist Soc*, Aligrah, 1927).

³ M W Mirza, *op cit*, p 225.

⁴ English Introduction by M Habib to M Haq's text edition, pp 1–15 (*vide Note 2 supra*).

7 *Tughluq Namah* by Amir Khusrau was quite unknown till recently as no copies of it are preserved in any of the European or Indian libraries Al Badaoni (*Muntakhab ut tauarikh* Rānking's translation of vol I p 301) remarks that it was the last of Amir Khusrau's works and was written in verse in honour of the Sultān and in obedience to his order Ethe in his *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the India Office* p 405 in the account of *Haft Iqlim* notes that the work consisted of 3 000 *bait*s (verses) A manuscript entitled *Jahangirnamah* by Hayati Kasbi in the personal library of Maulana Hābib ur Rahman Shīrwāni of Habibganj was recently identified as the *Tughluq Nāmah* of Amir Khusrau by the late Maulvi Rishid Ahmad Ansāri A detailed introduction a summary of this work by the editor Suyid Hashmi Faridabadi an incomplete descriptive note by Maulvi Rishid Ahmad in Urdu and the text was published at Aurangabad Deccan in 1352 A.H (1933 A.D.)

Relying on the statements in *Kashf uz Zunūn* and Abd ul Qadir Al Bidaoni's *Muntakhab ut tauarikh* the *Tughluq Namah* is believed to have been composed in 725 A.H (1325 A.D.) but some part of the work had been lost even in Akbar's time and in 1019 A.H (1610 A.D.) Jahangir commissioned Hayati Kashī to supply the missing parts to complete the work The work as published is believed to be what has been preserved of Hayati's revised version and consists of 2 920 verses In view of the presence of a *ṣwār* (catch word) on the last page of the manuscript and a statement by Hayati (tide verses 168-177) that he intends to complete the work by adding some further verses at the end it is surmised by the editor that some of the folios at the end are missing 179 verses in the beginning of the work are definitely identified as Hayati's work leaving a balance of 2 742 verses¹

¹ There is apparently a mistake in the number of verses assigned to Amir Khusrau as after deducting 179 of Hayati's verses from the total number of 2 900 verse in the work the number should be - 741 and not 742 as given on p 2 of the work In this connection also see the critical account of M W Mirza *op cit* pp 245-253 He rightly does not include the *abyat i silsilah* or the rubrics in verse in the number of verses and is of the opinion that only 2 717 verses should be accepted as

by Amīn Khusrau. The editor in his introduction directs special attention to the historical importance of the work in connection with the following the murder of Sultān Qutbuddīn, the last of the Khaljī kings (716 A H, 1316 A D), annihilation of the 'Alāī dynasty, Khusrau Khān's short-lived reign of a few days¹, usurpation of the Tughluq (Ghāzī Malik later Ghiyāthuddīn Tughluq I), his correspondence with various *Amīns*, advance to Delhī and victory over the usurper Khūsrau Khān after two big battles, capture of Khusrau Khān and his brother, and finally his execution. This period (1316–1320 A D) marks the fall of the Khaljī and the rise of the Tughluq Dynasty. On comparing the accounts in *Tughluq-Nāmah* with that in the *Tabaqāt*, it appears almost certain that the author of the latter did not make much use of the former in compiling his account of the period under reference.

8 *Tārīkh-i-Firuzshāhī* by Dīyā Barnī is a history of the Sultāns of Delhī from the accession of Ghiyāthuddīn Balban, 662 A H (1266 A D), to the sixth year of Firuzshāh's reign, 758 A H (1357 A D.). It is the most important history of the period and was apparently the authority on which Nizāmuddīn Ahmad and Firishtah based their works. The work was published in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series (1860–1862). A translation of the introduction and of the major part of the work was published by Dowson in *Elliot's History of India*, vol III, pp 93–268 (1871).

9 *Futūhāt-i-Firuzshāhī* by the King Firuzshāh Tughluq (752–790 A H, 1351–1388 A D) is a record of "the edicts and ordinances of his reign, the abuses and evil practices which he has put down, the buildings, monuments and works of public utility which he has carried out". A translation of the entire work is published by Dowson in *Elliot's History of India*, vol III, pp 374–388 (1871).

being by Khusrau. For a detailed analysis of the work also see Husain's *The Rise and Fall of Muhammad bin Tughluq* (London, 1938).

¹ The period of Khusrau Khān's reign, who took the name of Nāsir-ud-din Khusrau, was exactly two months, *vide Tughluq Nāmah*, pp 18, 19, from the 1st of Jumādā II to 1st Sha'bān, 720 A H (9th July to 6th September, 1320 A D).

10 *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi* by Yahyā bin Ahmad bin Abdullah Sirhindī is a history of the Sultans of Delhi from the time of Mu'izzuddin bin Sam the founder of the Ghuri Dynasty to 838 A.H. 1434 A.D. It is the most reliable and in fact the only source for the history of the first three kings of the Sayyid Dynasty from 817 A.H. (1414 A.D.) to 838 A.H. (1434 A.D.) and the accounts in the *Tabaqat* and Firishtah's History are not only based on it but in most cases are *verbatim* copies of Yahyā's account. An account of this work with extracts is published in *Elliot's History of India* vol IV pp 6-88 (1872) and the entire work was issued in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series in 1931 under the editorship of M. Hidayat Hosain. An English translation by K. K. Büss was published in the *Gaequaad Oriental Series* No. Ixiii in 1932.

11 *Futuh us Salatin* by İshāmī (Khwajali Abd ul Mulk İshāmī according to Etbé¹) is a very important historical work in verse from the time of Subuktigin of Ghazni to Muhammad bin Tughluq. The *Futuh* like the *Kitab Zain ul Akhbar* is a very rare work and only two manuscripts of it are known. Like the *Zain* it was first mentioned in the sources of the *Tabaqat i Akbari* by Nizamuddin Ahmad and it appears that the references in Firishtah² and Al-Bidaoni³ are only taken from the *Tabaqat*. Briggs⁴ was not personally acquainted with the work but remarked that the *Futuh* is an unimportant book of historical romances.

The text⁵ of the *Futuh* based on the manuscript in the India Office Library was issued in 1938 by Dr A. Mahdi Husain.

¹ Etblé H. *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office* p 559 No 895 (1903)

I vide page I of the English Preface of the text edition of the *Futuh us Salatin* edited by A. Mahdi Husain (Agra 1938).

³ *Tarikh-i-Firishtah* (Lucknow edition) p 13. (1884)

⁴ *Muntakhab Al Tauarikh* text edition vol I p 236 (1868)

Ranking in his translation of this volume p 314 (1898) note 9 remarks I can find no mention of this work.

⁵ Briggs J. *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India* vol I p 406 (18-9)

⁶ I vide Note - *supra*

of Āgīā. In the Urdu and English prefaces of this edition the editor briefly discusses the historical and literary merits of the *Futūh*, while a short critical notice is published in his monographic study¹ of Muhammad bin Tughluq. Prof A S U'sha of Madras has also published an '*Isāmī Nāma*' and discussed the merits of 'Isāmī's publications, but I have unfortunately not been able to refer to his publications², his views have been adversely criticized by M Husain and M Haq³. A critical review⁴ of the work is also being published in the Urdu monthly *Ma'ārif* by Sabāhuddin 'Abd-ur-Rahmān.

Futūh-us-Salātin originally consisted of about 12,000 verses, but according to the editor, only 11,524 verses were found in the India Office manuscript, of these, nineteen verses (Nos 11294–11312) are quite illegible. The work was completed in five months and nine days (10th December, 1349–14th May, 1350 A.D.). For his sources the author does not specify any special works, but states⁵ that he based his account on the *Hadīth*, various descriptive works, old legends, information gathered from friends and personal observations.

Dr M Husain sums up the historical importance of the work as follows⁶: "It presents in tolerably accurate chronological order events of the political history of India for over three-hundred years, and it also throws light on the beginning of the Bahmani rule in the Deccan, on the psychology of the 14th century India, on the principal towns and their respective distances, on the nature of punishments then inflicted, on the Hindu amirs and princes, and on the Hindi words and idioms then in Muslim usage." He further regards the *Futūh* as a

¹ M Husain, 'The Rise and Fall of Muhammad bin Tughluq', pp 253, 254 and Preface pp xiv–xvi (London, 1938).

² References to Prof U'sha's contributions are given in M Husain and M Haq.

³ M Haq, *Muslim Univ Journ*, vol V, No 2, pp 30–32 (1938).

⁴ *Ma'ārif*, vol XLIV, Nos 2–4, pp 109–127, 201–216, 279–298, in progress (1939).

⁵ *Vide* page 579, verses 11437–11443 of the text edition.

⁶ *Vide* page 3 of the English Preface to the text edition.

literary work of exceptional merit and Isami is the best epic writer of the age

Sabahuddin Abd ur Rahman in his critical review after comparing Isami's accounts with some contemporary sources such as the *Rihla* of Ibn Battutā *Tarikh-i Firuzshahi Tabaqat-i Nasiri Tarikh-i Mubarakshahi* and other works is of the opinion that most of the legends and stories in the *Futuh* are not based on any historical facts. The historical data of the *Futuh* on the other hand are generally correct and even though involved and jumbled at times are valuable in supplying additional information and for clearing up details of several doubtful events. It is however not possible to adjudge the extent to which the *Futuh* was utilized in the compilation of the *Tabaqat*.

12 13 It has not been possible to identify the two works *Tarikh Mahmudshahi Mandvi* and *Tarikh Mahmudshahi Khurd Mandvi*. The works seem to be lost and no accounts of either beyond the references in the *Tabaqat* and Firuzshah's History are now available.

14 *Tabaqat-i Mahmudshahi Gujarati* No work of this title is known and it has not been possible to identify it with any other History of Gujarat.

15 *Maathir-i Mahmudshahi Gujarati* This is also an unknown work but Rieu in his Catalogue vol III p 967 (1883) has suggested its possible identity with *Tarikh-i Mahmudshah* of unknown authorship (manuscript No Or 1819 pp 966-967) and given full details of its contents.

16 *Tarikh-i Muhammadi* In the absence of the name of the author and in view of there being several works of this name it is difficult to be certain regarding the work referred to in the *Tabaqat* but if one were to hazard a guess it seems likely that the work cited is no other than the general history by Muhammad Bahram Khan from the time of Muhammad to 842 A.H. (1438 A.D.) with special reference to India which is described in detail in Rieu's Catalogue vol I pp 84-86 (1879).

17 *Tarikh-i Bahadurshahi* This work is referred to as a source of reference in various histories but it has not been possible to trace it. In Elliot's *History of India* vol VI p 484 (1875) it is referred to as a work by another individual who

wrote all the rest of the annals of Sultān Fīrūz's reign, as well as those of the Gujarat sovereigns, under the title of *Tārikh-i-Bahāduri Shāhi* :

18 *Tārikh-i-Bahāmanī* is another lost work which is only referred to in several historical works, but no copies of which are now available

19 *Tārikh-i-Nāṣīnī* The work referred to is probably the History of Mālwah entitled *Tārikh-i-Nāṣīnīshāhī* by an unknown author described by Rieu in his *Catalogue*, vol III, p 968, MS No Or 1803, and not the famous *Tārikh-i-Nāṣīnī* by Abū-l-Fadl Baīhaqī which was edited by W H Morley and printed in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series in 1862

20 *Tārikh-i-Muzaffarshāhī* by an unknown author is apparently a very rare work. The only known manuscript (No Add 26, 279) of this history, so far I am able to find from the various sources, is preserved in the British Museum, London. It is described by Rieu in his *Catalogue*, vol I, p 287 (1879), as being an account of the siege and capture of Mandū by Muzaffar Shāh II, king of Gujārāt, in 924 A.H. (1518 A.D.)

21. *Tārikh-i-Mīrzā Haidar* The correct title of the work is *Tārikh-i-Rashīdī*, but in the *Tabaqāt* it is cited as the *Tārikh* of Mīrzā Haidar, after the name of its author. This work is of special value in connection with the history of Kashmīr. An English translation with annotations was published by N Elias and E D Ross (1895)

22 *Tārikh-i-Kashmīrī* The name of the author is not mentioned, but the work referred to in the *Tabaqāt* is probably the Persian translation of the *Rājatarangīnī* in Sanskrit which was completed by Mullā Shāh Muhammad of Shāhābād and revised by 'Abd-ul-Qādiū Al-Badāoni in 999 A.H. (1590 A.D.). A full account of the work is given in Rieu's *Catalogue*, vol I, p 296 (1879)

23 *Tārikh-i-Sind* by Mīr Ma'sūm Bhakkari is also known as the *Tārikh-i-Ma'sūmī*. It deals with the history of Sind from the Muhammedan conquest to its final absorption in the Moghul Empire during Akbar's reign in 1001 A.H. (1592 A.D.). A detailed account of it is published in *Elliot's History of India*, vol I, pp 212-252 (1867), and the work has recently (1938) been printed

under the editorship of Dr U M Daudpota in the Government Oriental Series of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute Poona

24 *Tarikh i Baburi* No work of this name can be traced and it appears as if the author of the *Tabaqat* had confused one of the Persian translations of *Tuzuk i Baburi* under this name (*vide infra*)

25 *Waqiat i Baburi* In reference to this work also it is not possible to decide which of the Persian translations of the *Tuzuk i Baburi* is referred to by the author of the *Tabaqat*. The translation of Shaikh Zain or Zainu'd din of Khwaf was made during the lifetime of Emperor Bahur (*vide* Mrs Beveridge's *Babur Nama* preface p xl 1921 and Rieu's Catalogue vol III p 926) a second one by Piwandh Hasan Ghaznavi and Muhammad Quli Mughal Hisari was begun in 991 A H (1583 A D) and completed in 994 A H 1586 A D (*vide* Mrs Beveridge *op cit* pp xlii xliv and Rieu's Catalogue vol II p 799) and finally a third by Ahd ur Rahim Khan Khanan which was made at Akhur's orders to help Ahu I fazl in the *Akbar nama* and on its completion was presented to Akhur in 998 A H 1589 A D (*vide* Mrs Beveridge *op cit* p xlii and Rieu's Catalogue vol I p 244)

26 *Tarikh i Ibrahimshahi* No work of this name is known and appears as if *Ibrahimshahi* is a *lapsus calami* on the part of the author of the *Tabaqat* for *Ibrahim*. The *Tarikh i Ibrahim*¹ also known as *Tarikh i Humayuni* by Ibrahim bin Harr (probably Jarrir as suggested by Ethe) is a general history of the world from Adam to A H 596 (A D 1199) —see Elliot's Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the India Office p 33 No 104 (1903)

27 *Waqiat i Mushtaqi* by Mushtaqi commonly known as Rizq Ullah is a collection of detached narratives and anecdotes relating to the sovereigns of the Lodi Timuride and Sur dynasties An account of the work with translations of some extracts

¹ Not to be confused with *Tarikh i Ibrahim* which is another name for Firuztah's History *vide* Elliot's Bibliographical Index of the Historians of Muslim India p 336 (1849)

is published in *Elliot's History of India*, vol IV, pp 534–557 (1872), while details regarding the almost unique manuscript in the British Museum are given by Rich in his *Catalogue*, vol II, pp 820, 821 (1881).

28 *Wāqi'at-i-Hadiat Jaunat Āshiyānī Hūmāyūn Bādshāh* By this title Nizāmuddīn Ahmad apparently means the *Tudhkarat-ul-Wāqi'at* by Jauhar Āstābehī, which is a useful source of reference in regard to Hūmāyūn's reign. Details of this work are published in *Elliot's History of India*, vol V, pp 136–149 (1873).

On comparing the above list with Firishtah's sources it is found that the latter gives a list of 35 main works consulted by him for the compilation of his History, while another twenty are cited in the body of the work. Of the works cited in the *Tabaqāt* Firishtah does not mention *Khazān-i-Futūh*, *Tughlug-Nāmāh*, *Tārīkh-i-Nāsūī*, *Tārīkh-i-Mīnzā Haidar*, *Tārīkh-i-Bāburī* and *Tārīkh-i-Ibāhīnashāhī*, while I have doubtfully identified Firishtah's *Tārīkh-i-Jāmī* (or *Hājī*) with Muhammad Bihāmad Khānī's *Tārīkh-i-Muhammadī* of the *Tabaqāt*. In addition there are twenty works which are mentioned in the body of Firishtah's *Tārīkh* and which are included in a subsidiary list by Buggs. Of these, two, *Futūh-i-Salātīn* and *Wāqi'at-i-Mushtāqī* (? Travels of Abool Nusr Nuskatty No 7 of Buggs's list), are also included in the *Tabaqāt*. Firishtah's list includes the following additional works¹ which are not mentioned in the list of the authorities in the *Tabaqāt*.

- 1 *Mulhīqāt-i-Shaikh 'Ainuddīn Bīgāpūrī*
- 2 *Bahman-Nāmah of Shaikh Ādhari*
- 3 *Tārīkh-i-Binakītī*
- 4 *Tuhfat-us-Salātīn Bahamanī* by *Mullā Dāūd Bidarī*
- 5 *Tārīkh-Alfī*
- 6 *Habib-us-Siyar*
- 7 *Tārīkh-i-Bangālah*
- 8 *Fawāid-ul-Fuwād*

¹ For this comparison I have used the lists as given in Briggs's translation of Firishtah entitled *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India*, vol I, pp xlxi–li (1829). Sources of Firishtah are also discussed by Mohl in *Journal des Savants*, pp 220–224 (1840).

- 9 *Akhbar ul Majalis*
- 10 *Nuskhah Qutbi*
- 11 *Siyar ul Ārifin*

The importance of the *Tabaqat i Akbari* lies in the fact that it was the first comprehensive history of India and that it served as the authority on which several later historical works were based.

The opinion of Abdul Qadir Al Badaoni the author of the *Muntakhab ut tauarikh* has already been referred to. Up to the year of Nizamuddin Ahmad's death his history though embellished with additional facts is an abridgment of the *Tabaqat*¹ and *Tariikh i Mubarakshahi*. He corrected some of the dates of the *Tabaqat* but mainly relied on it for the historical facts.

Several chapters of the *Raudat ut Tahirin* by Tahir Muhammad which was written between 1011 A.H. (1602-1603 A.D.) and 1015 A.H. (1606-1607 A.D.) are according to Elliot (*op cit* p. 300) copied *verbatim* from the *Tabaqat*.

Muhammad Qasim Firishtah pronounced the *Tabaqat* to be defective but borrowed from it very freely and has formed his own history of Hindustan and the Deccan entirely on the same plan (Elliott *op cit* p. 178). This opinion is fully borne out by the running commentary of the *Tariikh* provided by Mr. De in his very valuable footnotes in the translation of the *Tabaqat* particularly in volume III.

The *Tariikh i Shahi* (or *Tariikh i Salatin i Afghana*) was composed soon after the compilation of the *Tabaqat* (before 1594 A.D.) and before 1020 A.H. (1611 A.D.) when the *Mulkhan i Afghani* was written (Elliot's *History of India* vol. V pp. 1-2 1873). The author Ahmad Yadgar mentions Nizami's History or the *Tabaqat* and *Ma dan i Akhbar* as his authorities and as M. Hidayat Hosain has recently shown he has copied *verbatim* the account of the reign of Humayun from the *Tabaqat*.

¹ According to Elliot's *Bibliographical Index of the Historians of Muhammedan India* p. 21 (1849) Al Badaoni in his work *Nizatu'r Rashid* designates his own history as a mere abridgment of the *Tabaqat*.

Vide M. Hidayat Hosain's text edition of *Tariikh i Shahi*, Preface pp. 6-7 (1939).

Maāthn-i-Rahīmī by Mullā ‘Abd-ul-Bāqī Nahāvandī was composed in the year 1025 A.H. (1616 A.D.) The first volume of this work dealing with the general history of India appears, from its contents and descriptions, on almost identical lines, to be based mainly on the *Tabaqāt*. *Maāthn*'s style and language are superior to those of the *Tabaqāt*, but there can be little doubt that the historical part is only a copy of the latter. This view is confirmed by the fact that the detailed account of Akbar's reign in the *Maāthn* ends with the 38th year of his reign—the author in this connection adds that as the narrative in the *Tabaqāt* ends with this year and as he has not been able to obtain any detailed history of the remaining fourteen years of the reign, he has not been able to include a detailed account of this period.¹

M. ‘Abdul Muqtadir in the Preface² to the *Haft-Iqlīm* (completed 1002 A.H., 1593 A.D.) of Amīn Ahmad Rāzī remarked that “for the Indian portion of the history he relies mainly upon the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*”

Muntakhab-ul-lubāb by Muhammad Hāshmī, better known by his nickname of Khāfi Khān, is a very valuable general history of India from the Muhammadan conquest to the reign of Muhammad Shāh, Emperor of Delhi (1719–1748 A.D.). It was published in 1145 A.H. (1732 A.D.). The author³ states that Nizāmuddīn Haīawī, who was one of the *Bakhshīs* of the Emperor Akbar, wrote a comprehensive history of the twenty-one *Sūbas* of the Deccan and included in it the history of Akbar up to the 37th year of his reign. His account of the Sultāns of the Deccan in general is not reliable, and with reference to the accounts of the Sultāns of this region the author has not come across any other historical work, except that of Muhammad Qāsim Firishtah, which can be fully relied upon. As Nizāmuddīn had, however, been in the service of the Emperor Akbar throughout his life, his

¹ See M. Hidāyat Hosain's text edition of *Ma'āsir-i-Rahīmī*, vol. I, p. 933 (1924).

² *Bibliotheca Indica* edition of *Haft Iqlīm* by E. D. Ross and M. ‘Abdul Muqtadir, p. vi (1918).

³ *Vide* Kabiruddin Ahmad and Ghulam Qadir's text edition in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series, vol. I, pp. 237–243 (1869).

narrative of the reign of this King can be fully relied upon and he bases his account of the *Panj haari* and *Chahar hazari* Amirs and of some of the religious great men and poets on the *Tabaqat*

Albar Nama of Shaikh Nahdad Taidi Sirhindī is according to Dowson¹ except for the account of the services rendered by his patron Shaikh Farid Bulbūrī and some scraps of poetry and some wonderful stories, only a compilation from the *Tabaqat* and *Albarnama* of Abu'l Fadl. It ends with 1010 A.H. (1602 A.D.) the year in which Abu'l Fadl's work was completed.

Various other historical works of a later date have either based their accounts on or borrowed from the *Tabaqat* but it is not necessary to deal with them here.

Of the authors in English it is only necessary to note that the *Tabaqat* is regarded by Elliot Erskine Elliot and Dowson Lees Ranking, Wolseloy Haq, Boni Prasad and others as amongst the best Persian histories and the most reliable sources of our information.²

It was the first comprehensive work which dealt with the history of India to the exclusion of the other Asiatic countries and in which the histories of different provinces were dealt in a strict historical sequence. It must also be remembered that the author was primarily a court official an administrator and a soldier not a *waqi'ah nāüs* or a court historian. Historical work was with him a labour of love and being an officer with other more pressing duties this was carried out by him with the help of his protégés under very unsettled conditions of life. His work also must not be judged by the modern standards. As Elliot admirably summed up in his learned preface³ the works of the Muhammadan historians can hardly be regarded as ranking higher than annals. They comprise for the most part nothing but a mere narration of events conducted with reference to chronological sequence without speculation on causes or effects without a reflection or suggestion which

¹ Dowson in *Elliot's History of India* vol VI pp 116–146 (1875)

² Vide Boni Prasad *History of Jahangir* p 44^o (1930)

³ Vide Elliot *Bibliographical Index to the Historians of Muhammadan India* Preface pp v–xxx (1849)

is not of the most puerile or contemptible kind; and without any observation calculated to interrupt the monotony of successive conspiracies, revolts, intrigues, murders, fratricides so common in Asiatic Monarchies'. With the restraining influences of ostiaicism and even death under the despotic monarchs during whose times these histories were compiled there could hardly be any chance for the development of individual character or the expression of unbiased opinions. In common with the authors of the times, and this was not restricted to Muhammadan authors only, Islam in the *Tabaqat* is lauded above all other religions, the Mohammedans are of the true faith and all others are infidels, when the former are killed in battle or otherwise they drink "the cup of martyrdom", while the souls of the infidels "are despatched to hell". Patriotism and bravery of the *Kafirs* are condemned in very strong terms, while even cowardice, intrigues, wholesale massacres and desecration and demolition of the religious institutions of the Hindus are applauded. All the same the author deserves full credit for being far in advance of his times and to a great extent free from religious bigotry when he, as against Dīyā Bānī, the author of the *Tarikh-i-Firuzshahī*, who describes Khusrau Khān on the occasion of his battle with Ghazi Mahk "as the effeminate wretch who could not bear the attack of men", applauds him as "having with great bravery and courage fought to the end of the day".¹

Similarly in narrating the chivalrous treatment of Sultān Mahmūd at the hands of Rānā Sānkā (Sangīma Singh, Rānā of Mewār) and restoring to him the kingdom of Mālwah after the former's defeat and capture by the latter, Khwājah Nizāmuddin² shows himself a true historian untrammeled by any religious bigotry or prejudices. In dealing with Akbar, his king and patron, he employs the usual eulogistic high sounding

¹ *Vide* De's translation of vol I of the *Tabaqat*, p 207

² *Tabaqat* text edition, vol III, p 203

در صهاریز اهل دصرت دوئنیده نماید - که کار رانما سانکا اور ساماں مطغیر
مالاتر سے - چہ سلطان مطغیر نیا بردہ را مدد دموہ - و رانما سانکا دسمیں را
در حرب گرفته ساماں داد - و مثل اس وصیۃ عربیت نا عائب معلوم ہست *

titles and phrases but cannot like Abu'l Fadl¹ be accused of uncouth flattery both in form and style or of wilful concealment of facts. As a historian he casually mentions the Divine Faith but does not go into any great detail regarding the observances of the faith or criticize the Emperor Abu'l Fadl and any of the other followers. He was writing a history of the period from personal observations and information collected from all available sources and has succeeded more than any other author of his time in producing what Dowson² rightly styles a contemporary history of very high authority.

The *Tabaqat* does not exhibit much literary talent and is not written in any ornate style. The language is fairly simple and vigorous but not grandiose and highly polished it is more of the Afghan type which is quite different from the almost pure Persian of Iran used by Firishtah or Mullā Abd ul-Baqi Nihwandi the author of *Maathir-i-Rahimi*. Arabic quotations are only sparingly used but the dates are invariably given in Arabic rather than Persian. The narrative owing to long sentences is often involved rather disjointed and even fragmentary but as few metaphors and similes are used there is seldom any difficulty in comprehending the exact meaning of the author.

BRAJENDRANATH DE³

(1852-1932)

Mr Brijendranath De was born at Calcutta on the 23rd of December 1852 in his maternal grandfather's house in Simla

¹ See Blochmann's *A in-i-Albari* (Phillott's revised edition) Preface pp vii-viii (1930). Beveridge's translation of *Albarnama* vol III introduction pp xi-xii (1939) and Wolseley Haig in *Cambridge History of India* vol IV p 111 (1937).

² Elliot's *History of India* vol V Preface p viii (1833).

³ The life of the author is based on a typescript of an autobiography entitled *Reminiscences of Mr Brajendranath De an Indian Member of the Indian Civil Service* which was kindly placed at my disposal by his son Mr H K De Barrister at Law to whom I tender my grateful thanks. A short List of Mr De written by M Hidayat Hosain was published in the *Proceedings* for 1934 pp clxxv-clxxxvi in *Journ. Asiatic Soc. Bengal* vol LXXIX for 1933 (1934).

near the Cornwallis Square His parents were *Kayasthas* and, as the author writes, belonged to "the middle class section of well-born or as they are commonly called *bhadralok* people" His mother was one of the *garikhātā* Basu families of Anaipur His early days were spent partly in the home of his maternal ancestors and partly in his paternal home at Bhawanipur which in those days formed one of the suburbs of Calcutta Brajendra-nath was the eldest child of the family, and though he had nine or ten brothers and sisters, all except one died in their infancy The author remarks "it is, therefore, curious that I have lived so long, and on the whole have enjoyed such remarkably good health I have no doubt that it is due to the fact that I have lived an abstemious, active and regular life, have taken considerable care of myself and have been more or less well-occupied" During his childhood, however, he suffered from various ailments, but he notes that he was in good health from 1862 onwards when his father migrated to Lucknow He was very fond of religious stories and *sankirtans* (religious musical performances in honour of Krishna or Vishnu) and apparently these greatly impressed him during the early years of his life He was a favourite companion of his grandmother, and her austere, religious and simple life greatly influenced him in his younger days

Like all Hindu boys of the period, he had to go through what was known as the *hāte khāri* (chalk in hand) ceremony This took place when he was 5 years old, on the 'Sripanchami and Saraswati Puja' day, the old family priest after offering 'pujas to the family *Saligram* and *Saraswati*' (the Goddess of Learning) placed a small cylindrical piece of hard grey chalk in the boy's right hand and guided him in writing the entire Bengali alphabet on the hard floor of the room where the ceremony was performed In connection with his earlier education the author remarks, "My father had a deep-rooted antipathy equally to indigenous *pathsalas* and to missionary schools, which was perfectly justified in the case of the former, but not so well in the case of the latter, and I therefore never went to any institution of either of these classes" He was first sent to a school in Chakraberia, but soon afterwards was transferred

to the Nandan Brothers Academy both these institutions were located in Bhawānpur He then migrated to a school in Chorhagan and later to the Colootolah Branch School now known as the Hare School and it was here that he was educated up to the Vth standard

The migration of his father to Lucknow in 1862 to take up his appointment in Government service has already been mentioned but the family including the young Brajendranath did not join him till 1865 Lucknow in those days as the author remarks was in every way different from Calcutta The men and women were differently built more sturdy and stalwart than the puny men and women we had known in Calcutta They were differently dressed and spoke a different language The houses were built in a different style and in fact the entire atmosphere was quite different from that of Calcutta

At Lucknow young Brajendranath was admitted in the Canning School which later developed into the Canning College and finally into the Lucknow University of the present day it was there that he suddenly blossomed forth into what he styles a veritable prodigy In spite of the fact that he was greatly handicapped by having to learn an entirely new second language he reached the top of his class at the end of 8 9 months and for the six or seven years during which he was at this school he was always at the top of his class He passed the Entrance (the Matriculation) Examination in December 1867 in the 1st division The Intermediate Examination he passed in 1869 standing 4th in order of merit in the whole of the Calcutta University He passed the B A Examination in the 1st division and after studying for a few months more the M A Examination in the 1st class in 1871

He started studying Sanskrit for his Intermediate Examination and his fondness for this language continued unabated to the end of his life During this period also he started learning Persian with a *Maulvi* (Persian teacher) at home who according to the author was given the magnificent monthly salary of Rs 4 for two hours tuition every day With this *Maulvi* he used to read various *Inshas* or collection of letters among which he mentions *Insha e Madhūrām* Even at this age

young Brajendranath was very good in languages, particularly in English, Sanskrit and Persian, but he was rather deficient in Mathematics, and in spite of hard work he was not able to make up this deficiency

After passing the M A Examination and even before he had been thinking of going to England to compete for the Indian Civil Service, the authorities of the Canning College, in view of his brilliant career, recommended the award to him of a scholarship of Rs 200 a month, but the Chief Commissioner of the province turned down the proposal on the grounds of his being a Bengali and the son of a ministerial officer of the Government. The College authorities, however, awarded him a scholarship of Rs 50 a month for a period of about 6 months till he could appear in the open competitive examination for the Indian Civil Service. The family finances at the time were in none too flourishing a condition, so in the middle of July, 1872, young Brajendranath, with only Rs 1,300, sailed for England. On his arrival in London he joined the University College, and appeared in the open competitive examination for the Indian Civil Service held in April, 1873. Only 35 of the 350 candidates that appeared for this examination that year were selected for the Indian Civil Service, and Brajendranath was 17th in the list. The author attributes this rather low position to his having selected Mathematics as one of the subjects, in which he obtained very low marks, his proficiency in English, Sanskrit, Persian and Mental Science, however, enabled him to pass the Civil Service Examination and secure a fairly high place amongst the selected candidates. *En passant* it may be mentioned that he was the 8th Indian who passed the I C S Examination.

Brajendranath De in the meanwhile had joined the Middle Temple Inn and was studying for the Bar. Without much work he passed the law examinations, and having kept the full complement of twelve terms, was called to the Bar. After being selected for the Indian Civil Service, he went into residence at the Oxford University, and before leaving England, in July 1875, was awarded the Boden Sanskrit Scholarship. In addition to this during the period of his probation in England he won a number of prizes in the half-yearly examinations for proficiency in

languages At Oxford he attended the lectures of Prof Max Muller and Mr Ruskin and also used to attend regularly the meetings of the Union of which Mr H H Asquith (later Earl of Oxford) was the President

On the return journey he travelled extensively on the Continent and returned to Calcutta in September 1875 Soon afterwards he was posted to Arrah as the Assistant Magistrate Collector and during his service he served as a Collector in various districts of Bengal and twice officiated as the Commissioner of the Burdwan Division After full thirty five years service he retired in September 1910 from Hooghly where he was then serving as the Magistrate and Collector

Shortly after his return he turned his attention to the language examinations which had been instituted with a view to inducing young civilians and other officials to acquire proficiency in classical languages like Sanskrit Persian and Arabic and the Indian vernaculars Being a Bengali by birth and in view of his having been educated at Lucknow he was disbarred from appearing in the examinations in vernaculars such as Bengali Hindi and Hindustani but the examinations in classical languages were open to him There used to be 3 examinations in each language (1) the Higher Standard for which there was a prize of a comparatively small monetary value (2) the High Proficiency for which a prize of Rs 2 000 in each language was awarded to each successful candidate and (3) the Degree of Honour for which there was a prize of Rs 5 000 for Sanskrit and Arabic and Rs 4 000 for Persian He passed the Higher Standard Examination in Sanskrit and High Proficiency Examination in Persian In the Degree of Honour Examination for Sanskrit he appeared without even passing the High Proficiency Examination and was declared successful on the very first occasion Here it would not be out of place to mention that in connection with the Persian examinations he had to face a serious difficulty in regard to his pronunciation As he says

Persian is pronounced in one way by Delhi and Lucknow Maulvis or scholars and in another way by the Persians themselves I had read Persian originally in Lucknow and I pronounced Persian as it is pronounced there His examiners

did not consider this correct and to acquire the pure Persian accent he studied for two months with Shaikh Mahmūd Gilānī, a famous Persian coach in Calcutta of those days. During this period he read through various text-books with the help of the learned Shaikh, and in addition studied a work called *Qasā id Badar-i-Chāch* or the Odes of Badar Chāch. Brajendranath was not greatly impressed by the literary merits of this work, as he considered its language "very inflated and involved", but he read it for his examination and this training was later useful to him in the preparation of the text and translation of the *Tabaqāt-i-Albarī*.

After his retirement Brajendranath settled down in Calcutta and in view of his early love for Persian, volunteered to prepare for the Asiatic Society a properly collated edition of the *Tabaqāt-i-Albarī* for publication in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series and also to translate this important historical work into English. He started this work in 1911, but, as has been remarked earlier, the publication of the work did not proceed smoothly, in fact after the issue of the first fascicles of the text and translation in 1913 the work remained in abeyance till 1925. The exact position about the end of 1924 is summed up by the author as follows "I had commenced the work in 1911, but had given it up owing to some difference with the authorities of the Asiatic Society. I now took up the work again at the request of Mr van Manen the General Secretary, who sent Shamsul Ulema Maulvi Hidayat Hosam to my house to ask me to do so. I readily consented, and I have gone on with the work as quickly as the state of my health and my other occupations have allowed me to do."

In view of the rather unsatisfactory nature of the available manuscripts and the peculiar style of Nizāmuddin Ahmad, the work of collation and translation of the *Tabaqāt-i-Albarī* must have been not only difficult, but extremely arduous. In spite of all these difficulties and his failing health Mr Brajendranath De persevered in his task, and produced six volumes of the text and translation which will stand as monuments to his industry and scholarship. Only those who have attempted translating Persian works into English can realize the onerous

nature of such undertakings As Ranking¹ rightly remarked
 The inherent differences of idiom in the two languages the rich expansiveness of the one and the rigid inflexibility of the other render the attempt to fitly represent the glowing colours of Persian in the dull monotony of modern English all but hopeless It has been said that the test of a translation is not its literalness but its truth that is to say not its fidelity to the author's expression but its response to his inspiration It must not merely reproduce the latter it must embody the spirit of the original composition

Mr De's work fully conforms to these high ideals for a faithful translation while the numerous very critical footnotes in the various volumes add materially to its importance as a work of reference It is said that the work could not be completed before his demise on the 28th of September 1932 at the ripe old age of about 80 years

The author summed up his autobiography as follows

'I am over 76 years of age which considering the short lived race and family from which I have sprung must be considered a very great age I have enjoyed fairly good health and have had an active life except during the last four or five years when my age and the infirmities which are incidental to it have had their usual effect on my health and my activities and energy I am thankful however to remember that I am not bedridden but can still attend to the ordinary business of life and to my literary pursuits such as they are A certain amount of success has crowned my life though in my discontented moments I have sometimes thought that it has not been all that I have deserved but I am fully aware of the limitations and deficiencies under which I have worked and probably in this well ordered world no one gets more or less success than he merits I have lost some very near and dear ones but I thankfully remember that others are left to cheer and comfort me in my old age

¹ Translator's Preface to the translation of vol I of the *Muntakhabat tanrikh* p 1 (1898)

Mr Brajendranath De had a charming personality. His circle of friends was wide and all who knew him respected him for his honesty, straightforwardness and gentle nature. Though rather shy and somewhat reserved, he was very generous and kind hearted, and was possessed of a subtle sense of humour.

He joined the Asiatic Society of Bengal as a Member in 1904, but retired in 1912. He rejoined the Society in 1926, and served as a member of the Council during the years 1928-29 and 1929-30. During these periods the writer of this note had exceptional opportunities of working with him as a colleague and well remembers his genuine interest in the work of the Society, particularly in its Oriental publications. He resigned his membership of the Society in 1931.

CONCLUDING REMARKS AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Normally I would have started this preface with an *apologia*, but on maturer consideration I decided to leave this unpleasant infliction till the end. I have no pretensions to being either a historian or a scholar of Persian, but I must confess to having a more than usual interest for the history of my country, while from my childhood Persian has been like a second mother tongue to me. In April last when the Publication Committee of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal had to face the Augean task of resuscitating and completing several publications which had lain dormant for many years, the question of completing and editing the translation of the third and final volume of the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* also came up for consideration. As scholars with the rare combination of an expert knowledge of Persian and English, and of Indian History are rather rare, and none with the necessary leisure to do this voluntary work for the Society could be found amongst its members or well-wishers, this work, in accordance with the couplet of Hāfiẓ

اسماں نارِ احیا۔ نتوانم۔ کنید

فرغہ وال دعام من دیوارہ ردد

was assigned to me. None of my critics would be more capable of disapproving this unbecoming choice, but rather than let the

work remain incomplete with the serious consequences of an already almost illegible manuscript becoming quite useless if left till such time when some really suitable editor could be found for completing it I agreed to undertake the work Even good intentions and resolutions have their limitations and on looking through the material I found an almost impossible task before me The manuscript as remarked above was very nearly illegible it had been written in a type of shorthand which though it would have been quite simple for its author to transcribe was quite beyond an ordinary reader it took me a long time to master and the deciphering of the diaeritical marks involved a great deal of labour There was also an uncorrected typewritten copy but this differed materially from the manuscript Further there were long blanks and very few if any of the text quotations or references had been filled in Even in the manuscript the references were without page indications and this involved a great deal of reading of the original sources The quotations from different works were often incorrect being paraphrases by the author rather than the original versions, while the names of persons and places though given in inverted commas were almost without exception spelt differently from what they were in the originals This should not however be understood to mean that I am in any way trying to disparage the work of the author or to cast any aspersions on his scholarly attainments but in fairness to him and myself I have considered it essential to explain the situation with which I was faced Several times I felt like giving up the task but knowing as I did the great amount of time and labour which in spite of his failing health and eyesight my late lamented friend Mr Brajendranath De had put into the work I persevered in completing it as best as I could My own share in the publication is limited to standardizing the transcription as far as possible checking verifying and correcting the all too numerous references supplying missing passages in the translation comparing it with the text edition which had been changed materially since the translation was prepared pointing out variations between the text and translation where it would have meant changing the entire account and finally seeing the work through

the press All this has involved a tremendous amount of work, more particularly as I could, with the responsibilities of my official position, only devote my few leisure hours to this work In presenting the work, as now issued, I am fully conscious of its shortcomings and while craving the indulgence of my readers, only hope that in view of the circumstances explained, they will make due allowances for the defects¹

Acknowledgments In preparing these volumes for the press I have been materially assisted by my friend Shams-ul-‘Ulāma Khān Bahādur Hidāyat Hosain, the Joint Philological Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, and I take this opportunity of offering him my very grateful thanks for the help which he gave so ungrudgingly at all times I am also indebted to Prof Chintaharan Chakravarti for help in connection with the revision and correction of the Sanskrit portions in the Kashmīr section of the work My thanks are also due to Messrs P Knight, N A Ellis, and G E Bingham of the Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta, for assistance in connection with the printing of this work Owing to its multi-lingual nature this work presented exceptional problems, both in typesetting and the correction of the proofs, but, as usual, the Baptist Mission Press rose fully to the occasion, and the close co-operation and ever-ready help of the gentlemen mentioned above made it possible for me to complete the publication in a little over six months The index is being prepared under my supervision by Shāh Mu‘inuddin Ahmad, the 1st *Maulvī* of the Society, and will be issued as soon as possible

Museum House, Calcutta

BAINI PRASHAD

28th October, 1939

¹ Unfortunately widely different schemes for the transliteration of the names of authors and their publications are adopted by different authors The originals are strictly followed for the citations in the footnotes, but the transliterations in the text are, except where within inverted commas, in accordance with the scheme recommended by the International Oriental Congress of 1894

CONTENTS

(PART I)

	PAGE
SECTION I THE SULTANS OF THE DAKK TWENTY NINE PERSONS	1
1 An account of the reign of Ala ud din Hasan Shah	7
2 An account of the reign of Sultan Muhammad Shah son of Ala ud din Hasan Shah	11
3 An account of the reign of Mujahid Shah	19
4 A narrative of the reign of Daud Shah son of the uncle of Mujahid Shah	1
5 An account of the reign of Sultan Muhammad Shah son of Mahmud son of Bahman Shah	~
6 An account of the reign of Sultan Ghias ud din	4
7 An account of the reign of Sultan Shams ud din brother of Sultan Ghias ud din	5
8 An account of the reign of Sultan Firuz Shah	27
9 A narrative of the reign of Sultan Ahmad Shah Bahmani	42
10 An account of the reign of Sultan Ala ud din son of Ahmad Shah	58
11 An account of the reign of Sultan Humayun Shah son of Sultan Ala ud din	6
12 An account of the reign of Nizam Shah son of Humayun Shah	86
13 An account of the reign of Muhammad Shah son of Humayun Shah	93
14 An account of the reign of Shahab ud din Mahmud Shah son of Muhammad Shah Lahili	109
15 An account of the reign of Ahmad Shah son of Mahmud Shah	132
16 An account of the reign of Sultan Ala ud din son of Mahmud Shah	133
17 An account of the reign of Sultan Wahab Shah son of Mahmud Shah	134
18 An account of the reign of Ibrahim ul Shah son of Mahmud Shah	134
SECTION II THE NIZAM UL MULKI LINE OR DYNASTY	136
1 An account of Nizam ul mulk Bahri	136
2 An account of Ahmad son of Nizam ul mulk Bahri	137
3 An account of Burhan Nizam ul mulk son of Ahmad	137
4 An account of Husain Nizam ul mulk son of Burhan	140
5 An account of Murtada Nizam ul mulk	143
6 An account of Husain Nizam ul mulk son of Murtada Nizam ul mulk who was called Miran Husain	151
7 An account of Isma'il Nizam ul mulk son of Burhan	155
8 An account of the rule of Burhan Nizam ul mulk son of Husain son of Burhan who is the brother of Murtada	157

	PAGE
SECTION III THE DYNASTY OF 'ĀDIL KHĀN	159
1 An account of the rule of Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān	159
2 An account of Ismā'īl 'Ādil Khān, son of Yūsuf	160
3 An account of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Khān, son of Ismā'īl Khān	161
4 An account of 'Alī 'Ādil Khān, son of Ibrāhīm	162
5. An account of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Khān (son of Tahmāsp), who was a nephew of 'Alī 'Ādil Khān	165
SECTION IV THE QUTB-UL-MULKIYA LINE OR DYNASTY	167
1 An account of Sultān Qulī Qutb-ul-mulk Hamadānī	167
2 An account of Jamshīd Qutb-ul-mulk, son of Sultān Qulī	168
3 An account of Ibrāhīm Qutb ul-mulk, son of Sultān Qulī	169
4 An account of Muhammad Qulī Qutb-ul-mulk, son of Ibrāhīm	171
SECTION V ABOUT THE SULTĀNS OF GUJRĀT	172
1 (An account of) A'zam Humāyūn Zafar Khān	173
2 An account of the accession of Tātār Khān, son of A'zam Humāyūn Zafar Khān	182
3 An account of the reign of Zafar Khān who had the title of Muzaffar Shāh	184
4 An account of Sultān Ahmad Shāh, son of Sultān Muhammad, son of Sultān Muzaffar	189
5 An account of Ghīyas-ud-duniyā-wad-din Muhammad Shāh, son of Ahmad Shāh	223
6 An account of the reign of Sultān Qutb-ud dīn Ahmad Shāh, son of Muhammad Shāh, son of Ahmad Shāh, son of Muhammad Shāh, son of Muzaffar Shāh	226
7 An account of Sultān Dāūd Shāh, son of Ahmad Shāh, son of Muhammad Shāh, son of Muzaffar Shāh	235
8 An account of Sultān Mahmūd Shah, son of Muhammad Shāh	237
9 An account of Sultān Muzaffar Shāh, son of Mahmūd Shāh	292
10 An account of Sultān Sikandar, son of Sultān Muzaffar Shāh	323
11 An account of Nasīr Khān entitled Sultān Mahmūd, son of Sultān Muzaffar	328
12 An account of the accession of Sultān Bahādur Shāh	333
13 A narrative of Mirān Muhammad Shāh, ruler of Asir and Burhānpūr	381
14 An account of Sultān Mahmūd Shāh, son of Latīf Khān, son of Muzaffar Shāh	383
15 An account of Sultān Ahmad	394
16 An account of Sultān Muzaffar, son of Sultān Mahmūd, son of Latīf Khān	397
SECTION VI THE SECTION ABOUT THE SULTĀNS OF BANGĀLA	414
1 An account of Sultān Fakhr-ud-dīn	419
2 An account of the reign of Sultān 'Alā'-ud-dīn	420
3 An account of Hājī Iliyās, who had the title of Sultān Shams-ud-dīn Bhangara	421
4 An account of the rule of Sultān Sikandar Shāh, son of Sultān Shams-ud-dīn	424

	PAGE
5 An account of Sultan Ghīyās ud dīn	427
6 An account of Sultan us salatīn	429
7 An account of Sultan Shams ud dīn	430
8 An account of Raja Kans	430
9 An account of Sultan Jalal ud dīn son of Kans	431
10 An account of Sultan Ahmad son of Sultan Jalal ud dīn	433
11 An account of Na ḫr the slave	434
12 An account of Nasīr Shah	434
13 An account of Barbak Shah	435
14 An account of ɻusuf Shah	436
15 An account of Sikandar Shah	436
16 An account of Fath Shah	437
17 An account of Barbak Shah	438
18 An account of Firuz Shah	439
19 An account of Mahmud Shah	440
20 An account of Muzaffar Shah Habshi	441
21 An account of Sultan Ala ud dīn	442
22 An account of Naṣīb Shah	444
SECTION VII THE SECTION ABOUT THE SHARQI SULTANS	446
1 An account of Sultan ush sharq	447
2 An account of Mubarak Shah Sharqi	448
3 An account of Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi	449
4 An account of Sultan Mahmud son of Ibrahim Sharqi	453
5 An account of Sultan Mahmud Shih son of Mahmud Shah	459
6 An account of Sultan Hu ȳm son of Mahmud Shah	459
(PART II)	
SECTION VIII THE SECTION ABOUT THE SULTANS OF MALWA	465
1 An account of Dilawar Khan Ghuri	467
2 An account of Sultan Hushang son of Dilawar Khan	468
3 An account of Muhammad Shah son of Hushang Shah Ghuri	491
4 An account of Sultan Mahmud Khalji	497
5 An account of Sultan Ghayath ud dīn son of Sultan Mahmud Khalji	543
6 An account of Sultan Nasir ud dīn	553
7 An account of Sultan Mahmud Shah son of Nasir Shah	564
8 An account of the rule of Sultan Bahadur	615
9 An account of the rule of the deputies of His Majesty Jinnat Ashrafi Muhammad Humayun Badshah	616
10 An account of Mallu Khan Qadir Shah	617
11 An account of Shuja Khan	621
12 An account of Baz Bahadur son of Shuja Khan	628
SECTION IX THE SECTION ABOUT THE SULTANS OF KASHMIR	63°
1 An account of Sultan Shams ud dīn	636
2 An account of Sultan Jamshed son of Sultan Shams ud dīn	637
3 An account of Sultan Ala ud dīn	639

CONTENTS

	PAGE
4 An account of Sultān Shīhāb-ud-dīn, son of Sultān Shams-ud-dīn	640
5 An account of Sultān Qutb-ud-dīn, son of Shams-ud-dīn	642
6 An account of Sultān Sīkandar, the Iconoclast, the son of Qutb-ud dīn, the son of Shams-ud-dīn, who had the name of Sīkār	644
7 An account of Sultān ‘Alī Shāh, son of Sultān Sīkandar Butshīkan, who had the name of Mīrān Khān	650
8 An account of Sultān Zain-ul-‘Ābidīn, son of Sultān Sīkandar Butshīkan, which is another name for Shāhī Khān	652
9 An account of Sultān Hāidar Shāh son of Sultān Zain-ul-‘Ābidīn, who had the name of Hājī Khān	672
10 An account of Sultān Hasan, son of Hājī Khān Hāidar Shāh	675
11 An account of Sultān Muhammad Shāh, son of Sultān Hasan Shāh	682
12 An account of Sultān Fath Shāh, which is another name for Fath Khān	689
13 An account of Sultān Ibrāhīm Shāh, son of Muhammad Shāh	696
14 An account of Nāzuk Shāh, son of Fath Shāh	698
15 An account of Sultān Shams-ud-dīn, son of Sultān Muhammad Shāh	706
16 An account of the rule of Mirzā Hāidar	707
17 An account of Nāzuk Shāh	719
18 An account of Ibrāhīm Shāh, son of Muhammad Shāh, who was the brother of Nāzuk Shāh	725
19 An account of Ismā‘il Shāh, brother of Ibrāhīm Shāh	729
20 An account of Habib Shāh, son of Ismā‘il Shāh	730
21 An account of the rule of Ghāzī Khān	737
22 An account of Husain Khān, brother of Ghāzī Khān	740
23 An account of ‘Alī Shāh, brother of Husain	747
24 An account of Yūsuf Khān, son of ‘Alī Shāh	752
SECTION X THE SECTION ABOUT THE RULERS OF SIND	761
1 An account of the Government of Jām Ānar	773
2 Jām Jūnān	773
3 An account of Jām Malītha, son of Jām Ānar	774
4 An account of the Government of Jām Tamāchī	774
5 Jām Ṣalāh-ud-dīn	775
6 Jām Nizām-ud-dīn, son of Ṣalāh-ud-dīn	775
7 Jām ‘Alī Shēr	775
8 Jām Karn, son of Jām Tamāchī	776
9 Jām Fath Khān, son of Sīkandar Khān	776
10 Jām Tughlaq, son of Sīkandar Khān	777
11 Jām Mubārik	777
12 Jām Iskandar, son of Jām Fath Khān, son of Sīkandar Khān	777
13 Jām Sanjar	778
14 Jām Nizām-ud dīn, who is known as Jām Nandā	778
15 An account of the Government of Jām Firuz	779
16 An account of Shāh Bēg Arghūn	781

	PAGE
17 An account of Shah Husain	783
18 An account of Mirza Isa Tarkhan	784
19 An account of Mirza Muhammad Baqi son of Mirza Isa Tarkhan	785
20 An account of Mirza Jani Beg	786
21 An account of Sultan Mahmud	786
SECTION VI AN ACCOUNT OF THE DYNASTY OF THE SULTANS OF MULTAN	787
1 An account of Shaikh Yusuf	788
2 An account of Sultan Qutb ud din Lankah	790
3 An account of Sultan Husain son of Sultan Qutb ud din	791
4 An account of Sultan Firuz	798
5 An account of Sultan Mahmud son of Sultan Firuz	800
6 An account of Sultan Husain son of Sultan Mahmud	806
BIBLIOGRAPHY	813
(PART III)	
INDEX	817

PREFACE

The late Mr Brajendrīnāth De as a result of sustained work for nearly 20 years prepared a collated edition of the text of the *Tabaqāt-i-Albari* of Khwājah Nizam ud din Ahmad. The first half of the first volume of the text was issued in July 1911 and the final or third volume was completed after Mr De's death on 28th September 1932 by Khan Bahadur M Hidavat Hosain from his manuscript and issued in July 1935. The first two volumes of the English translation by the same author were issued in 1927 and 1936 respectively. The first 80 pages in page proof and an unrevised and partly incomplete translation of the remainder of the third volume was found amongst Mr De's papers and the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal recently requested the undersigned to edit and complete the work. It was hoped that the undersigned would have the collaboration of Prof M Mahfūz ul Haqq in this work but this has not been possible and for the work as now issued the entire responsibility must rest with the undersigned. The first 80 pages were printed as corrected and revised by Mr De and in the remainder the work of Mr De has as far as possible been preserved. The undersigned has however to prevent errors and omissions verified the entire translation and checked citations and references as far as possible. Further as no standard scheme of transliteration had been followed it was thought desirable to follow a slightly modified form of the scheme adopted by the International Oriental Congress of 1894 for the transliteration of Arabic and Persian works.

In view of the size of the publication it was decided to issue the translation in two parts. The first part is now being issued and the second part with a detailed preface and comprehensive indices to both the parts will, it is hoped be ready for issue sometime during the year

Museum House Calcutta
12th July 1939

BAINI PRASHAD

TABAQĀT-I-AKBARĪ

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

(VOLUME III)

SECTION I THE SULTANS OF THE DAKIN TWENTY NINE PERSONS

The ¹DAKIN SECTION 29 PERSONS AND THE PERIOD OF THEIR
RULE BEGAN WITH THE YEAR 748 A H AND ENDED IN 1002 A H AND
LASTED FOR 254 YEARS

Historians are agreed that when the sun of the greatness of Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq Shah passed from its zenith and declined towards its setting there were troubles in all parts of his kingdom the hearts of his soldiers became averse to obedience and many rebellions were brought forth from the womb of time The real cause of the occurrence of these rebellions was this that the Sultan entrusted great works to men of mean and evil nature ²These men under the influence of their greed and avarice under took difficult tasks and ³laid unrepentable deeds on the ground As their determinations did not bear fruit they became annoyed with men who had any marks of greatness and caused sorrow to the latter

Couplet

⁵To exalt the heads of the unworthy
To hope for good from any of them

¹ The 11th ed has سلطان دکن ^{and} which is better

This is the period mentioned in the MSS as well as in the 11th ed The Bahmani Kingdom however only lasted for about a century and a half The Cambridge History of India has a list of 18 Sultans whose reigns extended from 49 A H (131 A D) to 834 A H (i.e. 7 A D)

³ The MSS have ل

⁴ The MSS as well as the 11th ed have و عملهای عمر مکرر بر رسم دای دی the meaning of which is not at all clear

⁵ The first four lines were quoted in connection with the employment of base and unworthy men in the History of Muhammad Tughlaq Shah see page

Is utterly to lose the thread of thy actions,
 And is like a snake, in thy poeket, to keep
 As on the worthless, thou placest charges great
 Know that from salt land thou hop'st for fruit

Among the most important incidents was that of 'Azīz Khāmār, on account of whom the *amīrs* *Sadhbā* (*amīrs* of hundreds) of Gujrat rose in rebellion and the whole country became full of disturbances and rebellion. Sultān Muhammed advanced towards Gujrat in order to put them down. He sent Mahk Lājīn (Lāchin) to summon the *amīrs* of hundreds of Daulatābād. As the pardoning of offences, and patience were not ingrained in the creed of the Sultān, the *amīrs* of hundreds being frightened of their awe of him, and of the wrath of his greatness slew Mahk Lājīn on the way and going to Daulatābād seized all the property, and wealth which were in Dhārāgaṛh, and having blown up the dust of disturbance, raised the standard of rebellion. The details of this brief statement, have been written down in their proper places by this pen of broken writing.

In the end, during the lifetime of Sultān Muhammed Tughlaq,
¹ 'Ala-ud-dīn Hasan, who is celebrated as Hasan Gāngū, and was one

216, Vol I, Persian text of this work. The appointment of such men and the result of such appointments were fully described in the History of Muhammed Tughlaq Shāh.

¹ Compare Grant Duff's History of the Mahrattas, Vol I, page 37 *et seq.*, where it is stated that "Sultan 'Alla-ud dīn Hoosein Kango Bahmīee" (as the name is written there) "was a man of the name of Zuffī Khan" (Zafar Khān) "who had originally been the slave of a Bramin, an inhabitant of Dehlī named Kango, who having discovered his merits, gave him liberty and assisted him, as well as foretold his subsequent fortune. On being raised to empire Zuffī Khan did not forget his protector and appointed him in charge of the treasury, and had the honour of giving the appellation of Bahmīee to a dynasty of Patan kings". The year of the accession is there put down as 1347 A.D. See also Elphinstone's History, page 465. Firishtah, in the beginning of his 3rd section about the Sultāns of the Dakin, gives a long account of Hasan, and his gradual rise to power, of his receiving the title of Zafar Khān and finally of his accession. It will be seen that Nizām-ud-dīn omits all mention of the Brahman, who laid the foundation of, and foretold Hasan's fortune, and it will also be seen, that according to him, it was Shaikh Nizām ud dīn Auliyā who first gave indications of his rise to sovereign power. Firishtah mentions the

of the common soldiers of that country raised in concert with a body of low people and adventurers the standard of government in Daulatabad in the Deccan in the year 748 and give himself the title of Sultan Ala ud din

Sultan Muhammad had no opportunity of putting him down on account of the disturbances in Gujarat and at that very time he died in the neighbourhood of Thirtha. The currency of the rule of the Bahmani Sultans was on such a grand scale from the aforementioned year which was the year of the accession of Sultan Ala ud din Hasan till the year 887 which was the date of the

prophecies of both the Brahman and of Shaikh Nizam ud din Auliya but he does not refer to his alleged descent from Bahman the son of Isfandiar It is unnecessary here to mention the details but Firishtah's conclusion is that As the name of Kanku or Gangu Bahman (Brahman) became a part of the name of Sultan Ala ud din Hasan he has been called Bahmani but poets and historians who wanted to flatter him having got hold of an argument (دستاویز) have shown the matter in a different garb The Cambridge History of India Vol III p 10 says Hasan's claim to descent from the half mythical hero Bahman son of Isfandiar seemed to mark him out for the honour of royalty Nizam ud din does in one place say that he made such a claim but according to Firishtah it was poets and historians who manufactured this claim The Cambridge History of India calls Ala ud din Hasan Shah Bahman Shah and Sir Wolsey Haig in a paper published in the JASB extra no 1901 gives certain cogent reasons in support of this name Yet it is curious that if he styled himself Bahman Shah he should have called his capital Hasanabed and not Bahmanabed

The Cambridge History of India brushes aside Firishtah's story about Kanku or Gangu Bahman as an absurd legend yet it finds it difficult to explain the name of Kanku or Gangu which frequently occurs in connection with the names of the Sultans of the dynasty It is admitted in note 3 on p 10 that the meaning of the addition Kanku has not been established but in p 373 it says that it has been credibly explained by Maulavi Abd ul Wali as a scribe's corruption of ka kaus I have carefully read the Maulavi's short paper and I must say with all deference to him and to Sir W Haig that the explanation is utterly flimsy Kaus was to have the final س struck off and the کانکو which would be left might be changed to Kankan Kankan Kanku Gangu Kaku How Kankau (کانکو،) can be changed to Kanku (کانکو،) or Gangu (گانگو،) and why of all the variants the e should have been selected and adopted by historians neither the Maulavi nor Sir W Haig condescend to explain I may say that even Zia ud din Barani has Hasan Kanku

accession of ¹ Muhammad Shāh, and which comes to a period of 139 years, that any increase over it cannot be conceived Hasan Gāngū declared that he was a descendant of Bahman, son of Isfandi-yār, and on that account, the attribution of the name of Bahmanyā to him and his descendants is not inappropriate ² And from the year 887 A H to the year 935 A H which comes to a period of 148 years, the name of Sultān has been attributed to the descendants of Bahman Shāh But the wretched (*Be Daulat*) Barīd and his descendants had, on account of their evil spirit, kept their sovereign princes in confinement, in their house, and had themselves performed the functions of the sovereign power

The five *amīs*, who had been the principal nobles of the Bahmanyā empire, divided the Dakin amongst themselves, and each took possession of his share, and became independent in it

Also in the year 935, 'Imād-ul-mulk Kāvelī having made his submission to Sultān Bahādur of Gujrat, had the *Khutba* (public prayers) read and the *Silka* (eon) struck in his own territory in the name of Sultān Bahādur After a year Sultān Bahādur marched into the Deccan at the instigation of 'Imād-ul-mulk As Nizām-ul-mulk and the other *amīs* had not the strength to oppose him, they also read the *Khutba* in his name

During that time, Malik Barīd, son of Barīd, had the helpless Sultān Kalim-ul-lāh imprisoned in the city of Bidai In the matter of the fixing of the period of the rules of the Bahmanyā Sultāns, different accounts have come under my notice, but as the book (called) *Sirāj-ut-Tawārikh* written by Khwāja Muhammad Lāri during the time of those Sultāns, and from that date till to-day, namely 1002 A H, a period of sixty-seven years, Dakin was governed by four dynasties, viz., the descendants of Nizam-ul-mulk called Nizam-ul-mulkiya, the descendants of Adil Khan called Adil Khaniya,

¹ This should, I think, be Mahmūd Shāh, the period from the accession of 'Ala-ud-dīn in 748 A H to that of Mahmūd in 887 A H is 139 years

² The meaning of the following sentences is not at all clear The period is 148 years in one MS But only 48 years in the other and in the lith ed The correct period from the accession of 'Ala-ud dīn to the end of the reign of Kalim-ul-lah, the last Sultān of the dynasty in the year 935 A H which is mentioned in the text, is 186 years The last five Sultāns were puppets in the hands of Barīd and his descendants.

the descendants of Quth ul mulk called Qutb ul mulkiva and the descendants of Malik Barid called Malik Barid as I will detail later

¹Sultan Al^a ud din Hasan Shah eleven years and ten months and seven days

Sultan Muhammad Shah son of Sultan Ala ud din Hasan Shah
³ eighteen years and seven months

Sultan Mujahid Shah one year and one month and nine days

Sultan Daūd Shah one month and three days

⁴ Sultan Muhammad Shah son of Mahmud Shah nineteen years nine months and twenty four days

⁵ See note

Sultn Shams ud dn son of Muhammad Shah five months and seven days

Sultan Firuz Shah twenty five years and seven months and eleven days

Sultan Ahmad Shah twelve years and nine months and twenty four days

¹ Compare the names and the periods of the reigns of the Bahmani Sultans as given in a nota in page 40 of Grant Duff's History of the Mahrattas. These names the nota says were taken from Firishtah a History. Compare also Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, p. 70.

One MS and the lith ed have two months. The other MS has ten months. The date of his accession is given as August 3rd 1347. The date of his death according to Firishtah is 1st Rabī' ul Awwal 959 A.H. 2nd February 1358. There is one coin of his of 400 A.H. but it is believed to be posthumous. (See note I p. 10 which gives a summary of the history of the reign as given by Firishtah.)

³ Both MSS have eighteen years but the 11th ed has thirteen years according to the Cambridge History of India Vol III he reigned from 759 A H 1358 A D to 776 A H 1375 A D

⁴ As to the correctness of this name see note p. 11. Firishtah calls him Sultan Mah nud.

⁵ In the list given in Grant Duff's History the name of Sultan Ghazeeood deen Shah Bahmanu is given as that of the sixth Sultan between Sultan Mahmud Shah and Sultan Shams ud din. The correct name is Sultan Chiyas ud din and although it is omitted from the list in the MSS and also in the lith ed a short account of his re gn appear in its proper place. The name is given in the list in p 70 of the Cambridge History of India Vol III.

⁶ One MS has son of M^uhammad Shah but the other MSS and the litho
ed do not have these words

⁷ One MS. and the lith. ed. have the period as given above in the text, but the other MS. has " ، مکان سلطنتی و سلطنتی ،" i.e. the period of his reign (was)

¹ Sultān Ahmad Ghīyās-ud-dīn Shāh, twelve years, and nine months and twenty-four days

Sultān ‘Ala-ud-dīn, twenty-three years and nine months and twenty-two days

Sultān Humāyūn Shāh, son of Sultān ‘Ala-ud-dīn, three years and six months and five days

Sultān Nizām Shāh, one year and eleven months and ten days

Sultān Muhammad Shāh Lashkari, nineteen years and four months and fifteen days

Sultān Mahmūd Shāh forty years and two months and three days

Sultān Ahmad Shāh, two years and one month.

Sultān ‘Ala-ud-dīn, one year and eleven months

Sultān Wali-ul-lah and his brother Kalim-ul-lah, three years and one month and twenty-seven days

The total period of the rule of the Bahmania Sultāns, seventeen persons, and one hundred and eighty-seven years and two months

After that, the four amīrs having gained their independence, have been ruling with complete independence from that day till this day, which is (in) the year 1002 A H and the 38th year of the Ilāhi era,² which amounts to a period of sixty-seven years. Up to the present time the Dakin is in their possession. Let it not remain concealed, that the foundation of the rule of the four amīrs took place in the year 887 A H and they became completely independent in the year 935 A H

—

one month and twenty days According to Firishtah he reigned for twelve years and two months, and according to the Cambridge History of India from 825 A H , 1422 A D to 839 A H , 1435 A D

¹ This name occurs in one MS but does not occur in the other and in the lith ed , and it appears from the history of the reigns, that there was no Sultān of this name. Apparently the name of Sultān Ghīyās-ud-dīn which was omitted from its proper place was inserted here by mistake, with Ahmad prefixed to it

² The text is according to the reading in the MSS but the lith ed has حکومت دکن در اصرف ادھا است، سی و هشت سال القاب و نام سلطنه۔ جراو و اولاد نعمانہ می دامتند، i.e., the rule of the Dakin was in their hands but they had for thirty-eight years the titles and the name of sovereignty in the Bahmani dynasty

The Nizam ul Mulkiahs

Nizam ul mulk Bahri

Ahmad Nizam ul mulk four years

Burhan Nizam ul mulk forty eight years

Hasan Nizam ul mulk thirteen years

¹ Murtazi Nizam ul mulk twenty six years

- Hasan Nizam ul mulk son of Murtazi two months

Husain Nizam ul mulk two years

Murtaza Nizam ul mulk who is at present the ruler two year

The Adil Khaniyas

³ Yusuf Adil Khan seven years

Ismail Adil Khan twenty five years

⁴ Ibrahim Adil Khan twenty five years

Ali Adil Khan, twenty five years

Ibrahim Adil Khan fourteen years

The Qutb ul mulkiahs

⁵ Sultan Ali Qutb ul mulk twenty four years

⁶ Ahmad Qutb ul mulk seven years

Ibrahim Qutb ul mulk thirty five years

Muhammad Quli Qutb ul mulk ⁷ thirty eight years

AN ACCOUNT OF THE REIGN OF ALA UD DIN HASAN SHAH

The chroniclers of events have narrated that Ala ud din Hasan Bahamani who is celebrated as Hasan Gangu came to the capital city of Dehli according to the vicissitudes of time in the reign of

¹ The text is according to one MS and the lith ed but the other MS has Ismail Nizam ul mulk.

The text is according to one MS and the lith ed but the other MS has Burhan Nizam ul mulk instead of Hasan Nizam ul mulk.

³ The name is Yusuf in one MS and in the lith. ed but it is Ismail in the other MS

⁴ According to one MS and the lith ed Ali Adil Khan comes between the two Ibrahims but according to the other MS he precedes them and one Ibrahim succeeds the other

⁵ His name occurs in one MS but is omitted from the other MS

⁶ He is Ahmad in one MS Jamshud in the other and has no name in the lith ed but is simply called سلطان

⁷ One MS and the lith ed have thirty eight years but the other MS has thirty five years

Sultān¹ Tughlaq Shāh One day the Polestar of all those who have known God Shaikh Nizām-ud-dīn Dehlavi had issued a general invitation and Sultān Muhammad and all the great men were present When the table cloth was removed and Sultān Muhammad took his leave, the Shaikh said to an attendant, "One Sultān is gone and another is at the door go, bring him" The attendant went outside He saw Hasan Gāngū at the door He took him to wait on the Shaikh Hasan, in the purity of his faith, placed his head of exaltation on the foot of the Shaikh and expressed his devotion The Shaikh placed a round piece of bread on his finger, and gave it to Hasan The bread and the Shaikh's finger took the shape of an umbrella So that all who were present and Hasan came to know the glad tidng given by the Shaikh Hasan in great pleasure and joy went out of the presence of the Shaikh and accepting the joyful news, turned towards the Dakin, in concert with a body of Afghāns When they arrived there, at that time there were disturbances in that country Hasan Gāngū killed the² Superintendent of the city of Gulbarga, and took possession of the neighbouring tract of country From there, he went to Daulatābād, in concert with the Muān-Sadhā (the chiefs of the hundreds) 'Alam-ul-mulk, brother of Qutlaghī Khān shut himself up in Daulatābād As Hasan was under obligations to Qutlaghī Khān, he gave safe conduct to 'Alam-ul-mulk, but took possession of the property belonging to Muhammad Shāh, which was in Dhārāgarh Then in concert with the soldiers, he placed an Afghān of the name of³ Isma'il Fath on the throne of sovereignty, with the title of Nāsir-ud-dīn

¹ One MS has Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq Shāh, but the other and the lith ed omit Muhammad

² There are slight variations in the readings One MS has میران سے میران سے گلبرگہ را کست, while the other has گلبرگہ را کست The lith ed has گلبرگ را کست It appears from Firishtah that Hasan Gangu had already assumed the title of Zafarī Khān, and had become well known (احتماًص رائتہ) in Bakri and Rāibagh and Mirich and Kalhar Hasanābād Gulbarga and killed Bharūn Rāy, the governor of the fort of Gulbarga, who was one of the trusted servants of Sultān Muhammad Tughlaq Shāh

³ According to Firishtah Isma'il Fath was an *amīr i du-hazārī* (an *amīr* of two thousand horse), but Col Briggs says "an officer of one thousand horse",

When this news reached Sultan Muhammad he started from Bahroj for Daulatabad in order to have his revenge. The rebels fought with him and were ¹defeated. Isma'il Afghan crept into the fort of Dhurugarh (Daulatabad?) and Hasan marched now towards Gulbarga. Sultan Muhammad Shah halted at Dhurugarh for some days. At this time scouts brought the news that Taghi a slave of Safdar ul mulk had revolted in the neighbourhood of Nabwala Pattan had taken possession of that place and was besieging the fort of Bahroj. ²Muhammad Shah nominated Imad ul mulk for overthrowing Hasan and left some of the amirs round the fort of Dhurugarh and himself marched towards Cujrat. He had such ³machinations as he could employ defeated and slew

and he was also the younger brother of Malik Gul Afghān (Col Briggs calls him Malick Moogh) who was one of the great nobles of Sultan Muhammad Tuglaq Shah and had a large army for the defence of Malwa who would if it became necessary assist and aid his brother. It does not appear that all the amirs of the Dakin agreed to Ismail Fath's being made the Sultan for Imitah says That all the amirs of the Dakin whether they liked it or not (لکھاہی نا لکھاہی) agreed to make Ismail Fath Afghān Nasir ud din Shah and held the umbrella of sovereignty over his head. The Cambridge History of India says that the man whom Nasir ud din and Firishtah call Ismail Fath has been called Mukh Mujh and Iath but it has followed the Bibliotheca Indica text of Barani and called him Isma'il Mukh the Afghan. Barani however calls him only مکھ which may be trans literated Makl or Mukhi Afghān.

¹ Firishtah says that Sultan Muhammad Tuglaq was joined on the way to Daulatabad by Imad ul mulk Tabrizi his son in law and governor of Berar and Malik Gul Afghān and he describes in some detail the varying fortunes of the battle. He also says that after the battle the rebel leaders decided that it would not be advisable to have another drawn battle and that Nasir ud din should remain at Daulatabad with a sufficient force to defend it and Hasan should remain in possession of Gulbarga with twelve thousand men. Muhammad Tuglaq Shah besieged Daulatabad and the garrison was reduced to great straits when the news of the revolt of Taghi came from Dehlī.

The name is Taghi in the MSS and in Firishtah. The lith ed has wrongly ²Al Zafar

² One MS has the word Sultan before Muhammad Shah but the other MS and the lith ed omit it

³ Firishtah does not mention any machination or treachery. He says that Hasan Gangi met Imad ul mulk near Ahmadabad Bidar. For twenty days neither army felt strong enough to attack the other but Ala ud din having

'Imād-ul-mulk He then went to Daulatābād, and placing the umbrella (of sovereignty) over his own head, assumed the title of Sultān 'Ala-ud-dīn Sultān Muhammād considered the overthrowing of Taghī of primary importance, and did not turn his attention to the suppression of the disturbances in the Dakin And during the course of that year he was united with the Divine mercy in the neighbourhood of Thatha, and the empire was settled on Hasan without a dispute and an enemy He gave the name of Hasanābād to Gulbarga and made it his capital

¹ After a time he fell ill, and when he had no hope of living longer, he gave advice and direction to his son, Muhammād Khān,

—
—
—
received reinforcements of fifteen thousand infantry from the Rāj of Telengana, who was aggrieved with Sultān Muhammād Tughlaq, and of five thousand horsemen from Nāsir ud dīn attacked 'Imād ul mulk The battle was well contested and lasted all day In the end victory declared itself for 'Ala ud dīn, and 'Imād-ul mulk was killed

¹ Nizām-ud dīn does not give any account of the events of 'Ala-ud-dīn Hasan Shāh's reign It appears from Firishtah that he proclaimed himself as Sultān on Friday, the 24th Rabi'-ul-Ūlīhar, 748 A H, corresponding with Friday, August 3rd, 1347 A D Firishtah goes on to say that one of his first acts was to send for Gāngū Brāhmaṇ, and to place the account offices of his kingdom (daftari muhāsibā i-mumālik Nahīsā-i Khud) in his charge He also combined the name of the Brāhmaṇ with his own by styling himself, "the smallest of the slaves of the holy Presence 'Ala-ud dīn Hasan Gāngū Bahmani" He brought the neighbouring territories under his rule, took possession of the fort of Bidar and Kand'hār from the officers who were in charge of them under Sultān Muhammād Tughlaq Shāh by peaceful means, and restored the Jāma' Masjid and the fort of Gulbāga which had become dilapidated Then he heard of the death of Muhammād Tughlaq Shāh, and becoming assured of there being no further danger from him set about to make his rule permanent He married his son to the daughter of Malik Saif-ud dīn Ghūrī with great pomp It appeared that when the marriage festivities were going on, his wife expressed her sorrow that at such a time, her sister, the aunt of the prince, could not be present The Sultān inquired where she was, and found that she was in Multan, so without telling her anything he sent men to bring the lady, and protracted the marriage festivities for seven months, till the old lady was brought, in a *duli*, to the great joy and surprise of the queen

After the marriage festivities were over, Isma'il Fath, who had at one time been raised to the throne as Nāsir ud-dīn Shāh, but had afterwards been made amīr-ul-umra and sipah-sālār became disaffected, because Saif ud-dīn Ghūrī was given precedence over him 'Ala-ud dīn put him to death, but as he had

and accepted the summons of death The period of his reign was eleven years and two months and seven days

Verse

No one doth live in this garden for aye
 Each one for a moment doth in it play
 In it each moment a new fruit doth grow
 One goes away and another arrives

¹ AN ACCOUNT OF THE REIGN OF SULTAN MUHAMMAD SHAH
 SON OF ALA UD DIN HASAN SHAH

When the term of rule came to Muhammad Khan he sat in the place of his father and assumed the title of Sultan Muhammad Shah

promised did not punish any of those whom he had got to enter into a conspiracy with him and also did not punish his son or any other relation of his but maintained them in their rank and position The Ray of Tilang who had before this been inclined to be refractory now became submissive and sent the tribute which he had formerly sent to Delhi Als ud din then made most grandiose proposals for the conquest of all the surrounding country but later modified them on the advice of Malik Saif ud din Ghuri He sent an army to the Karnatak which looted and devastated the country and brought immense quantities of booty and tribute He also extended his territory as far south as the Tungabhadra He then started for Malwa and Gujerat and sent Shhzada Muhammad with twenty thousand horsemen in advance When the prince arrived at the town of Nausari he found the forests full of wild animals and began to hunt them He also sent information to his father and the latter went and joined in the hunt There he had fever in spite of which he indulged in wine and labab of the meat of the animals killed He became seriously ill and returned quickly to Gulbarga There he obtained absolution from the hand of the Sadr ush shar f Samarcandi and then divided his kingdom into four parts and placed them in charge of four nobles He was ill for six months during which time he occupied himself in doing justice to the poor and oppressed among the people He also ordered the release of all convicts except six about whom he left directions with his son He died on the 1st Rab ul Awwal 59 AH corresponding with the 2nd February 1398 The Burhan i masir gives 761 as the year of his death and says he reigned for thirteen years ten months and twenty seven days but these figures are not accurate

¹ Tirishtah's account of the reign of Muhammad Shah contains a lot of matter which have not been referred to at all by Nizam ud din and I consider it unnecessary to mention it here It appears however that the gold and silver coins of the Bahmani Sultans were being melted down in large quantities

He was a young man, adorned with (a sense of) justice and equity
The people were happy and contented during the period of his rule,

by the Hindus of Bijānagar (Vijayanagar) and Warangal, and numbers of the Hindu merchants were put to death to put down this practice In connection with the conquest of "Bilampatan", it appears however that Sultān Muham mad sent much treasure to Mecca and Medina with his mother This gave rise to some dissatisfaction among the nobles, and the Rāy of Bijānagar coming to know of this, sent ambassadors, demanding that all the territories as far as the river Krishna and all the forts and parganas in it should be left in his possession The Rāy of Tilang, who had ceded Kūlās as a tribute to Sultān 'Ala-ud-dīn Hasan, also at this time sent ambassadors with the message that his son Nāgdeo had rebelled against him, and was demanding the recovery of the fort of Kūlās, and it was advisable that Sultān Muhammad should restore it to him instead of having recourse to warfare Sultān Muhammad kept the ambassadors on various pretexts, in his capital, for a year and half, and during that time he destroyed all the *amirs*, about whom he had any suspicion, and collected those who were loyal to him He then sent for the ambassadors at a great *majlis* and directed them to write at once to their masters to send elephants loaded with gold and gems and other presents to the Sultān The ambassadors sent reports to their masters When the Rāys of Bijānagar and Tilang received these reports, the latter sent his eldest son Nāgdeo (his correct name appears, according to Sewell's "A Forgotten Empire—Vijayanagar", p 31, to have been Vīnāyaka Deva, Col Briggs calls him Vīnaik Dew) from Warangal with a large army of infantry and cavalry towards Kūlās and the former sent twenty thousand horse and foot to reinforce Nāgdeo's army The Sultān sent Bahādur Khān, son of Isma'il Fath, whom he had made his commander-in-chief, with the armies of Bidar and Berar against Nāgdeo The latter was defeated and his army fled Bahādur Khān pursued him as far as Warangal, and returned with much booty

Then one day, towards the end of the year, when the Sultān was seated on a *kursi* (chair?) and making his ablutions, it was reported to him that some merchants had brought horses for sale The Sultān at once sent for them and inspected the horses, but found that they were not good enough for his use On asking the merchants, they said that they were bringing fine horses for the Sultān, but Nāgdeo who was at "Wailampatan" as deputy of his father had taken the horses intended for the Sultān, in spite of their protests The Sultān was greatly annoyed, and immediately mounted a horse and went out of the city He stayed there for ten days apparently to collect the forces, and then started on his march When he arrived at Wailampatan he sent a body of Afghāns in the guise of merchants They went to the gate, and complained that they had been attacked by robbers, and their merchandise had been looted, While they were thus engaged, the Sultān came to the gate and entered the

and the country of Dakin became on account of the peace (which it enjoyed) and the gathering together of the great men the envy of all the country of Hindustan and there was a fresh splendour in the affairs of the state Applying all his energies to the conquest of territory and the reviving of the customs of religious warfare (jehad) he in the spring time of his reign and in the beginning of his grandeur collected a well equipped army and started for Bilampatan and in the course of the march he seized many villages and towns

city and his soldiers put every one they met to the sword Nagdeo fled to the citadel and attempted to defend it but it was soon taken When Nagdeo was brought before the Sultan the latter asked him why he had taken the horses intended for him he was so frightened that he gave a harsh reply The Sultan who was inclined to be merciful and wanted to pardon him became enraged and had his tongue cut out and ordered him to be burnt alive He then passed fifteen days in the city in the enjoyment of much pleasure

I have endeavoured to compress about three quarto pages of lithograph in the above note Firishtah's language appears to me to be harsh and cruel He says for example that the burning alive of Nagdeo was جگہ اس کے ساتھ

I have not been able to identify Bilampatan or Wailampatan Culbarga and Warangan and Kallian which last is mentioned by Firishtah as having been passed by the Sultan on his march to Bilampatan are in the map It appears from Mr Sewell's A Forgotten Empire—Vijayanagar p 31 that Villumpattan which according to Mr Sewell is how the name as given by Firishtah should be spelled and Filampatan according to the author of the Burhan-i-Masir was the city (capital) of the Raya of Warangal Mr Sewell does not mention the story of the horses but according to him apparently Muhammad reached the capital of Warangal in the first expedition The Sultan commanded a pile of wood to be lighted before the citadel and putting Nagdeo in an engine (catapult) had him shot from the walls into the flames in which he was consumed

Mr Sewell as far as I can see makes no attempt to identify Wailampatan In a note on page 30 Vol II of his Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India Col Briggs however makes such an attempt He says he knows of no place of this name (Wailampatan) Vilum Conda or Bellum Conda (the sugar hill) was the seat of government of a powerful Raja nearly two centuries afterwards and perhaps Bellum Conda ought to be the true reading The terminations of pattan (town) and conda (a hill) being frequently used synonymously if the town lie under a hill as it does in this case One principal objection to this surmise however arises from the towns of Kawla and Kallian which are here mentioned not lying on the nearest road between Koolhara and Bellumconda

belonging to the enemy and included them in his own kingdom The Rāy of that country being proud of the strength of his fort, shut its gates on himself The *amīns* and soldiers, having arranged the necessary appanages for the conquest of the fort, commenced hostilities and with Divine help and heavenly aid, seized the citadel, and carried out the practices of slaughter and taking prisoners After this victory the Sultān made arrangements for the government of that neighbourhood and returned to Gulbāga, and having arranged a great festival, granted to every one a share from the board of his benefactions

It so happened that one day a messenger came from ¹ Badhūl and reported to the Sultān that the Rāy of Bijānagar had come

¹ The readings are different One MS has ار دھول رسیده, coming or arriving from Badhūl The other MS has ار دھول رسیده coming from Dhūl, but in the next line we have در ولیت دھول on the country of Badhūl So that دھول Badhūl appears to be the correct reading The lith ed has در ملپور رسیده, having arrived at Dhūlpūr This is clearly incorrect I cannot find any place called Badhūl in a map There is a place called Mudhal to the south of the river Krishna about half way between Bijānagar or Vijayanagar and Gulbarga or Koolbarga, but a long way to the west of the line connecting them, which may be the place I cannot find any mention of the place in Firishtah, but there is a story there about Sultān Muhammād having sent an order (*Baiāt*) for the payment of certain musicians to the Rāya of Bijānagar I cannot understand the meaning of this proceeding unless it was meant to be an insult for provoking hostilities The order was given, according to Mulla Dāūd of Bidar, who was seal bearer to Sultān Muhammād (as quoted by Mr Sewell, page 33) in a festive assembly, "when the spring of the garden of mirth has infused the cheek of Muhammād Shāh with the rosy tinge of delight, or to use somewhat less romantic language, when he was flushed with wine The order was so extraordinary that the minister hesitated to despatch it The Sultān however penetrated his thoughts and compelled the minister to send it

The Rāya who was proud of his power became angry, and paraded the man, who carried the order, mounted on a donkey all round the city of Bijānagar and immediately collected thirty thousand horse and nine hundred thousand foot soldiers and three thousand elephants for the conquest of the Bahmani kingdom He established a camp in front of اودیں Üdni (Adoni in the map) Sultān Muhammād ordered the army of Daulatābad to assemble (those of Bidar and Berar being exhausted with the campaign against Tilang) and after proper religious observances set out to oppose the Rāya of Bijānagar The latter

by rapid marches, with a large body of horse and foot to the country of Badhūl and had seized the fort and made martyrs of the Mussulmans

being assured of safety owing to the Krishna being in flood was engaged in besieging the fort of Mudkal (Madgall in the map N W of Adoni) The fort was at last taken and all the garrison was put to the sword except one man who concealed himself and who escaping from the fort and crossing the Krishna went and gave information to Muhammad Shah at Hasanabid Gulbarga I have stated in an early part of this note that Badhul may be identical with Mudkal but from the context of both the Tabaqat and Firishtah Mudkal is more likely to be identical with Badhul

Firishtah's account of the conquest of Mudkal is different from that of Nizam ud din Ferishtah begins his account by saying that Sultan Muhammad on hearing what the fugitive had to say ordered the poor man to be put to death the reason given by him being that he could not bear the sight of a man who has seen the death of so many men He started at once and when he reached the bank of the Krishna after some bragging about his own greatness he said that he was not afraid of the river in flood or of the grandeur and might of the infidel army He sent back his son who afterwards became Mujahid Shah to Gulbarga making him his heir and with only twenty elephants and nine thousand horsemen he crossed the river in the course of three days The Ray in spite of his having such an immense army was so astounded and perplexed by the Sultan's crossing the river that he sent back all his troops in the darkness of the night and remained *jarida* (alone or with a small retinue) so that he might decide in the morning whether he would fight or not When the news of the retreat of the Ray's army became known in the Sultan's camp he left it and everything behind and with horse and whip started for the enemy who fled at once leaving everything behind When the Sultan arrived at the Ray's camp he gave an order for a general massacre and seventy thousand persons men and women and young and old and slaves and free men were put to the sword He passed the rainy season in Mudkal and having received reinforcements started towards the fort of Udnî (Adoni) Firishtah has a great deal more about further conquests in Bijapur but as there is no reference to them in the Tabaqat I refrain from noting them But it may be briefly stated that the Sultan seized Adoni and after much more fighting and much more slaughter of Hindus in which neither women nor babes at their mothers breast escaped laid seige to Bijapur itself but although he tried his best for about a month he was unsuccessful He then had recourse to the stratagem which according to Nizam ud din he had used at the time of the seige of Badhul or Mudkal He threw himself on the bed of weakness and the commanders of his army conducted it back across the Tumhandra (Tungabhadra) river and arrived on a level plain where they halted Krishn Ray the Ray of Bijapur who is however called Bukka I in Sewell's A Forgotten Empire

there. Immediately on hearing this, the Sultan collected an immense army, and set forth to punish the Rāy. The latter on receiving information of the vast multitude of the Sultan's army, fled and took shelter in a strong fort. The Sultan sat down round the fort for some days, but when he saw that by doing so, the hand of his hope would not reach the skirt of success, he made an invalid of himself (*i.e.* pretended that he had fallen ill) and returned towards Gulbāiga. When he had crossed the Kṛishna the Rāy opened the gates of the fort, and gave his men leave to go to their respective places. The Sultan, making Divine help the vanguard of his army, made a rapid march of eighty-one *karohs*, and presented himself in the neighbourhood of the fort and with great activity and smartness fought with and defeated the Rāy, and much booty, in which were included eight thousand prisoners, fell into his hands. The Sultan then returned to Gulbarga crowned with prosperity and success, and made the people happy by his benefactions.

A long time had not elapsed after this, that swift messengers brought the news that¹ Bahrām Khān and Govind Rāy had placed

also encamped at a distance of three or four *karohs*. The Sultan then convened a *majlis*, but still feigning illness left it early. He then sent for his commanders in secret, and ordered them to array the army for battle. At midnight he joined the army, and advanced towards the Bijānagar camp, where the Rāy and his commanders, presuming on the Sultan's illness were engaged in drinking and looking at the dancing of Naught-girls. When they became aware of the Sultan's approach, they were completely helpless, and the Rāy fled, and did not draw rein till he arrived at Bijānagar. Thoro the people reviled and reproached him, and he at thoir instanco sent emissaries to the Sultan to suo for poaco. The latter was at first unwilling to grant their roquost, but demanded that his original demand for the payment of the musicians should be complied with. The omssaries at once agreed, and in fact thoro and then paid the amount. Then at the request of the emissarios, the Sultan said that hereafter he would never order the massacre of prisoners and the general slaughter of the people. After this he returned to his capital.

¹ Nizām-ud-din does not say anything about the cause of the rebellion of Bahrām Khān and Govind Rāy, but it appears from Firishtah, that owing to the Sultan's having feigned to have fallen ill, before Bijānagar, the report of his death became published all ovoi the kingdom, and thero being no leading men in the country of Daulatābād, the leaders of the army being at Bijānagar, Bahrām Khān Māzandarānī whom Sultan 'Ala-ud-din Hasan had given the

their feet outside the bounds of the road of obedience and had scratched the face of loyalty and devotion with the finger nails of hostility. Upon this he started by successive marches towards Deogarh and when he arrived in the neighbourhood of that place fear came in the hearts of Bahram Khan and Govind Ray and they immediately went to Shaikh Rukn ud din who was one of the great Shaikhs of the age and behaved with great meekness and humility.

name of son and Kumbh Deo Marhata sardar rose in revolt. The Govind Ray of the Tabaqat may be the Kumbh Deo of Firishtah and in fact Col Briggs calls him Govind Deo Maratta. The Cambridge History of India Vol III p 382 calls him Kondba Deva. Deva is pure Saoskrit but I do not know what Kondba is. I should think that Kumbha Deva or Govinda Deva more likely to be correct than Kondba Deva. According to the Cambridge History of India Bahram Khan resented the succession of Muhammad and invited Fiaz Tughlaq to recover the Deccan and although he failed in this he now rose in rebellion as he felt stronger owing to Muhammad's armies being engaged in the south. There is no mention in the Cambridge History of any intercession by any pious Shaikh. On the approach of Muhammad the rebels dispersed and fled and were pursued to the frontiers of Gujarat where they took shelter. Firishtah's account of the rebellion is much longer and more elaborate and the end is also different. The Shaikh to whom the rebels went is there named Zain ud din (Col Briggs calls him Shaikh En ood deen) and not Rukn ud din and he did not intercede with the Sultan for their pardon but told them to escape to Gujarat and they went there. The Sultan pursued them but being unable to seize them returned to Daulatabad in great anger. He then sent word to the Shaikh with whom he was already angry because he had not made his submission to him like the other Shaikhs at the time of his accession because he drank intoxicating liquors and did other things not allowed by the law of the Prophet either to appear before him or to send a writing containing his submission. The Shaikh refused to do either. Then the Sultan ordered him to leave the city. The Shaikh taking up his few belongings went and at dawn at the *rou'a* (tomb) of Shaikh Burhan ud din and challenged all and sundry to move him from the place if they dared. The Sultan now became repentant and he and the Shaikh exchanged civilities and the Sultan went back to Gulbarga after receiving the title of Chazi from the Shaikh. Firishtah goes on to say that after this the Sultan shut up all shops for the sale of intoxicants and ordered that all robbers and turbulent people should be put to death and accordingly in the course of six or seven months not one of them was left alive and according to Mulla Dauid Badari the head of about twenty thousand of them were brought into Gulbarga.

Sultān Muhammad Shāh immediately on arriving at Daulatābād, went to visit the Shaikh. His reverence interceded for the pardon of the offenders, and the Sultān agreed to pardon them, on condition of their immediately leaving his dominions. Bahiām Khān and Govind Rāy then went away to Gujārāt, hanging down their heads in shame.

After arranging the affairs of that sūba the Sultān returned to Gulbāiga. The amīns and the great men of the city went forward to welcome him, and made ¹ joy offering. He remained for a few days in a garden, which was near the gate of the city, and had the bed of pleasure and enjoyment spread there. From that delightful place, he came into the city, and made the Saiviyads and learned men and the Shaikhs of the city happy by allowing them to partake of his extensive benefactions and of the board of his enjoyment. He also made enquiries and investigations into the condition of the raiyyats and all helpless people. He redressed with kindness and justice any wrongs that might have been caused to anybody.

² Suddenly the hand of ³ death tore asunder the garment of life on his body, and drew off the robe of life from his soft bosom.

Verses

The world hath to ashes burned many such heaps of grain
Thou shouldst not try to teach tricks to such a magician
old

¹ One MS. inserts here لَهُ ، i.e., praises or applause, the sentence would then be "Greeted him with applause and made joy offerings."

² According to Firishtah Sultān Muhammad appears to have lived for several years after his return from Daulatābād, for it is said that every year he went on hunting expeditions to one of the four sides of his dominions and spent three or four months in these excursions. Firishtah gives the 9th Zī-qā'ada ۱۷۷۶ هـ which would be 776, but the year is given in figures as 775 and the period of his reign is said to have been 17 years and nine months and five days. Col. Biggs says he died on the 19th Zekada 776 A.H., 21st March, 1375. Mr. Sewell quotes the date given by Firishtah, but he makes the English date the 21st April, 1375. He also says that according to the Burhān-i-Ma'ásir the Sultān died in 775. According to the list in the note on page 40 of Grant Duff's History of the Mahrattas he succeeded his father in 1357 and died in 1374 and therefore reigned for 17 years. According to the Cambridge History of India, Muhammad Shāh ascended the throne on the 21st March, 1365, and died in the spring or early summer of 1377.

³ One MS. substitutes لَهُ for لَهُ.

Be not secure that this turbulent stream
Hath forgotten its habit of devouring men

The period of his reign was eighteen years and seven months

AN ACCOUNT OF THE REIGN OF MUJAHID SHAH

He was the son of Muhammad Shah After the latter's death he ¹succeeded him He continued to maintain the praiseworthy qualities and the good attributes of the former Sultans He made the supporting and cherishing of his *raiyats* and the giving of justice his special habits and fully maintained generosity and liberality and manliness In the first spring of his reign he marched towards Bijanagar When he crossed the river Krishna some of

¹ It appears from Firishtah that he was nineteen years of age when he ascended the throne

According to Firishtah Mujahid Shah wrote to the Ray of Bijanagar that the territory and the forts between the rivers Krishna and the Tungabhadra were held jointly by them and there were therefore many disputes between them It would therefore be better if the Ray would cede that territory to him The Ray did not agree and said that the whole of the tract had from ancient times belonged to Bijanagar and should be left in his possession Mujahid Shah then collected his army and crossing the Tungabhadra laid siege to Udnî (Adoni) He left Safdar Khan's *stant* to carry on the siege and marched quickly towards *pargana* Kankawat where he was informed that Khan Ray (according to Mr Sewell his real name was Bukka I) was encamped

The people informed the Sultan of a ferocious and man eating tiger that infested the jungle there and he with only seven companions entered the forest on foot and when the tiger made its appearance he told his companions to do nothing and with his first arrow he shot the animal dead This so frightened Khan Ray that although he had a large army he fled into the trackless forests (Mr Sewell says the forests in the valley of Sandur) and the Sultan pursued him for six or seven months Then Khan Ray and his sons fell ill He said he had been wandering about in the forest because he had thought that the Sultan would fall ill but instead of that he himself had fallen ill He then went to Bijanagar and fortifies himself The Sultan left his commanders to carry on the siege of Bijanagar and himself went on to Setban (Setubandha) Ramesar (the site of the bridge built by Rama) and there he repaired a mosque which Sultan Alauddin Khalji had built and demolished the idol temples As regards this see Sewell pp 41 42 and also notes in Briggs History II pp 33-333

On returning to Bijanagar he seized the city and demolished the great golden temple ornamented with gems Then a great battle took place and

the inhabitants of the country represented to him, that there was a tiger in the neighbouring forest, which was destroying the cattle. Mujāhid Shāh went to hunt the animal, and with the strength of his arm killed it. After that, he ravaged a portion of the country of Bijānagar and obtained much booty. Kishan Rāy who was the

Kishan Rāy was nearly defeated. He had been supported with a force of eighteen thousand horsemen and 12,000 of foot soldiers. There were the numbers in the battle of Tāmīdhū, but Col. Briggs has taken them and reduced a force of cavalry and a body of infantry. The battle was now lost to the Sultan who was unable completely to conquer the kingdom. He therefore returned to his capital city to Īdnī (Adoni).

When the Sultan was attacking Bijānagar he made Dāūd Khān hold back with six thousand horse and some infantry to be up opposite to the fort of Sodha, or the mouth of the defile of Sodha. It appears from S. 111 that this was the way of approach to the city along a narrow and difficult road, which approached along the valley of the Sāndhī or along the valley which now carries the main road from Bellary to Vījavīngar, both on the Sāndhī hill, and the hills that surround the latter city. Col. Briggs calls the place Dhana Sodha. I now quote from Col. Briggs. On hearing that the engagement began at dawn, and the enemy were not yet defeated, perceiving also that reinforcements were joining them at every instant he (Dāūd Khān) became alarmed for the safety of the king, and quitting his station joined in the battle, in which he behaved with surprising gallantry. He had three horses killed under him, and was frequently obliged to fight on foot. The king on seeing the standard of Dāūd Khān was far from pleased, but stilled his resentment till victory declared for the faithful. He then called Dāūd Khān before him, and gave him a harsh reprimand for quitting his station.

On arriving at Īdnī (Adoni) he found that his officers were still besieging it. He also was unable to capture it. So a sort of truce was concluded and the Sultān continued his journey. At Mudkal he left the army behind, and with four hundred companions went to Raichūn (Ruehoro). There he occupied himself with hunting. He sent back Saifdar Khān Sistānī and A'zam Hunayūn Sistānī to their respective governments of Berar and Daulatshāhī. Dāūd Khān, who was grieved owing to the Sultān's having abused him (this is also mentioned in the *Tabaqāt*), conspired with Nasrād 'Alī Khān Muhammud and Masa'ūd Khān, who had grievances of their own, and Dāūd Khān entered the pavilion in which the Sultān was asleep at night, after he had crossed the river Krishnā, and had been engaged in fishing in the river during the day, and with the help of Masa'ūd Khān slew him. This happened on the 17th Zī hijja, 773, April 4th, 1378. Mr. Sewell makes the date April 16th. The period of Sultān Mujāhid's reign did not extend to three years.

leader of the rebels came out of the citadel and surrendered the fort and made submission the stronghold of his honour

¹ At the time of the return scouts brought the news that some turbulent men had taken shelter on the top of a high hill which was in that neighbourhood with much wealth and treasure in their possession. The Sultan marched in that direction and left Daud Khan who was the son of his uncle (*i.e.* cousin) on the road by which those men would be likely to try to escape and himself engaged in plunder and pillage. After the division of the booty he reprimanded Daud Khan by word of mouth as he found there had been negligence and carelessness on his part in guarding the road of escape of the turbulent men. Daud Khan nourished malice and hostility in his heart conspired with a number of his intimates and when they had all crossed the river Krishna he one night entered the private pavilion of the Sultan and slew him with his dagger. The period of Mujahid Shah's reign was one year and one month and nine days.

A NARRATIVE OF THE REIGN OF DAUD SHAH ²SON OF THE UNCLE OF MUJAHID SHAH

After the assassination of Mujahid Shah ³Daud Khan who was the son of his uncle took his place on the throne of sovereignty and

¹ The real cause of the enmity of Daud Khan and the manner of the assassination and the length of Mujahid Shah's reign are given differently by Firishtah. See the latter part of the last note. According to the list of the Bahmani Sultans given in a note in page 40 of Grant Duff's History of the Mahrattas Mujahid Shah succeeded his father in 1374 and was assassinated by his uncle in 1377 so that he reigned for three years and the period mentioned by Nizam ud din although it is so definite is not correct. According to the Cambridge History of India Vol III also Mujahid Shah reigned from 1376 to 1379 A.D. or for about three years. Daud Khan was a son of Sultan Ala ud din Hasan and so he was an uncle of Sultan Mujahid Shah and not a cousin.

See note 1 He was an uncle and not a cousin of Mujahid Shah

³ See the preceding note

⁴ There are slight differences in the readings. The new Sultan is called simply Daud in one MS and in the 1st ed. In the other MS he is called Daud Khan. I have added Khan to his name. Then one MS says he took his seat on the *وَلِيَّةِ مُحَمَّدٍ*, — *بْنِ أَكْرَمٍ*. The other MS has *وَلِيَّةِ* *أَكْرَمٍ*

the seat of greatness. Most of the *amīrs* and the great men of the country agreed with him. The sister of Mujāhid Shāh bound the girdle of hostility and the belt of enmity, in retaliation of the murder of her brother, and tempted some of the *amīrs* by gifts of money. On a Friday, in the Jāma' Masjid they wounded Dāūd Shāh. He was carried to the palace, while there was still a little breath left in him. Then the brave men of the two parties and the warriors of the opposite sides came out armed and equipped for strife and battle, and in the end the enemy (the party who had assassinated Dāūd Shāh²) were defeated, and the city was devastated. When the news of this reached Dāūd Shāh, he gave the word of acceptance to the summoner of God. The period of his reign was one month and ¹ three days.

² AN ACCOUNT OF THE REIGN OF SULTĀN MUHAMMAD SHĀH,
SON OF MAHMŪD, SON OF BAHMĀN SHĀH

The rule of the country of the Dakin was in the grasp of his power for a period of nineteen years. Nothing that may be worthy

ارایکہ ایالت و اورنگزیب ایالت while the lith ed has ایالت only I have adopted the second reading

¹ The account of the reign of Dāūd Shāh, as given by Firishtah, does not differ much from that given in the text. Firishtah, however, says, that the *amīrs* did not at first all unite in acknowledging him. There were two parties, one on the side of Dāūd Shāh, while the other was in favour of Sultān Mahmūd Shāh the youngest son of Sultān 'Ala ud-dīn Hasan, but Mahk Nāib Saif ud dīn Ghūrī had the public prayers read in the name of Dāūd Shāh, in spite of the opposition of the sister of Mujāhid Shāh, who bore the name of Rūh Parwar Āghā. She persuaded a young man of the name of Bāka, who had been high in the favour of Mujāhid Shāh, on account of his sincerity and bravery, to avenge his patron's murder and he agreed to devote his life in the attempt. On Friday, the 21st of Muharram, 780 A.H., May 19th, 1378 A.D., he slew Dāūd Shāh in the Jāma' mosque, and was himself cut down by Masnad 'Ah Muhammad Khān. According to Firishtah, Dāūd Shāh reigned for one month and nine days. According to the list in the note on page 40 of Grant Duff's History of the Mahrattas, he reigned for about one month. It is said there also that he was assassinated at the instigation of Roopurwur Agah.

² The history of the reign of Muhammad Shāh, which extended to nineteen years, is given by Nizām-ud-dīn in a few lines. Apparently he knew very little

of mention has come under my notice among the particulars connected with him. Towards the end of his life ¹ the thanadar of about the history of the reign. Even the name is incorrect the correct name according to Firishtah being Sultan Mahmud Shah but see note 2 in page 47 of Sewell's A Forgotten Empire—Vijayanagar from which it would appear that the name on all the coins of this Sultan is Muhammad (Dr Codrington Numismatic Chronicle 3rd series Vol XVIII page 261) and not Mahmūd and this is confirmed by the Burhan-i-Masa'ir and two other authorities (Major King in Indian Antiquary July 1890 page 183 note 39) so that after all Nizām ud dīn is right and Firishtah wrong. But the Sultan's relationship with the previous Sultan was probably not known to Nizam ud dīn. According to Firishtah he was the youngest son of Sultan Ala ud dīn Hassan the founder of the dynasty and Mr Sewell also says that he was Ala ud dīn's youngest son. But according to one MS of the Tabaqat he was the son of Mahmūd son of Bahman Shah and according to the other he was the son of Mahmūd son of Shah Bahman and according to the 4th ed he was the son of Mahmūd son of Husain Shah. The name of Bahman Shah (incorrectly Shah Bahman) supports the statement made by the Cambridge History of India that the founder of the dynasty styled himself Bahman Shah. The Husain Shah of the 4th ed is of course a mistake for Hasan Shah. As I am not translating Firishtah's history it is not necessary for me to go through the whole of the history of the reign as written by him which extends over nearly three quarto pages of closely printed lithograph. I can only refer to such portions of it as will explain the one fact which is mentioned in a very doubtful form at the end of Nizam ud dīn's account.

¹ I have taken this from Firishtah. The readings in the MSS and in the 4th ed are doubtful. One MS has بادار ملک سکر اور ناعی درد سے the other has the same reading but omits the word درد which is clearly superfluous and incorrect. The 4th ed has بادار ملک اور ناعی What really happened according to Firishtah was that Bahā ud dīn son of Ramzan Daulatabādi became a favourite of the Sultan and was made the Thānadar and governor of the fort of Saghir. He had two sons Muhammad and Khwaja who acquired much power and became the object of much envy and malice. People complained of them to the Sultan and although he did not believe the accusers Muhammad and Khwaja thinking that they were suspected revolted and forced their father to join them. They defeated two armies sent against them. A third army was sent under Yusuf Azhdar and in the course of its operations an arm of Muhammad was cut off by Sayyad Muhammad Kalapahār an officer of the Sultan's army in a single combat. Khwaja also came out of the fort and the two brothers remained outside. Then the men in the fort sent a message to Yusuf Azhdar to the effect that they would cut off the head of Bahā ud dīn and open one of the gates of the fort and he should

the fort of Sāghir rebelled against him the Sultān marched against him, and defeated him In the course of the same journey he took the way to the other world He reigned for a period of nineteen years and nine months and twenty-four days

¹AN ACCOUNT OF THE REIGN OF SULTĀN GHİYĀS-UD-DİN

Ghiyās-ud-din sat on the *masnad* of sovereignty in the place of his father, on the 7th Rajab and all the *amīns* and the attendants

send a body of chosen men to the gate, when he would be able to capture the fort In accordance with this plan the fort was seized The reference to Sāghir or Sāgar as it is called in the Cambridge History of India is brief and, I venture to think slightly confused It is said there that Muhammad II imprisoned Khān Muhammad, who had been a general in the service of Muhammad I, but who had afterwards been Dāūd's principal supporter, in the fortress of Sāgar, where he shortly afterwards died, and punished his accomplices

The account of Bahā ud-din's rebellion in Sāghir as given in the *Tabaqāt* agrees practically with that given by Firishtah A short time after this the Sultān died of fever on the 21st Rajab, 799, April 20th, 1396, and his reign extended according to Firishtah to nineteen years, nine months and twenty days According to the Cambridge History of India, Muhammad II was a man of peace and a lover of poetry and literature At the instance of the Sadar-i-Jahān Mir 'Ināyatullah of Shīrāz he invited the great poet Hafiz to come to his Court Hafiz started but he was so alarmed by a storm in the Persian Gulf that he went back to Shīrāz The Cambridge History of India also says that there was a great famine in the Deccan between 1387 and 1395, and describes the relief measures as displaying a policy of combination

¹ There is not much difference in the readings in the MSS and in the lith ed There is also not much difference between the accounts given by Nizām ud dīn and Firishtah Of course, the latter gives more particulars and details The name of the Turki slave, who engineered the transfer of the sovereignty, appears according to Firishtah to have been Tagħalchīn Col Briggs calls him Lallchin, Mr Sewell does not give his name, but describes him as an ambitious slave He was dissatisfied, because other nobles had received high dignities and he had been left out in the cold He had a very beautiful daughter, who was highly skilled in Indian music, and the Sultān was greatly enamoured of her The latter accepted Tagħalchīn's invitation with alacrity, because he expected that his host would offer his daughter as *Peshkash* or tribute, and in the same hope, he ordered all his attendants to leave the place, at the instance of his host The latter went into the *zenana* as if to bring his daughter, and after a little while, came back with a naked dagger in his

of the Sultan and the commanders of the army placed their heads of fealty on the ground of service. It happened however that a slave of his father of the name of Taghalji who had been honoured by increase of dignity and proximity in rank wanted that the sovereignty should be transferred to another brother (of the Sultan). In order to carry out this resolution he arranged a great feast in the course of which he imprisoned the Sultan and on the 17th of Ramaz in 799 A.H. he drew a pencil over his world seeing eyes and raised Sultan Shams ud din on the throne. The period of Sultan Chiyas ud din's rule was one month and twenty days.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE REIGN OF SULTAN SHAMS UD DIN BROTHER OF SULTAN CHIYAS UD DIN

As ¹Sultan Shams ud din sat on the *mashad* of sovereignty by the exertions of Taghalji the *amirs* and the great men made their submission to him but the two Shahzadans Ibruz Khan and Ahmad

hand. The Sultan who was a lad of seventeen and was more or less intoxicated made a struggle for his life and tried to escape. Taghalchin caught him by the hair of his head and rooted out his eyes with the point of his dagger. He then sent for the nobles and the attendants of Sultan Chiyas ud din on the pretext that the latter was calling for them and as they appeared one by one murdered 21 of them and he then sent for the younger brother of Chiyas ud din who was called Shams ud din and who was a lad fifteen years of age and placed him on the throne. Sultan Chiyas ud din was kept in imprisonment for two months in the fort of Sagar. It does not appear what happened to him after that.

The account of Chiyas ud din's short and tragic reign as given in the Cambridge History of India does not differ materially from that given above. The man who blinded and imprisoned Chiyas ud din is described in it as Taghalchin the chief of the Turkish slaves and the cause of his anger is said to have been Chiyas ud din's refusal to appoint him Governor of Gulburga and lieutenant of the kingdom.

¹ According to Firishtah Sultan Shams ud din was only Sultan in name and all the power was in the hands of Taghalchin who had received the title of *Malik Naib* and the rank of *Amir Jumla* or the *amir* in charge of everything.

² These were sons of Sultan Daud Shah. The Cambridge History of India says they were sons of Ahmad Khan one of the younger sons of Bahman Shah. According to Firishtah they were only six or seven years of age when their father was killed but Sultan Mahmud had had them properly trained.

Khān then attempted to regain their hereditary dominion, and commenced to gain the *amīrs* over to their side Sultān Shams-ud-

and had given them his daughters in marriage, and up to the time that he had no sons, had said that he would make prince Firūz his heir. Afterwards Sultān Mahmūd directed them to be loyal and faithful to his son and heir, Sultān Ghiyās-ud-dīn, but when Taghalechīn blinded and imprisoned Ghiyās-ud-dīn, the wives of the two princes, who were the sisters of the blinded Sultān, incited them to avenge the outrage committed on the latter. On the other hand Taghalechīn incited Sultān Shams-ud-dīn and the queen mother to seize them. Then they fled to Sāghīr, and Sīdhū, the governor of the place, did everything in his power to help them. They were still faithful to Sultān Shams-ud-dīn, and wrote to him, telling him that they were not hostile to him, but they only wanted the punishment of Taghalechīn. The Sultān, however, incited by Taghalechīn and the queen mother wrote a reply, which could only inflame their enmity. They then raised three thousand horse and foot and advanced towards Gulbarga, with the hope that the troops there would come and join them, but when they came to the river Pithora (that appears to be the name in the lith ed of Firishtah, but Col Briggs calls it the river Beema) no one joined them. They held a consultation, and afterwards proclaimed Firūz Khān to be the Sultān, and again advanced towards Gulbarga. Then there was a battle with Sultān Shams-ud-dīn's troops in the neighbourhood of Marqul (Col Briggs calls it Merkole), and Firūz Khān and Ahmad Khān were defeated, and retired towards Sāghīr. The parties of Taghalechīn and the queen mother became stronger than ever, but the people of Gulbarga were dissatisfied with them, and sent word to Firūz Khān and Ahmad Khān that they should get an agreement from Sultān Shams-ud-dīn and come to Gulbarga, and when a suitable opportunity occurred should accomplish their object. At this time a '*Diwānah Kashmīrī*' (a Kashmīrī mad man) came from Gulbarga and called Firūz Shāh by the name of Rūz aszūn Shāh and said he would take him to Gulbarga and make him *bādshāh*. Taking this to be a happy omen the princes started for Gulbarga and arrived there. Both Firūz Khān and Taghalechīn were suspicious and afraid of danger, and took great care of themselves. Then on Thursday, the 23rd Safar 800 A.H., November 15th, 1397 A.D., Firūz Khān entered the *Darbār* attended by twelve *siladārs* (armed men), and then by a sudden *coup* he imprisoned Shams-ud-dīn and Taghalechīn and ascended the *masnad*, and took the title of Sultān Rūz aszūn. Sultān Ghiyās-ud-dīn was brought from the fort of Sāghīr, and in spite of his blindness, he slew Taghalechīn who was placed before him, with one blow of his sword. Sultān Shams-ud-dīn was blinded and he and his mother were allowed, at their own request, to go to Mecca. He is said to have lived there for many years, and during his life time Firūz Shāh made him a liberal allowance of five thousand golden *asharfs* and also

din attempted to seize them and they fled to the fort of Shakar (according to Firishtah Saghir) The *thanadar* there was a slave of the name of Sadhu He considered the advent of the Shahzadis to be a matter of advantage and gratitude and supplied all that they wanted Firuz Khan then collected troops and advanced for war Sultan Shams ud din gathered an army and came out of the city After the troops had been arranged in battle array Sultan Shams ud din fled and did not halt anywhere till he had gone to the city (Gulburga) Firuz Khan owing to the purity of his faith and the goodness of his nature took the path of peace and procrustination and came to the Sultan But it became patent after a few days that the Sultan breaking his agreement with him and his brother Ahmad Khan wanted to seize them Then Firuz Khan forestalled him and had three hundred well armed men concealed in his house under the charge of his brother Ahmad Khan He himself went to the palace and as he found that the royal seat was unoccupied he made bold and going up to it sat down on it As the people were on his side those who were present in the assembly placed their heads of fealty on the ground of service About the same time Ahmad Khan arrived there with the three hundred armed men Those who were on the side of the Sultan (i e Shams ud din) left the assembly and dispersed The Sultan concealed himself but after some days he was seized and according to another statement was slain The throne of the empire was adorned with the grandeur of the accession of Firuz Shah The period of the reign of Shams ud din was five months and nine days

AN ACCOUNT OF THE REIGN OF SULTAN FIRUZ SHAH

Sultan Firuz Shah was a *badshah* of great splendour and magnificence and vigour and learning and wisdom He sat on the throne of grandeur on¹ Thursday the 24th Safar 800 A H In the splendid sent him annually rich clothes This differs greatly from Nizam ud din's statement that he was imprisoned and according to another statement put to death

¹ According to Firishtah (see last note) the "3rd Safar was Thursday so the 4th was Friday

² Nizam ud din is rather vague and indefinite in his laudation of the virtues of Firuz Shah Firishtah is more precise He gives him credit for

period of the days of his rule, the laws of generosity and the customs of truth and honesty and the foundation of justice and equity became stronger And all sections of the people had peace and comfort under the wings of his justice and beneficence

Couplet

His justice, by the sword, did clean the page
Of the time, from the signs of falsehood and pain

In difficult affairs and troublesome matters his mind sought the help of those who sat in privacy in corners, praying in humility and tribulation He himself also in his prostrations and risings prayed for assistance in his victories from the great Holy God Therefore of a necessity in whichever direction he turned the bridle of his attention, the breeze of victory and triumph blew on the plumes of his standards

As all matters connected with his government were properly regulated after his accession, he made the ¹ conquest of Bijānagar the

bravery and activity, and says he was engaged in twenty-four campaigns, for extending his kingdom, and for his generosity , but he says he was addicted to the drinking of wine, to the listening of music and to women He made excuses, and said that music elevated his soul to the contemplation of God , and wine did not create a disturbance in his mind As to women, he took the opinions of learned men , and as Mir Fazl-ul-lah Ānjū told him that in the time of the Prophet, *Mutā* (temporary) marriages were allowed, but the Sunnis did not allow them, while the *Imāmīas* or *Shī'as* did, Firūz Shāh following the *Shī'as* received “three hundred females” according to Col Briggs “in one day”, but the lith ed of Firishtah says that eight hundred women were introduced into the *harem* in the course of one month Firishtah also says that Firūz Shāh married a princess of the Bijānagar family , and that this was the first time such a marriage took place The Cambridge History of India says “Firūz at the time of his accession was an amiable, generous, accomplished and tolerant prince, possessed of a vigorous constitution and understanding, both of which he undermined by indulgence in the pleasures of the harem ”

¹ Firishtah does not mention the rebellion, or of the rebels fortifying themselves in the fort of Shakar or *Sāghir*, as Firishtah calls it, as we have already seen , but he says that when Sultān Firūz, on hearing that Deo Rāy of Bijānagar had invaded his kingdom, marched from Gulbarga to *Sāghir*, he seized one of the *zamīndārs* of *Sāghir*, who was a bold and reckless *kāfir*, and had a force of seven thousand or eight thousand Hindūs (Kolis), and had him put to death The Cambridge History of India calls it a rebellion of the

object of his (martial) spirit As some refractory people had taken up a position in the fort of Shalgar he turned in the first instance to punish them Immediately on hearing the news of his advance the

hills headed by a Hindu chieftain on the north bank of the Krishna Firishtah also says that when Sultan Firuz was still at Sagir news was brought that Narsinghi Bāī the ruler of the fort of Kehrlā (Wali Qila i Kehrlā the Hindu kingdom of Kerala) or more properly perhaps the Rāja of Kehrlā as Col Briggs decribes him had invaded the country of Berar and plundered and devastated as far as the fort of Māhur and had caused much insult and loss to many Musalmans and that he had done this at the instigation and with the aid of the rulers of Mandū and Bur (i.e. the Muhammadan kings of Mālwa and Kāñdesha) and also at the instigation and motion of the Rāj of Bijānagar The Sultan had therefore to send back the armies of Berar and Daulatābād to redress the o matters and he himself started for the Krishna with twelve thousand horsemen This invasion by the Rāja of Kehrlā has not been mentioned by Nizām ud din but the Cambridge History of India agrees with Firishtah It calls the Rāja of Kehrlā Narsinghi the good Rāja of Kehrlā

Firishtah does not say that Firuz Shah wanted to conquer Bijānagar On the other hand he has a great deal to say about the Sultan's Jarīm which contained nine ladies from Arabia nine from Ajam besides ladies from Turkey Firang (Europe) Kāshīta (China) and Afghānistān and Rajput na and Bengal and Gujurāt and Tilang and Kanara and Mahratta These ladies had attendants from their own countries so that they might conform to their own customs and speak their own languages and the Sultan conversed with every one of them in her own language

Firishtah also says that according to various historians he carried on Ghārā (religious war) with the Lāris twenty four times that Mulla Dāud Bidārī and the author of the *Sirāj ut tanzīkh* have described some of them in detail but he does not himself mention particulars of any of them Then he goes on to say that in the year 801 A.H. Deo Rāj of Bijānagar invaded the Doab of the Tungābhadra and the Kri hna with a large army for the conquest of the forts of Mudkāl and Baichoro and some of the *parganas* in their neighbourhood

Mr Sewell see page 40 of his *A Forgotten Empire* says that there was peace between Bijānagar and the Bahmani Kingdom during the reign of Hāriharā II of Bijānagar and then he quotes the passage from Firishtah about the invasion of the Doab in 801 A.H. He places the movement of the Hindu army at the beginning of the cold season of 1398 A.D. probably not later than December of that year The Hijrī year 801 extending from 13th September 1398 to the 3rd September 1399 Mr Sewell thinks that Hāriharā II was too old to lead the invasion himself and that it was probably a bold dash made by his son Būkka II who afterwards succeeded him towards the end of 1399 with his permission

rebels fled and concealed themselves in nooks and corners. The Sultān leaving the *dāraqha* (apparently the officer-in-charge of the government), proceeded by successive marches, and encamped on the bank of the river Krishnā. But as it was impossible to cross the river at that time, there was necessarily a delay there. The Rāy of Bijānagar came with a great army, and took up a position on the other side of the river. The Sultān was very anxious and distressed, on account of these obstacles and delays, and had frequent consultations with the loyal *amīrs*. Then one day¹ Qāzī Sirāj, who was one of his special advisers and friends, and had very great reputation for bravery and cleverness informed him that the solution of this problem could only be effected by having recourse to trickery and deceit, and this slave (*i.e.*, he himself), with some of his companions, on whom he had complete faith and reliance, would in any way that may be possible, cross the river and reach the Bijānagar army. Let a noble order be issued that the men should arm themselves and be ready. The easiest way would be that² *pushtwāras* should be made of wood and grass, and placing the necessary furniture and things on them, he and his companions would cross the river, and as soon as there would be a great noise and uproar in the army of

It would appear, therefore, that instead of what Nizām-ud-dīn says about Firūz Shāh's martial spirit inciting him to invade Bijānagar, he was only compelled to march towards Bijānagar to repel the invasion of Bukka II.

¹ The Cambridge History of India calls him Qāzī Sirāj-ud-dīn and describes him as an inferior officer of the Court.

² The word is حوارہ in the MSS and حواری in the lith ed. They were I suppose some kind of rafts or basket boats. In the corresponding passage of Firishtah, it is said that "two hundred *sabads* (baskets), which in the idiom of the people of the Deccan were called *Naukras* covered with cow hides were made ready". In Scott's Firishtah, page 76, they are called hurdles covered with leather, but Col Briggs calls them baskets, and he says in a note (Vol II, page 371) that "the same sort of basket boats, used in the Tigris, in the time of Herodotus, are still employed there, and are almost the only description of passage boats known in the Indian Peninsula, at this day, to the natives of the country. A detachment of the British army crossed its heavy guns, without even dismounting them over the Toongbudra in 1812 in these basket-boats".

the enemy order should be given that the soldiers should without any hesitation cross the river. There was hope that the beautiful form of victory and triumph should appear in the mirror of their purpose and aim.

The Sultan having received this counsel Qazi Siraj with seven other men crossed the river and mingled with the army of the Ray of Bijanagar.³ They took up their quarters in the house (or quarters) of the musicians. As the Qazi had great skill in the art of music and showed some of the finer and subtler points of the art to the musicians after a few days when the Ray of Bijanagar held a great festival and summoned all the musicians the Qazi and his companions also went to the *majlis* with the other musicians. After the Ray of Bijanagar and the other Rays had become intoxicated the Qazi showed some feats the like of which the Ray had never seen in his life and everyone acknowledged the superiority and mastery of the Qazi in the art. The latter having waited for a suitable opportunity plunged his poisoned dagger into the malevolent breast of the Ray and tore it open, and his companions also drawing their daggers cut off the heads of the other Rays. When the shouts

¹ It would appear from the *Qazi's* plan and the success which attended it that it was not so much the tumultuous waters of the Kri hna that the Sultan's army was afraid to cross as it was the fact of having to cross the river in the face of a strong and vigilant hostile army for as soon as the *Qazi* by assassinating the Ray and his commander threw that army into disorder the Sultan's army had no difficulty in crossing the river.

The words in one MS and in the lith ed are سرچوں اور جو in the other MS they are سرچوں، سرچوں اور جو

³ The account of what the *Qazi* and his companions did is given in much greater detail by Firishtah and there are also many differences in matters of detail which it is not necessary to mention here except that according to Firishtah the *Qazi* and one of his companions entered the *majlis* having assumed the female garb ogling and smiling and dancing and playing on the *mandals* and making no doubt very grotesque figures of themselves. One matter of detail is however of very considerable importance namely that it was the Ray's son and not the Ray himself that was holding the *majlis* and that it was the Ray's son that was assassinated. This is confirmed by Mr Sewell also who says that after his son had been murdered Bulha reached Vijayanagar in safety and took refuge behind its fortifications.

and up roar of the Hindūs reached the Sultān,¹ he in his own person crossed the river. He made that crowd, without a head, food for the sword, and those who escaped the sword were carried off as slaves. So much booty fell into his hands, that the accountant of time found it difficult to make a note of it all. The Sultān made Fulād Khān governor of that sūba and returned to his capital. There he arranged a great festival and made all the well-known amīrs happy by his favours and great rewards. The ² grand assemblage and the festivities for the conquest of Bijānagar had not yet been concluded, that a messenger came from Badhñil, and submitted the report, that Deo Rāy had on account of his great pride and hauteur sent an army of three hundred thousand infantry to that neighbourhood for the following reasons, viz. that he had

¹ There are also greater details in Firishitali, of what happened after the assassination of the Rāy's son. First a body of four thousand men crossed the river, and then the Sultān also crossed it, before the morning. The Rāy made no efforts for resistance, but fled taking the dead body of his son with him. The Sultān's army pursued the Hindūs to the vicinity of Bijānagar, taking much booty and many prisoners, and defeating the Hindūs in several actions. The Sultān also sent the Khān Khānān and Mir Fazl ul-lah Ānjū Shīrāzī to ravage the Rāy's territory south of Bijānagar which was very fruitful and populous. As many Brahmins had been taken prisoners, their relations and the other raiyyats prayed that emissaries should be sent to the Sultan to try to effect their release. Mir Fazl-ul-lah carried out the negotiations, and the prisoners were released on the payment of eleven lakh of hūns (a hūn according to Col. Briggs, amounts, on an average, to three and a half to four rupees, or about eight shillings), ten lakhs going to the Sultān's treasury, and one lakh to Mir Fazl-ul-lah as his remuneration. After this the Sultān released the prisoners, and returned towards his capital, leaving Fulad Khān to assume charge of the Doāb.

² Contrary to this, it appears from Firishitali, that several things happened between Firūz Shāh's first and second campaigns against Bijānagar. The first campaign took place in 801 A.H. In 802 A.H., the Sultān invaded the territory of Narsingh Rāy of Kehrlā, and reduced him to subjection. In 804 A.H., Firūz Shāh sent an embassy to Taimūr, who it appears was then contemplating the conquest of Hindūstan, and offering his submission and proposing to render help and send reinforcements, in the event of his sending an army to conquer Hindūstan. The embassy was graciously received by Taimūr. After this the rulers of Gujrāt, Mālwa and Khāndesh sent embassies to Firūz Shāh asking for his friendship, but at the same time, they sent messages to the Rāy of Bijānagar offering to help him, if necessary, in his wars against Firūz Shāh.

received information that there was a maiden in those parts who had the shape and form of a *pari* and the face like the full moon and who had no rival under the blue dome of the sky and his men had after much search and investigation had to return disappointed.

A to the beautiful maiden *Eri hithi* on the authority of Mullah Daud Bidar says that he was the slave-bearer of a king with whom he served in A.D. 1661 in the neighbourhood of the town of Mudkal. Mr. Sewell apparently on the authority of Firishah makes her the daughter of a farmer living in the town of Mudkal sent both the king and Col. Briggs a that she was the daughter of a goldsmith living in a village near Mudkal. According to the king's edict of Eri hithi her name was *Mirra Iurthi* and Mr. Sewell calls her Parthi but Col. Briggs gave her the name of Nehli. Her parents following the customs of the country wanted to betroth her in her girlhood to a youth of her own caste but she prayed that the commoners might be allowed with such earnestness that they conceded. Then a Brahman who was returning from Benares saw her and was struck with her beauty. He taught her music and dancing and then went to Bijapur and went to the Rāy. According to Mr. Sewell the reigning Rāy was a Bukka II's successor and brother Dova Rāy I who began to reign in November 140 A.D. On hearing the Brahman's account of the girl's beauty and accomplishments the Rāy sent him back with rich gifts to bring the girl and her parents to Bijapur. The parents were overjoyed but when they attempted to throw a beautiful jewelled necklace which the Brahman had brought around her neck and the wearing of which would be the mark of her betrothal she with tears besought them to desist and told them that if she became a *Rani* of Bijapur she would never again be allowed to see them or any of her other relations. Her parents acceded to her tears' request and the Brahman had to go back disappointed to Bijapur. The maiden afterwards told her parents that she had long had an inward conviction that she was destined to be the wife of a prince of the faith of Islam and asked them to fulfil the will of Providence. Nizam ud din does not say so but it may be mentioned here in passing that she afterwards became the wife of Hasan Khan the son of Sultan Fiaz who did not however succeed him.

On hearing the Brahman's account of the failure of his mission the Rāy was much annoyed. He at once marched out with an army and on reaching the bank of the Tungabhadra sent five thousand selected horsemen across the river to march to Mudkal and to bring the maiden and the whole of her family with them but without doing them any injury. As the Rāy had not sent the Brahman back to apprise the family of the maiden of his intention they like all the other villagers fled to instant places and the troops had to return unsuccessful. They however devastated the country and when Fīlād Khan after collecting his army opposed them they outnumbered his men and he had to fall back.

and disengaged When this news had reached Fūlād Khān, he had at the time of the return of the Bijānagar army obstructed their passage, and had sent many of them to their real place (*i.e.*, hell)

After receiving the information of these occurrences, the Sultān sent a special robe of honour and Arab horses to Fūlād Khān, and himself turned his attention to the punishment of Deo Rāy He marched by successive stages with a large army, and passed into the kingdom of Bijānagar He stretched his hands to ravage and devastate the country, and so much plunder came into his hands that it was beyond the bounds of estimation After plundering the country, he advanced to the fort (of Bijānagar), the approaches to which were extremely narrow Although the *amīrs* and the loyal servants of the Sultān pointed out, that it was not advisable for him to enter them, he did not listen to them but relying on his high destiny and the assistance of heaven he penetrated into them and when he arrived close to the fort, he arranged his troops, and placed himself in the centre of the line Deo Rāy also came out of the fort with nine lakhs of infantry, and arranged them in front of the Sultān's army As the numbers of the enemy exceeded the estimate Sultān Firūz commenced the engagement in his own person, and made blood to flow in streams, from the enemy's army He galloped about in the battle field, and challenged warriors of the hostile army to single combat Suddenly an arrow from the bow of fate struck his hand, but ¹tying up the wound, he stood firm on the field of bravery and the plain of heroism The Khān Khānān, Shāhzāda Ahmad Khān, who was the commander of the vanguard, also performed feats of valour

When the world-illuminating sun bound the black veil over his bright forehead, the drum of return was beaten, and the army took up its former position The next day ²Sultān Firūz Shāh

¹ The words in the MSS, as well as in the lith ed are سندھ کو رو^۱ I cannot make out the meaning of رو^۲ کا According to Firishtah the Sultān did not show any distress, but drew out the arrow with his own hand, and, without dismounting, tied up his arm

² Firishtah says that the Sultān's plans were more extensive and far reaching He sent the Khān Khānān with ten thousand horse to lay waste the country to the south of Bijānagar, and sent Mīr Fazl-ul-lah Ānjū Shirāzī to take

devastated and ravaged the country surrounding the fort and for some days was engaged in measure of pillage and destruction and the whole country was laid waste. Then Dār Rāy with (great) humility sent an ambassador and prayed for the pardon of his offences and making promises of loyalty sent much tribute consisting of elephant of the size of mountains and various kinds of fabrics and stuff. The Sultan on account of his innate leniency accepted his excuse and turned his back for his return.

As Fīrūz Shāh's heart was always engrossed with the conquest of new dominion he marched with a well equipped army for the conquest of the Marathā country at a moment which the astrologers declared to be auspicious. When he arrived in the neighbourhood of Malur the thanadar there offered many fine and beautiful presents

the fort of Bankājī¹ one of the most celebrated fortresses of the Karnatic. The Khān Khānā returned with sixty thousand men and much plunder and Bankājī was captured. It was then decided that the Khān Khān should be in charge of the operations against Dār Rāy and the Sultan and Mir Fazl ul-lah should march against Adoni. Dār Rāy then sent some of his chief to sue for peace. The Sultan at first refused to listen to his prayers but at last agreed to the following conditions viz. that the Rāy should give one of his daughters in marriage to the Sultan besides much money and pearls and elephants and thousands of slaves. The marriage was celebrated with great pomp and splendour but in the end the Sultan was offended because the Rāy did not accompany him all the way to his camp when he returned to it at the end of the marriage festivities. So in spite of the alliance there was still animosity between them. The Sultan then returned to his capital.

1 Fīrūz Shāh placed this campaign in 809 A.H. 1397 A.D. long before the war at Anjanīkhānagar which took place in 809 A.H. This campaign according to Fīrūz Shāh was also of longer duration. Narsungi Rāy the Rāja of Kehrlā (Nizam ud-din calls him Harsin h Rāy) met the Sultan's army at a distance of two miles or stages from his capital (C. 1 Brdg 813½ two eoss from Kehrlā) and there was a severe conflict and the Sultan's army was at first beaten and it was reported that the Khān Khān had been slain. Mir Fazl ul-lah however fought bravely and he was joined by the Khān Khān the Hindus were defeated and Nasar Rāy (called Gopū Rāy by Col. Briggs) the son of Narsungi Rāy was taken prisoner. Kehrlā was then besieged and after two months the garrison being reduced to great distress Narsungi sued for peace which was soon concluded. Narsungi Rāy giving one of his daughters in marriage to the Sultan and also valuable presents including 10 elephants and a large sum of money.

He then traversed many stages, and arriving at Kehilā (the ancient Kerala), laid siege to that fortress and devastated the country all round it Harsingh Rāy the Rāy of Kehilā, having with great humility made his submission petitioned for the pardon of his oftenees, and bringing some valuable presents, gems and gold and twenty ¹ chains of elephants came to render homage, and presented the keys of the forts The Sultān gave him a seat in front of the throne, and having given him Arab horses and a gold embroidered robe and a jewelled belt gave him permission to go back (to his capital)

Returning from there, after a few days, he sent bodies of men to different parts of his dominions to collect the revenue, and the men who were sent, brought after a time immense quantities of treasure and elephants and gold and gems

² At this time also, the engineer of his thoughts planned a city on the bank of the river, into all the houses in which there should be running water After it had been finished, he gave it the name of Firūzābād He built a noble mansion, the turrets of which raised their heads and claimed rivalry in altitude with the stairs, for his own palace

¹ The word is سلسلہ, *Silsila* a chain I have never seen it used before, with reference to elephants The expression for an elephant is *el zinjir fil Silsila* probably is synonymous with *zinjir* A *halqa* of elephants is the collective name for one hundred elephants

² Firishtah mentions the building of Firūzābād, but the date of the building of the city cannot be ascertained From what is said in the lith ed of Firishtah, it would appear that Firūz Shāh's love for fair women had something to do with the building of the city It is said there سلطان فیروز شاہ چون بربان دری طاؤس ریب دست نہام دامت سهری در کنار بہر پورہ موسوم رعنور اباد بنا کرداشد Col Briggs, however, does not say anything of the kind He simply says, "Firūz Shāh built a town on the bank of the river Beema" Neither Firishtah nor Col Briggs says anything about the flowing water being brought into all the houses, but they say that a canal was brought from the river into the fort, and along this, kiosks were built for the ladies It may be mentioned here, that the palace at Firūzābād was, later on, allotted by Ahmad Shāh, the next Sultān, to Hasan Khān, the indolent and lotus eating son of Firūz Shāh

¹ And about this time news came that Amir Sayyad Muhammad Cisū darīz who was one of the holy men of the age and among the disciples of Shaikh Nasir ud din Muhammad Dindī was coming from the direction of Delhi His Majesty the Sultan was highly pleased and happy on account of the grandeur of the noble advent of that great Sayyad and went forward to welcome him After having the pleasure of meeting him the Sultan suggested that as that country had now become illuminated by the reflection of the sun of his grandeur he hoped that the shadow of the safety conferred by his presence should continue to be spread over the people of the country His holiness the Sayyad acceded to the prayer and took up his residence in the city of Gulbarga

¹ Firishtah places the arrival in 810 A H 1410 A D

He is called Amir Sayyad Muhammad Gisu Darīz in one MS and in the fifth ed In the other MS and in Firishtah he is called Mir Sayyad Muhammad Gisu Darīz There is considerable difference between the statements of Nizām ud dīn and Firishtah as to the treatment accorded to the holy man According to the former Fīrūz Shāh showed great respect and reverence to him but he was annoyed with him when he refused to bless his son Ḥasan Khān and said that Ahmad Khān his brother and not Hasan Khān would succeed him On the other hand Firishtah says that Fīrūz Shāh at first received him with great respect but when he found him deficient in علوم طبيعیہ i e natural sciences specially those founded on the reasoning faculty he did not pay him so much attention as before but the king's brother Ahmad Khān had very great belief in him and continued to attend on him Nizām ud dīn says that Firuz Shāh took his son Hasan Khān to the holy man and telling him that he had made him his heir asked for his benediction when the Sayyad told him that his son was not fashioned for the robe of a Sultan but Firishtah says that Fīrūz Shāh after declaring Hasan Khān his successor and giving him all the paraphernalia of royalty sent men to the Sayyāl for his blessings the latter said that when the Sultan had already declared Hasan Khān to be his successor what necessity was there for his prayers in his favour When the Sultan again sent men to him and asked with greater insistence for his prayers then he said that it was his brother and not his son that would succeed him

Firishtah goes on to say that the Sultan sent word to the Sayyad that his residence was too near the fort (palace) and there was always a great crowd there and that he should therefore go out of the city The Sayyad had to comply with the order and he took up his residence outside the city where his adherent soon erected a fine house for him at the spot where his tomb now stands Col Briggs adds in a note that the tomb now standing was either

¹ It is said that one day, Sultān Firūz Shāh had his eldest son who bore the name of Hasan Khān, arrayed in a special dress, and made him his hen. He then took him with himself to his holiness the Saiyyad, and informed the latter that as he had selected the prince to be his hen, he hoped that his hohness should cast an eye (of favour) on his affairs and should not withdraw the hand of his training from over his head. The holy Saivvad declared, that the fashioner of providence and fate had prepared the robe of sovereignty for the person of the Khān Khānān Ahmad Khān, and no one can object to the ordinances of fate. The Sultān was annoyed at these words, and left the place.

As the rainy season was now over, ² he marched with a large army towards Aīrankal (Warangal). When he arrived in that country, he saw a fort built of hard stone, which raised its head to the blue dome of the sky, and round it there was a deep ditch dug, which was thirty dīnā' (yards) in breadth, and which was connected with (or filled with) water from a spring. His Majesty, the Sultān, remained for two years at the foot of the fort, and was, in spite of that, unable to carry out his object, and on account of the (bad)

built or erected by a descendant of the Saiyyad, Muhammād Amīn Husainī in 640 A.D., in the reign of Muhammād 'Ādil Shāh of Bijāpūr.

¹ There are slight variations in the readings here. One MS has حکایت گویی, i.e., an anecdote, they say. The other MS has only گویی, they say, while the lith ed has حکایت کیا گویی, they narrate.

² According to Firishtah he did not march against Warangal or Talingāna, but in 820 A.H., 1417 A.D., he sent ambassadors to the Rāy of Telengāna demanding arrears of tribute, and the latter sent enough in money and goods to satisfy him. Then Firūz Shāh marched against the fort of Pāngal, which Firishtah says, was in his time called Bilkonda, and was situated at a distance of eighty farsangs (240 miles) from the fort of Adoni. Col Briggs says in a note that at the present time Pāngal has no other name, and is 70 miles from Adoni. Nizām-ud-dīn apparently mixes up the two incidents of the demand of tribute from the Rāy of Telengāna, and the siege of Pāngal. He does not give the name of the fort, but it is clear that it was Pāngal that he was referring to. It would appear, however, from what Nizām-ud-dīn himself said, that Pāngal was in Bijānagar and not in Telengāna, and Firishtah also says, that he besieged the fort, completely disregarding his relation with the Rāy of Bijānagar. Mr Sewell however, calls it the Warangal fortress Pāngal (page 65).

climate of the place most of the men and quadrupeds (in his army) were destroyed When Deo Ray of Bijanagar became acquainted with what had happened he took advantage of the opportunity and sent a large army of cavalry and infantry and obstructed the entrances and the exits The Sultan was compelled therefore to leave the place for the return journey Deo Ray's soldiers attacked the army with arrows and spears The ¹ warriors belonging to the Sultan's army then attacked Deo Ray's troops but as the ways were narrow they were unable to accomplish anything They represented to the Sultan that at such a crisis it would be fit and proper for him to hasten away and reach a place of safety for the safety of the army they said was bound up with the safety of the sovereign The Sultan said How can it be allowed in the religion of manliness and humanity that I should go to a place of safety and leave my soldiers to perish or to be taken prisoners At this conjuncture a person having the form of a demon and the nature of an evil spirit coming from the enemy's army inflicted a wound on the Sultan and fighting bravely escaped out of the orbit of the Sultan's army The amirs seizing the Sultan's bridle took him out of the danger and carried him away to ²Gulburga

The Sultan then wrote letters giving an account of the events and couched in sincere language to Sultan Ahmad of Gujrat and

¹ Firishtah's account is different and altogether more probable He says that Mir Fazl ul lah rallying the soldiers nearly defeated the Bijanagar army when سکی اور کفار کھدوڑہ a Hindu of Cahnara who had been a long time in his service but who had been seduced by the promise of a high dignity by Deo Ray killed him by inflicting a serious wound on his head The Sultan's army was now routed and the Sultan with the assistance of Ahmad Khan escaped with the remnant of his army Firishtah does not mention the Sultan's being wounded by a person with the form of a demon and the nature of an evil spirit

There are slight differences in the readings One MS has صربی نو سلطان رد the other has صربی سلطان رد while the lith ed has صربی و سر سلطان رد

² Firishtah goes on to say that the Hindus (I am quoting from Col Briggs) made a general massacre of the Musalmans and subsequent ly took many towns broke down mosques and other holy places slaughtered the people without mercy and by their savage conduct seemed desirous to discharge the vengeance and resentment of many ages

asked for help from him. But the ¹ army of Gujrat had not yet arrived, when the Sultan fell ill from excessive anger (or mortification), and as his illness increased, some of his ² adherents wanted that they should seize the Khan Khanan, prince Ahmad Khan, and should draw a pencil across his world-seeing eyes. The Khan Khanan receiving information of this withdrew himself into the corner of safety. The soldiers however came from all sides and joined him. Firuz Shah sent one of his slaves with twenty thousand horsemen and some elephants to crush him. After the two armies had met, ³ Firuz Shah's army fled. The latter in spite of his illness

¹ According to Firishtah, however, Sultan Ahmad (of Gujrat) having only recently ascended the throne, and his affairs being still unsettled, the message had no effect, but the king's brother Ahmad Khan, the Khan Khanan, opened the door of the treasury, collected a new army, and drove the Bijapur troops out of the kingdom.

² Firishtah says, that when Firuz Shah's illness was prolonged, the management of affairs fell into the hands of two slaves, named, respectively, Hushiyar 'Ain-ul-mulk and Bidar Nizam-ul-mulk, and they told the Sultan, that as Ahmad Khan was very powerful and popular, his son Hasan Khan could only succeed him, if Ahmad Khan could be removed, and Firuz Shah also remembered what Saiyyad Muhammad Gisu-Daraz had told him about the succession, and he determined upon depriving Ahmad Khan of his eye sight.

³ According to Firishtah, the Khan Khanan did not have such an easy success. He first of all went to Saiyyad Muhammad Gisu Daraz, taking his son 'Ala ud-din with him. The Saiyyad took his own turban from his head and divided it into two parts, and bound them on the heads of the father and the son. Col. Briggs says erroneously, that it was 'Ala-ud-din's turban that was cut into two portions. After that the Khan left home early the next morning with only four hundred tried soldiers. At the gate he was joined by Khalf Hasan of Basrah who was an old friend of his. He dissuaded him from attaching himself to his hopeless cause, but Khalf Hasan refused to leave him, and it was his advice and help that conduced to his success. Firishtah agrees with our author in saying that after the Khan Khanan's first success Firuz Shah got into a palankin, and advanced against the Khan Khanan, but he says that before doing this, he had the umbrella of sovereignty placed over the head of his son Hasan Khan. In the second battle, which took place at a distance of three karohs from Hasanabad Gulbarga, Firuz Shah fainted owing to his great weakness, and the report got about that he had been killed. The soldiers then went over to the Khan Khanan. The latter out of regard for his brother did not pursue him. Firuz Shah entered the fort, and the Khan Khanan encamped outside. Then Hushiyar 'Ain-ul-mulk and Bidar Nizam-ul-mulk began to

got into a palanquin and advanced to the battle field At the time however when the troops were arrived for battle most of the soldiers fled and joined the Khan Khunān On seeing this state of things he returned to the city and turned the men out of the ducan khana (audience hall) and sent the keys of the fort and the treasures by the hands of the great men of the city to Ahmad Khan

Verses

He (alone) is wise who in all things
Sometimes accepts flowers and sometimes thorns
With every mor el thou canst not sugar find
Sometimes comes the clear (wine) and sometimes the drec

The Khan Khunān desirous of rendering the rights which his brother had by having tramped him and brought him up went alone into the palace and issued the ground of service Firuz Shah descended from the throne and took him into his arms and holding his hand led him up to the throne He opened his mouth with pleasant and kind words and filled Ahmad Khan's ears with the precious gems of advice They both wept out of brotherly love and Firuz Shah commended his children to the care of his brother and 'on the night of the 4th of Shawwāl 82¹ A.D. when the dawn raised its head over the turrets of the horizon the hand of that marauder Death plundered the capital of his life According to

discharge cannon and musket shots at the Khan Khunān's camp and one cannon ball struck his tent and some of his attendants were killed and he had to move his camp further back

After this Firuz Shah told Hasan Khan that the soldiers having joined his uncle it was not possible for him to ascend the throne He also ordered the gate to be opened and sent for his brother who came and placed his head on his feet Firuz Shah then surrendered the sovereignty to the Khan Khunān and placed his son in the latter's charge The same day the 5th Shawwāl 82² A.D. September 1st 142³ A.D. Ahmad Khan Khan Khunān ascended the throne and called himself Ahmad Shah Bahmani Ten days later Firuz Shah died

¹ See the latter part of the last note Mr Sewell quoting Scott's translation of Firishtah page 9 and counting the length of Firuz Shah's reign gives the 14 Shawwāl 82⁵ A.D. 4th September 142⁶ A.D. as the date of his death

² This gives one a shock after the somewhat idyllic picture of brotherly love just painted but Firishtah has something equally bad if not worse

that country and came to a sea port. On the way a Saivjad of the name of Nasir ud din Arab to whom Sultan Ahmad had entrusted a large sum of money so that he might go to Karbala and open out a stream of water there met him. Saivjad Nasir ud din did not show such respect to Shir Malik as the latter had expected. He merely met him mounted as he was. Shir Malik told his servants and they made Nasir ud din dismount from his horse. The Saivjad returned from that place and came into the presence of the Sultan and informed the latter of what had happened. The Sultan comforted him and sent him back. After some days Shir Malik arrived near (the place where the Sultan was) and high and low hastened to meet him and brought him to the royal threshold. And at the very instant when the Sultan's eye fell on him he ordered that an elephant of the name of ¹Qassab might be brought in to the presence and at that very moment without any talk or discussion Shir Malik was thrown under the elephant's feet. The Sultan said This is the punishment for insulting Saivjads.

When the Sultan was established on the throne of State news came that the army of Sultan Ahmad Cujratî which Sultan I'rûz had summoned had arrived at the frontier. Ahmad Shah sent presents and gifts for Sultan Ahmad, and gave permission to the amirs of Cujrat to return and he also sent presents to the amirs in accordance with their condition and rank.

² As Deo Ray had been guilty of unmannerly conduct during the reign of I'rûz Shah Sultan Ahmad Shah in retaliation of that

¹ The name appears to be سائب Pasâb in the MSS and سائب Tasab in the lith ed. It is سائب Qasab (butcher according to Col Briggs) in Firishtah.

I cannot find any mention of this in Firishtah. On the other hand the latter says, سلطان احمد سائب خاص و عام را متعجب، سائب خود صاحب، سائب احمد سائب سرحد کھراب را نامیرای معمور سرحد خالق ایران طرف سمع کرد which mean that Sultan Ahmad Shâh made high and low submissive to himself and placed the frontier of Gujurat in charge of trustworthy amirs and thus assured his mind on that side.

² Instead of the very vague and sketchy account of the campaign which follows Firishtah has a long and graphic account which may be summarised thus. The Sultan advanced with forty thousand horsemen to the Tungabhadra. The Ray of Bijanagar also advanced to the river after summoning the Ray of

of Bijanagar he commenced to plunder and ravage (the country) Deo Ray who had been rubbing his head with the zenith of the revolving sky now withdrew his hand from the reins of government and sent one of his trusted adherents with gifts and presents to attend on Ahmad Shah and asked for pardon of his offences. The Sultan drew the pen of forgiveness over his guilt and ent farman couched in friendly language Deo Ray then came forward with humility and submission and sent everything that he had promised to send and became included in the band of the Sultan's friends and adherents. The Sultan returned with victory and triumph and when he arrived at the capital he distinguished the *amirs* with¹ promotion in rank and robes of honour and gave them permission to return to their own *thanas*.

After a short time the Sultan wrote a letter to Nasir Khan of Asir proposing a marriage for his true son Sultan Ala ud din and sent it by the hand of Aziz Khan Nami. When the letter reached Nasir Khan he agreed to the alliance prepared the necessary things for the chaste and pure veiled one and sent her with his sons and attendants and servants and troops to the capital (Ahmadabad Bidar or Gulbarga) so that the usual rites and ceremonies of festivity might be performed and gave permission with all politeness and respect to Aziz Khan to return. Sultan Ahmad welcomed the delightful advent of the guests with pleasure and gratitude and made them happy with his great lavishness and

surrounded and had to take shelter in a mud enclosure but as he was riding he was probably riding down antelope.

¹ One MS. inserts the word *musli* (suitable) after *musli*.

The marriage according to Firishtah took place some time after 830 A H 146 A D and after the expeditions to Telengānā which according to Nizām ud din occurred in 836 and 828 respectively so that according to the correct chronological order the account of the marriage should succeed and not precede the account of the Telengana campaign. The ruler of Asir is called Nasir Khan ruler of Asir. He claimed to be a descendant of his holiness Umar Farūq in the Persian text of Firishtah but Col Briggs calls him Nasir Khan Farooky ruler of Kaodeish. The bride was sent according to Firishtah to Ahmadabad Bidar and was lodged in a gardeo outside the city. The festivities continued for two months and the bride was brought into the city and at an auspicious moment the marriage took place.

benefactions , and spread the shadow of safety and of his kindness on the guests and the residents , and kept open the gates of pleasure and enjoyment, so that men might occupy themselves in various pleasures , and ¹ take what was due to them from the cup bearer of time The Sultān summoned the Qāzīs and the learned men, and the men possessing the knowledge of God, and the great men of the city and arranged the marriage assembly and (afterwards) he sent back the sons and the adherents of Nasīr Khān after showing them every honour, and conferring on them many marks of his kindness

In the year 826 A H , Sultān Ahmad Shāh collected an immense army , and ² advanced towards the country of Tilang . but on account of certain matters connected with the kingdom, he returned from the way, and came back to Gulbarga Then in the year ³ 828 A H , 1424 A D , he again advanced towards Tilang , and certain

ارسافی وقت داد و موت داد سلطان
اوسافی داد وقت و دود سلطان
سداد سلطان

¹ The meaning is not quite clear The actual words are ارسافی وقت داد و موت داد سلطان , according to the MSS The lith ed has سلطان وقت و دود سلطان

² Firishtah does not mention this expedition which ended so abruptly The affairs of state, which Nizām-ud-dīn refers to, but does not describe, were the total failure of rain in 826 and 827 A H In 826, no rain fell, streams and wells became dried up, and the ground parched Sultān Ahmad Shāh opened the doors of his treasury, and supported his troops He also opened the doors of the public granaries, and fed the poor and the needy The next year also there was no rain, and the Sultān in great distress called upon the learned and pious men and Shaikh s to pray for rain , but this had no effect, so the people became seditious, and spoke of the reign as unlucky Then the Sultān in great sorrow went out to the open country, and going on an eminence bowed down in prayer, and placing his head on the ground made lamentations and supplications About this time clouds gathered together, and rain began to fall This is the translation of the passage in the lith cd , but Col Briggs says that “the Sultān repaired to the mosque in state to crave heaven’s mercy for his subjects” The Persian text goes on to say, that so much rain fell, that the men who had accompanied the Sultān began to shiver, and they acclaimed the Sultān with the title of *Wali* or Saint

³ Mr Sewell says that 828 A H began only on November 23rd, 1424, but the campaign was very short and may have been finished before the end of December The account of the expedition as given by Firishtah is different from that given in the text According to Firishtah the Sultān marched to Golkonda, where he halted for a month and twenty days, and sent Khān Ā’azam ’Abd ul-

forts which at the time of the catastrophe (in Siruz Shah's reign) had passed out of the Sultan's possession again came into it. He then took tribute from the Kalantars or chiefs of Rajlonda and Deorkonda and returned to Culharga.

In the year 829 A.H. news came that the Ray of Mahur had strayed from the path of allegiance and was bent on war and bloodshed. Sultan Ahmad Shah collected an army which was beyond all calculation and advanced to punish him. The Ray fortified himself in the fort of Mahur. The Dakini army ravaged the neighbourhood of the fort and rased everything to the ground. In the end the Ray came forward with humility and repentance and joined the band of the Sultan's ¹loyal adherents, and whatever had been in his possession came again into the Sultan's possession.

Latif as commander of the vanguard. When he advanced again news came that the Ray had arrayed his army for battle but had been defeated and slain with seven thousand of his cavalry and infantry. The Sultan on reaching Warangal took possession of the city and all the treasure which the Ray and his ancestors had collected. He then gave a suitable reward to the Khan Azam Abd ul Latif and sent him to conquer the other portions of the kingdom and he returned to the Sultan at Warangal after conquering the whole country in the course of three or four months. If this account be accepted then Mr. Sewell's remark that the campaign might have been finished before the end of 14th cannot be correct.

As to Nizām ud dīn's account I cannot find any mention in the other accounts of this expedition of Rājkonda or Deorkonda or their Kalantars. But it appears from the accounts of the reign of Sultan Humayūn grandson of Sultan Ahmad Shah as given by both Nizam ud din and Firishtah that the Telugus of Deorkonda offered a stout resistance to the generals of Sultan Humayūn. This is also mentioned by Mr. Sewell in page 98 of his book where he calls the place Devarakonda. And in page 132 of his book he says that Sultan Quli Qutb Shah of Golconda took Razukonda and Devarakonda fortresses respectively S.E. and S.S.E. of Hyderabad to Telngana. Razu konda (which is apparently identical with Rājkonda) and Devarakonda are both shown in the map of South India opposite to page 76 of Mr. Sewell's book so there may be some foundation for Nizām ud din's statement.

¹ Contrary to this Firishtah says that after the Zamindar of Mahur had submitted the Sultan breaking his engagement with him had him and five or six thousand Hindus put to death and unprisoed their sons and daughters and forced them to become Musalmans. Firishtah also says that at this time the Sultan took possession of the fort of Kalan (Briggs calls it Kullum) and also of

¹ After the conquest of Māhiū as the kingdom became more extensive, the *amīrs* submitted that one of the Shāhzādas might be declared to be the heir apparent, and *sūbas* might be allotted to the others so that the rule of sincerity and friendship might continue among the "brothers of purity." The Sultān said, 'Please tell me whatever might have been decided in your minds on the subject of the heir apparent.' The *amīrs* submitted "Shāhzāda 'Alā-ud-dīn is endowed with high attributes and is most anxious and painstaking in the management of measures for the amelioration of the condition of the *raiyats* and for improving the condition of the poor and oppressed." The Sultān applauded the opinion of the *amīrs* and appointed Shāhzāda 'Ala-ud-dīn to be the heir apparent and ² made Muhammad Khān over to him. ³ He conferred the country of Māhiū with its dependencies on Shāhzāda Mahmūd Khān, and he gave the fort of Rājū (Rājehm) with its surrounding country to Dāūd Khān, and took an engagement from all his sons, that they should never be hostile to one another, and should keep the *raiyats*, and the poor and oppressed, who have been entrusted to them by God, in comfort. He also directed them that they should treat the following ⁴ four noble classes among men with special respect and

a diamond mine, which had up to that time been in the possession of the ruler of Gondwara

¹ The date of these transactions is not given either by Nizām-ud dīn or by Firishtah, but it appears that they took place between 829 and 833 A.H.

² The meaning of this is not clear, but the following passage from Firishtah who after saying that the Sultān made 'Alā-ud-dīn his heir says و سرادر کوچک او شاهزادہ محمد حاں را کہ کوچک ترین مریدان بود شریک ساہی وی گرداند which means, that he made his (*i.e.*, 'Alā-ud-dīn's) youngest brother, Shāhzāda Muhammad Khān who was his youngest son, co sharer in the kingdom with him (*i.e.*, with 'Alā-ud-dīn)

³ According to Firishtah the distribution was different. He says Ramgār (Ramgir according to Col. Briggs) and Māhūr and Kalan and a small part of Berār were given to Shāhzāda Mahmūd Khān, and Shāhzāda Dāūd Khan was sent, with the insignia of royalty, and some old and trustworthy *amīrs* to assume the government of Tilang

⁴ It may be mentioned that the four noble classes of the community here mentioned somewhat resemble the four sections of the Indian people as originally classified by the Indian *Sāstras* of Brāhmaṇa, Kshatriya, Varsya, and Sūdra though of course they were not castes as they later became in India. Firishtah

esteem *vi.* first learned men for their minds are the fountains of philosophy and Divine knowledge second writers as this great band adorn the cheek of the country and the face of the state with ¹constructive guidance by the tongues of their pens

Couplet

As the Shah in sh h s sword lays the foundation of the state

The tongue of the pen of rules becomes its guide

The third are the men of arms for the well being of the people (ihad literally the servants of God) and the putting down of all disturbance in the country are hound up with (the existence of) this body and the flashes of the light of their lances which put down all disturbances are the guardians of religion and of the state and the tongue of the ruthless swords explain the texts of victory and triumph The fourth are the cultivators for the stability of the world and the continued existence of mankind are hound up with and sustained by the exertions of this body For if they show any negligence and permit idleness to find its way into their limbs the supply of food which is the means of the maintenance of life and of the sustenance of existence would be completely cut off And after giving necessary counsel and directions he sent Mahmud Khan and Daud Khan to the *subas* to which they had been nominated

Then in the year 830 A H he appointed Khalif Hasan Arab who had the title of Malik ut tujjar to conquer the island of

does not ay anything about the Sultan's direction and precepts about these classes

¹ The words the meaning of which is obscure appear to be *بھاں نعمت* in one MS and in the lith ed and *لعل نعمت* in the other MS

The words here are also somewhat obscure The words in one MS are *و لعل بواسن نعمت* the other MS has left out the whole passage from *لعل* to *دول* The lith ed agrees with the first MS but substitute *بواسن* for *بواسن* and *بواسن* for *بواسن* I think that *بواسن* and *بواسن* are both incorrect and the proper reading should be *نگامن* is probably better than *نگامن* I have adopted this reading

² The words which I have translated as the island of Mahaim look like *حررہ بھاں* in one MS but they are clearly *حررہ بھاں* in the other In the lith

Mahāim (Māhim). The Malik-ut-tujjār, by the strength of his arms, and his bravery and courage took possession of that country. The Rāys there, who were Musalmāns, went to the presence of Sultān Ahmad of Gujāt for aid. The latter sent a *farmān* to Shāhzāda Zafar Khān who was at Sultānpūr Nadabāī, that he should advance to help those Musalmāns. The Malik-ut-tujjār wrote an account of what had happened, and sent it to Gulbāga. Sultān 'Alā-ud-din was sent from that place to reinforce the Malik-ut-tujjār. When the two armies met the breeze of victory and triumph blew on the plumes of Zafar Khān's standards. Sultān 'Alā-ud-din fled and went back to his own territory, and the Malik-ut-tujjār also joined him. These matters will be narrated with greater details in the section about Gujāt.

ed they are مہائم حربیہ There is no mention in Firishtah of the Malik ut tujjār or any one else being sent in 830 A.H. to conquer the island of Mahāim. But it appears from Firishtah that towards the end of 833 A.H., the Sultān sent the Malik ut tujjār to purify the land of Kokan (Concan), which is situated on the coast of the Arabian sea, from the tamt of all rebels and disturbers, and to destroy all the Rājas, who had gone beyond their bounds. The Malik ut tujjār carried out the orders within a short time, and sent much tribute to the Sultān, who sent him a special robe of honour and other rewards. The Malik ut tujjār then, in the excess of his zeal, conquered the island of Mahāim (Māhim) which was in the possession of the king of Gujrāt. The latter sent his son Zafar Khān to recover possession of Mahāim, and Sultān Ahmad also sent his son 'Alā ud dīn to reinforce the Malik-ut-tujjār. The two Shāhzādas remained encamped on opposite banks of an inlet of the sea, and neither had the courage to cross it. Then 'Alā-ud-dīn became ill and retired some stages, and Zafar Khān attacked the Malik-ut tujjār, and various engagements took place. The Malik-ut-tujjār's brother was taken prisoner, and two other chiefs of the Deccani army were slain, and that army was completely defeated, and all the elephants and horses and equipages belonging to it fell into the hands of the Gujrātis. Sultān Ahmad then advanced to reinforce the Malik-ut-tujjār, and Ahmad Shāh of Gujrāt also collected a large army and advanced to meet him. The Deccan army at first surrounded the hill fort of Tambolā in Baglāna, but on the approach of the Gujrāt army raised the siege. The two armies confronted each other for some time, but at last, on the intervention of learned men, peace was restored on the terms that each country should remain in possession of the territories, which it had held from before the war.

Col. Briggs in a note says that Mahāim or Māhim is identical with Bombay.

⁴ In the year 532 A.D. a letter of Narasimha Deva who was one of the supporters of the line of Ahmad Shah (i.e. I suppose one of the

I soon left pp 49 &c. I don't hope it was with Sultan Ali han
Sultan where Nizamuldin at its keep - a year later in 3. At
Tombulistan the relation between Nizamuldy Sultan Ali Khan and
Sultan Ali Han of Tombulistan was very bad. In fact the rest of Sultan
the like Sultan Ali Han I send up to me and I left him very far behind
in fact 17. As the ruler of Tombulistan he only brought out
of 3000 or 4000 men before all the other parts of it
reached me. Sultan Ali had a grant of the whole of Jura and Gajri from
Tamerlane and therefore taking no opposition from an half over
conquered by him & Sultan Ali Han I can record the creation of these
and the project made to seize Nizamuldy Sultan Ali Han's
Alma & I & Nizamuldy I noted as their Sultan Ali Han twice invaded
his territory. It was I sent him. He sent a third army and th
one came into it he was to Nizamuldy country and I knew
some prays against Sultan Ali han prepared to invade his country in person.
After the Nizamuldy in great fear sent the person in 43 AD to
Almasuldin who sent 4000 men to him. The latter sent a present. Almasuldin
killed him & never sent him back to him. I professed Nizamuldy & the
of himself also with a thousand men to fight for the first time of
going on a winter expedition. A Sultan Ali Han gave his own tent to
I spent two months in hunting Sultan Ali Han thinking that the delay
was due to Sultan Almasuldin who knew it to be trap but he did not believe
it. Sultan Ali Han then advanced towards Khorasan. But at this time some
armed men told him that in Nizamuldin Sultan had up to that time was at war
with a Median ruler & it would bring him a profit on him if he in order
to attack & went to war with Sultan Ali Han. Sultan Almasuldin and the
with sorrow and although he did not arrive within twenty days of Sultan
Ali Han's army sent an embassy to the latter and I pointed out to him that
Nizamuldy was not the rest of him and that it was terrible that he would
return to him once more & he was himself & him in his own at the
suggestion of men I met in the way of the right and I commenced to
retire even before his embassy had arrived at Sultan Ali Han's camp. The
latter became angry on receiving the message and presuming upon the
fact that his army consisted of thirty thousand horsemen while that of the
Deccan did not exceed fifteen thousand and followed in close pursuit of Sultan
Almasuldin. The latter now summoned the armed men and I pointed out to
them that he had acted upon their suggestion and had brought this ill honour
on himself but on the following day he was going to fight anybody that
met him along in front of him whoever he might be and so accordingly arranged
his army placing the two wings under Albulqasim Khan Jahan and Abd allah

latter's tributaries) arrived, to the effect that Sultān Hūshang, the ruler of Mandū, had, with violence and in great force, invaded his territory and was laying it waste Sultān Ahmad marched by successive stages to that country He had not, however, yet arrived there when news came that Naīsingh Rāy had removed the yoke of allegiance to the Sultān (*i.e.*, Ahmad Shāh), and had submitted to Sultān Hūshang Sultān Ahmad Shāh, therefore, turned the rein of his attention, and halted at a place three stages behind, as he did not wish to prolong a war with Musalmāns (Another) account is this, that Sultān Ahmad had besieged the fort of Kehila when the Rāv summoned Sultān Hūshang to his aid, and agreed to pay him three *lākhs* of *tankas* daily towards his expenses Sultān Hūshang arrived near and Sultān Ahmad, raising the siege, halted at a place three stages further back Then Sultān Hūshang pursued him along those three stages and raised the dust of disturbance The next day when the fire of ¹battle blazed up, and the field of bloodshed became hot and streams of blood began to flow from the opposing armies, Sultān Ahmad came out of ambush, with two thousand five hundred well tried warriors, and fell on the centre of Sultān Hūshang's army and in accordance with the words that the beginner (or the aggressor) is the oppressor or is to blame, the army of Mandū was routed The harem of Sultān Hūshang with all its inmates fell into the hands of the army of the Dakin Sultān Ahmad with great generosity kept his army back from pursuit, and after some days, sent the inmates of Hūshang's harem back to Mandū, after making all arrangements for them, with an escort of five hundred horsemen, and after sharing the plunder, divided the country among the *jāgīrdār amīrs*

At the time of returning, when they arrived in the city of ²Bidar,

Khān, the grandson of Isma'il Fath, respectively, and the centre under Shāhzāda 'Alā ud-dīn He placed four hundred elephants in different groups, and himself with three thousand selected horsemen and twelve elephants remained in ambush Sultān Hūshang arrived with seventeen thousand horse men, and before he could arrange his troops, the battle began, and Sultān Hūshang was defeated, as mentioned in the text

¹ This is the battle referred to in the latter part of the last note

² The MSS as well as the lith ed call it بادار, the city of Badar or Bidar, but Firishtah in the corresponding passage says سلطان در همان یورس چون و

they found the ground verdant and the fields pleasing to the heart and the Sultan selected the place for his capital and at the moment fixed by the astrologers laid the foundation brick of the citadel in the ground and divided it among the *amirs* and for the palace made a plan of a grand mansion After its completion the poet who had accompanied him in the journey composed verses to be used as inscriptions on it Shaikh Azuri who was with him in that expedition wrote some couplets which were inscribed on the gate

Couplets⁴

Oh brave ! such a palace strong that for its grandeur great
The sky itself is the threshold of its gates sublime

The sky could not say that this transgresses courtesy's rule

¹ Tis the palace of the world emperor Ahmad Shah Bahman

The writer of the Tarikh Bahmani Wal ihadat Aha says that the Sultan gave Shaikh Azuri a reward consisting of twelve thousand packages of stuffs

When the country of the Decean was purified of the weeds of all enemies and came into the uncontested possession of Sultan Ahmad

بخاری حصار بدر رسد from which it appears that the city or fortress of Bidar is referred to Firishtah indulges in high praise and loud eulogy of the beauty and splendour of the place and recalls the fact that it was the site of the ancient Hindu city of Vidarbha the scene of the loves of Nala and Damayanti daughter of Raja Bhima Sena of Vidarbha

² There are some variations in the reading of the last line The MSS have وصر سلطان حبان وصر سلطان حبان احمد بهمن سلا امس The lith ed has وصر سلطان حبان وصر سلطان حبان احمد سلا امس These couplets are also quoted by Firishtah According to him the second line is اس دارگاه اس درگاه امس and the last line is identical with that in the MSS of the Tabaqat According to Firishtah the reward paid to Shaikh Azuri was forty thousand white *tangas* each of them being one *tola* of silver besides twenty thousand more paid to him for the expenses of his journey as he was then about to return to his own country Khurasan It appears also that Shaikh Azuri wrote the Bahman nam a chronicle of the Bahman dynasty in verse which he continued to write even after his return to Khurasan and after him Mulla Nazari and Mulla Sama and others continued it

According to Firishtah the fort or citadel of Ahmadabad Bidar which was the name given to the new capital was finished in 836 A.H. 1439 A.D.

he, in the year 835 A.H. marched to capture the fort of ¹Tanbūl, which is situated on the boundary of Gujrāt and arriving near it by successive marches, surrounded it. When the siege had been prolonged for two years, Sultān Ahmad of Gujrāt, at last with great amity and courtesy sent an emissary with this message "If this *faqīr* had been present at the (wedding?) festivities of Shāhzāda 'Alā-ud-dīn, he (Sultān Ahmad Bahmanī) would have shown him some courtesy. It is now the prayer of the *faqīr*, that in place of that courtesy, he would leave this fort in the possession of its owner". Sultān Ahmad Bahmanī turning from the high way of generosity and the path of politeness, began to take the course of having a consultation on the matter. Some of his *rāzīrs* said that the right of gift can only be exercised, if the fort comes into his (*i.e.*, the Sultān's) possession, while another body said that the prayer of Sultān Ahmad Gujrātī should be honoured with the courtesy of acceptance. The Sultān preferred the first opinion, and sent a reply, that when the fort should come into his possession, it would be made over to his (Sultān Ahmad Gujrātī's) servants. The latter was enraged on receiving this reply, and sent a large body of troops to reinforce the garrison of the fort, and when this news reached the ear of Sultān Ahmad Bahmanī, he withdrew his forces from the foot

¹ Firishtah's account is somewhat different. He says that after the defeat of Khalf Hasan in his attack on Māhim, Sultān Ahmad collected a large army, and Sultān Ahmad of Gujrāt also did the same, and came forward to meet him. The Deccan army at first besieged the fort of مبیول [which looks like Mabiūl, Col. Briggs says that "the Deccanis in the first instance laid siege to a hill fort, (in a footnote Tembola) in Buglana"], which was in the possession of the adherents of Sultān Ahmad Shāh Gujrātī, but when the latter came to the neighbourhood, he raised the siege and the two armies remained facing each other for a long time, neither party daring to commence the fight, till at last the learned men in the two armies intervened, and peace was concluded, each Sultān being satisfied with his own possessions, and neither was to attempt to seize any part of the other's dominion. Firishtah refers to the slightly different versions of the affair given in the Tārīkh-i Alfi and other histories.

The Cambridge History of India (see p. 401) calls the fort Bhaul on the Girnā, which was held for Gujrāt by Malik Sa'ādat. In p. 299 in the chapter which contains the history of Gujrāt and Khāndesh apparently the same fortress was called Ba'tuol which it was said there was gallantly defended by Malik Sa'ādat, an officer of Gujrāt.

of the fort and the Gujrāt army also halted some distance behind
The Sultan having removed the dream of capturing the fort from his
head went to Gulhargā The writer of the Kitab-i-Bihāduri has
narrated these transactions in a different manner If the great God
so wills it the pen of the writer will describe it in the section about
the Sultans of Gujrāt

¹ In the year 838 A.H. an illness overtook the person of the
Sultan and with a sound resolution and true intention he repented
of all his offences and sins and gave counsel and direction to his
eldest son Sultan Ala ud dīn in the presence of the *amirs* and *īā'irs*
He then spoke thus to the *amirs* I have this hope from you that
you will pray for the absolution of my sins to the great God I am
hoping that as in my time the hand of tyranny was too short to
reach the skirts of the oppressed and helpless so the great and holy

¹ The following incidents which occurred in 836 and 837 A.H. and which are mentioned by Firishtah have not been referred to by Nizam ud dīn (1) the completion of the city of Ahmadabad Bidar in 836 A.H. and (2) the execution by order of Sultan Ahmad of his nephew Shir Khan at whose instigation he had caused Firuz Shah to be strangled to death and whose continued existence appeared to be likely to be the cause of his son being deprived of the empire This also was in 836 And in 837 A.H. Hushang Shah of Malwa seeing the hostility between the Sultans of the Dakin and of Gujrāt invaded the territory of Narsinh Ray and the latter was slain in battle and Hushang Shah seized the fort of Kehrla Then Sultan Ahmad advanced towards Kehrla when Nasir Khan of Asir intervened and peace was concluded on the condition that Kehrla should belong to Sultan Hushang and Berar to Sultan Ahmad After that Ahmad Shah marched into Talingāna and after his return he ordered Shir Malik to be thrown under the feet of an elephant This was mentioned by Nizam ud dīn in the beginning of his account of Sultan Ahmad's reign Firishtah also gives a rather long account of Sultan Ahmad's veneration for learned and holy people and of his sending emissaries to Shah Nasir mat ul lah of Kirman and the latter's sending one of his favourite disciples Mulla Qutb ud dīn and later on his grandson Mir Nur ul lah

After Shah Nasir mat ul lah's death his son Shah Khālī ul lah came to the Deccan with his family and his sons Shah Habib ul lah and Shah Muhibb ul lah Shah Habib ul lah married a daughter of Sultan Ahmad Shah and Shah Muhibb ul lah a daughter of Sultan Ala ud dīn and they attained to great distinction One of them was distinguished as a military commander and received the title of Ghāz and the town of Bir and the surrounding country as his *jaigir*

God would forgive my offences' He delivered his life to the creator of life between sunset and the time of sleeping at night on the 120th of Rajab with the text of the unity of God on his tongue. The period of his reign was twelve years and nine months and twenty-four days.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE REIGN OF SULTĀN 'ALĀ-UD-DĪN,¹ SON OF AHMAD SHĀH

When on the 29th of Rajab of the afore mentioned year, (he) sat on the place of his father, he gave himself the title of 'Alā ud-dīn Shāh. He devoted all his energy on the strengthening of the rule of justice and of the foundations of equity and he placed the weak and infirm in the cradle of safety, peace and repose. Therefore, of a necessity the great and holy God gave him his help and aid day after day, and in the very beginning of his youth he acquired great fame for experience and knowledge of affairs. He entrusted the reins of the management (literally binding and loosening) of all affairs to the wise hand of ²Dilāwar Khān, who had the title of Khān Ā'azam Khān.

¹ The date of Sultān Ahmad's death is the 20th Rajab, according to the MSS as well as the lith. ed. The period of his reign, according to the MSS, is twelve years and nine months and twenty four days. The lith. ed. has only twenty days. According to Firishtah the date was the 28th Rajab 838 A.H., and this is probably correct as the date of the accession of 'Alā ud-dīn is put down in the Tabaqāt as the 29th Rajab. Firishtah does not give the length of the reign. Col. Briggs says in a note that the date on his tomb in Bidar is 839, the year probably in which the mausoleum was completed.

² In the heading of the narrative of Sultān 'Alā-ud dīn's reign, the word سون (of) is left out in the lith. ed., but is in both MSS.

³ The MSS as well as the lith. ed. have Sultān Ahmad Shāh but this is clearly a mistake, and I have corrected it to 'Alā-ud-dīn Shāh.

⁴ There are slight differences in the readings. One MS has طبیعہ کرڈ، the other omits the word طبیعہ، while the lith. ed. has شہرتی طبیعہ یا عالم. I have adopted طبیعہ یا عالم.

⁵ This agrees with Firishtah, who however says that Dilāwar Khān was made Vakil ush-Shāhī. He also says that Khwāja-i Jahān Astrābādī was made Vazīr Kul, (Minister-in-charge of all departments), and 'Imād ul-mulk Ghūrī was made Amīr ul-Umiā.

Sultān sent Khalf Hasan Mālik-ut-tujjār to oppose Nasīr Khān. After the parties had met, Nasīr Khān fled, and went back to Asir. Mālik-ut-tujjār pursued him as far as Asir, and after raiding and laying waste the part of that territory returned, and in the same year Nasīr Khān became the subject of the inevitable (*i.e.*, died), and according to another statement, this happened in the year 840 A.H.

As at the time of dividing his kingdom among the princes, Ahmad Shāh had placed Shāhzāda Muhammad Khān in charge of Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn, the latter wanted to give him a proper training and to raise him to the higher grades of leadership and greatness, and in order to carry out this intention,¹ he sent him with an army

Khalf Hasan levied large quantities of gold and gems from the citizens of Burhānpūr, and then devastated the country around, and returning to Burhānpūr burnt down the palace and dug up its foundations, and then gave out that he was marching back to the Deccan, but instead of doing so, he marched rapidly during the night, and appeared before Laling with four thousand horsemen. Nasīr Khān, thinking that Khalf Hasan's soldiers must be quite exhausted, met him with twelve thousand horsemen and a large body of infantry, but he was completely routed, and many of his chief men and the rebel *amirs* of Berār were slain. Khalf Hasan then returned to Ahmadābad Bīdar, and he was received with great honour and distinction.

I have said in the beginning of this note, that the campaign against Nasīr Khān, which is mentioned by Nizām-ud-din as having occurred in 839, is not mentioned by Firishtah, but on further consideration, I think that the two campaigns, namely that mentioned by Nizām ud-dīn and that described by Firishtah as having occurred in 841, both refer to the same series of events. Khalf Hasan commanded the Deccan army in both, and he is said, in both, to have pursued Nasīr Khān to Burhānpūr and to have laid that place waste.

¹ Firishtah's account is somewhat different. He says that Shāhzāda Muhammad Khān was sent with 'Imād-ul-mulk Ghūrī, who was made *Amīr-ul-umra*, and Khwāja Jahān against Bijānagar, as the Rāy had not sent five years' tribute. They marched into Canāra, and began to plunder and ravage the country. The Rāy in great distress sent the tribute with valuable presents. When they arrived in the neighbourhood of the fort of Mudkal, some discontented officers told Muhammad Khān that the Sultān should either place him by his own side on the *masnad*, and allow him to act with himself in the management of affairs, or should give him half the kingdom. The Shāhzāda was deceived by these words, and he tried to induce 'Imād-ul-mulk and Khwāja Jahān to join him. They refused to do so, whereupon they were

to conquer Bijanagar ¹ Malik Imad ud din Churi who was in those parts from before the time when the Shahzada was sent when he heard that the Shahzada had arrived at the bank of the river Krishna joined his army without any hesitation As the Shahzada was not satisfied with the fact that the kingdom should belong to the Sultan and was waiting for an opportunity he put Malik Imad ud din who was perfectly innocent to death and raised the standard of revolt and hostility The Sultan on receiving information of these occurrences advanced to punish Muhammad Khan When the armies met victory and triumph blew on the plumes of Ala ud din's standards Muhammad Khan frightened and depressed fled with shame and disgrace

Couplet

Ganst thy benefactor if thou dost transgress
If thou art high as the sky low thy head will fall

The Sultan kept his troops back from pursuit on account of the relation of kindness and halted where he was At this time an

both put to death The rebels then collected an army with the help of the tribute obtained from Bijanagar and took possession of Mudkal Raichore Sholapur and Naldrug Col Briggs also mentions Bijapur but I cannot find it in the 11th ed of Firishtah Mr Sewell also mentions Shahzada Muhammad Khan's rebellion (see page 41 of his book) He says that the prince took Mudkal Raichur Sholapur and Bijapur and Naldral from the Sultan's governors The Sultan was in great grief for the murder of Imad ul mulk who he said was like a father to him He then advanced against Muhammad Khan In the battle which followed the Sultan was victorious and most of the men who had incited Muhammad Khan were taken prisoners while Muhammad Khan himself fled to the hills and jungles Ala ud din returned to Ahmadabad B dar He pardoned the rebel leaders and wrote admonitory letters to his brother and induced him to come back to him and after showing him much kindness conferred on him the fort of Raichur and the neighbouring country in Tilang which had been previously given to prince Daud who was now dead and sent him there

¹ The wording of the sentence in the MSS as well as in the 11th ed appears to me to be somewhat illogical It is ملک عاد الدین عوری کہ فیل اور وسناڈن ملک عاد الدین عوری The proper form of the sentence would be ملک عاد الدین عوری کہ فیل اور وسناڈن ساڑھے دوڑھے دوڑھے بود حون سند کہ وی عاد الدین عوری کہ فیل اور وسناڈن ساڑھے دوڑھے دوڑھے بود حون سند کہ وی کنار اب کس دوڑھے and I have changed the sentence and translated accordingly

uncle of the Sultān, who had been in the army of Muhammad Khān was brought before him. The Sultān pardoned his offence, and granted favours to him. When he was again firmly seated on the *masnad* of government, he sent a *farmān* containing much good advice to Muhammad Khān to the following effect—that God the ruler of the world and all who are in it chooses whomsoever He likes among the created beings, and as the rule of eternal grace draws the line of distinction on the page of the condition of that chosen one, He entrusts the keys of success and greatness in the world into the grasp of his power. The tree of grandeur which is watered by the stream of Divine favour never receives any injury from the whirlwinds of calamity, and the sublime mansion which is raised by eternal grace is not endangered by the engines of deceit and treachery.

Couplet

One who is made great by Him the sky cannot make him small,

One who is made dear by Him, the world never can wreck.

The result of these comforting arguments is, that one should be satisfied with the justice and grace of God and should not be proud of his own greatness and strength, for the standards of the greatness of such men are always beaten and cast down. It is right and proper that that fortunate brother should not place his foot outside the path of obedience, and the highway of submission, and should not dispute the will of the great and one holy God, and should not break any engagement and agreement, for such things are evil. And specially after having obtained forgiveness from those who are his elders, he should make his excuses for what has happened, and should not let the dust of distress reach his heart, for the screen of pardon has covered them up. I am conferring¹ *Mauzah* Rājūr in the territory of Tilang on him. He should go there without any delay and should draw the goods and chattels of life into that corner of safety, and should no longer run after absurd things. When this *farmān* reached Muhammad Khān, he trod on the path of

¹ The MSS as well as the lith ed have موضع رانچل, Mauza' Ranjal, but I have changed it to Rājūr.

obedience and submission and went to Ruirur and the Sultan returned to the capital

In the year¹ 849 A H Khalf Hasan Arab who bore the title of Malik ut tujjar advanced to capture the fort of Sangesar which is one of the largest fortresses on the sea coast. The people of the country relying on the strength of the jungle fastnesses and the difficult paths came forward to give battle. The Malik ut tujjar on entering that country first of all seized the fort of a Raja who had the name of³ Sirka by the strength of his brave and heroic arms and making Sarka prisoner gave him the choice between death and

¹ در سنه سع و اربعين و سعاده و ساده اربعين و سعاده 849 A H but this is clearly incorrect Firishtah has 840 A H and as the war with Nasir Khan which arose out of Sultan Ali ud din's love for Ziba Chehra or Peri Chehra who was brought by Dilawar Khan as part of the booty obtained in this expedition and his coldness to his queen Agha Zamab or Malka i Jahan took place in 841 A H the date mentioned by Firishtah namely 840 A H is clearly correct. The accounts of the expedition against the Rays of Kakan (Concan) given by Nizam ud din and Firishtah are altogether different. First there is a difference in the date. Then Nizam ud din says it was led by Khalf Hasan while according to Firishtah the leader was Dilawar Khan. It appears however from Firishtah that Khalf Hasan or Malik ut tujjar was the leader of another expedition into the Concan in 858 A H 1453 A D when he was waylaid and slain in circumstances somewhat similar to those mentioned by Nizam ud din. It would appear that the latter has mixed up the two expeditions.

The name is سکر Sakar in one MS سکر Shankar in the other and² Sangesar in the lith ed Firishtah lith ed has,³ Sangesar but Col Briggs has Sonkehar and he says the situation of the place has not been ascertained. There is a place called Sangameswar in the map attached to Elphinstone's history not far from the coast about half way between Jinjera and Gheria which may be the place. There is not much difference between the names in the map and in the lith eds of the Tabaqat and of Firishtah. The latter only requires a ^r to be inserted.

³ Col Briggs says in a note in page 43 of Vol II of his translation of Firishtah that Sirka or more properly Sirkey (the Sirkey of the excellent Marratta History) is the name of one of the most ancient families of the Konkan. The mother of the present Raja of Satara is of that house. I have consulted Grant Duff's History of the Marhattas. Sirkey is mentioned in the index with 19 against it but I have not been able to find it in that page or elsewhere.

the acceptance of Islām. That deceitful man told him, ¹ " You will gain nothing by slaying me, but the difficulties of the road and the great extent of the jungle are known to everybody. If you allow me to live, I shall lead the army, by a road in which not a single thorn will reach the skirts of any horseman " The Malik-ut-tujjār trusting his words made him the pioneer of the army and its guide, and commenced to traverse that country. Although the leaders of the army told him, that it was not proper to place any reliance on the words of an enemy, he did not pay any attention to their words, and the misleading guide took them along a road the sight of which, would have frightened even a demon. They were at last brought to a place on three sides of which there were hills and jungles, and on the fourth side, a deep ravine of water which flowed into the jungle, and at this place Sarka gave intimation to the enemy, and that midnight about forty thousand foot soldiers fell on them, and Khalf Hasan with a body of Musalmāns became martyrs, and the remnant of the army, with great trouble and privation returned to ²Jālna, which was Khalf Hasan's place of residence.

¹ According to Firishtah, Sarka offered to guide the Malik-ut-tujjār against Rāy Sangesar, who was in the neighbourhood of fort Gandhāna, and who was his rival. He also said that after defeating him the Malik ut tujjār might make over his territory to Sarka, or to one of the Musalmān amīrs. Then he (Sarka) would at once accept *Islām*, and be a loyal tributary of the Sultān. The Malik ut tujjār trusting him commenced the journey in 850 A.H., when most of the Dakini and Abyssinian amīrs deserted him. Sarka took him along a broad and easy road for two days and everybody was highly pleased with him but on the third day he led him along a path which, to quote Firishtah's language, "was so terrible that for fear of it a tiger would become a tigress", (which apparently, according to Firishtah, is a very timid creature) "and which was more tortuous than the ringlets of fair ones, and thinner than the sighs of lovers". The Malik ut tujjār became ill at this time of a bloody flux, and consequently there was very little order in the army, and at nightfall the soldiers lay down where they could. Sarka disappeared, and Sangesar on receiving a message from him came with thirty thousand armed soldiers, and Sarka joined him with his own men, and they slew seven thousand or eight thousand soldiers like so many sheep, and then fell on Khalf Hasan and his five hundred Banī Hasan 'Arabs and slaughtered them also.

Col Briggs calls Rāy Sangesar of Gandhāna, Sankar Rāy of Kehlāna

² Called جکتا Jākta in the lith ed of Firishtah, where it is described

¹ The Dakini *azirs* in whose creed enmity to the great was ingrained reported these matters to Sultan Ala ud din in a very

as the حلف حسن بصری the residence of Khalf Hasan Basri Col Briggs calls the place the town of Chakum and does not say anything about its being the residence of Khalf Hasan Basri I have not been able to find Candhana or Kehlna or Jalna or Jakta in the map but there is a Galna between Dhlna and Valigong but that appears to be too far north and there is a Chacun a short distance to the north of Puna or Poona

¹ The fate of the Saiyyads and other Musalman foreigners (then commonly called Muglals) is described in greater detail and somewhat differently by Firishtah According to him some of the Mughals said imprudently at the time of going away to Jakta that it was the treachery of the Dakini *amirs* that caused the defeat and death of the Malik ut tujjar and the Saiyyads and that as soon as they would arrive at Jakta they would send petitions to the Sultan stating all the facts The Dakin e on hearing this foretold them and sent representations to the Sultan that Khalf Hasan had in spite of their remonstrances gone into the jungles under the guidance of Sarka and thus brought on death and disaster and that the Saiyyads and Mughals who had escaped had refused to join them in an expedition against Sarka and the Ray of Sangesar but had gone away to Jakta after speaking ill of the Sultan and it appeared from their acts that they intended to join the Rays of Kokan and create disturbances They sent these reports to Mashir ul mulk (Col Briggs calls him Sheer ul mulla) who was the greatest enemy of Khalf Hasan and he submitted them to the Sultan and reported the acts of the Mughal in the worst possible light The Sultan was enraged and without making any enquiry ordered Mashir ul mulk and Nizam ul mulk son of Malik Imad ud din Churi who were both thirsting for the blood of the Mughals to go and slay the *amirs* who were at Jakta The Saiyyads and Mughals on hearing this shut themselves up at Jakta and sent reports stating the true state of things These reports fell into the hands of Mashir ul mulk and were torn up The Saiyyads and Muglals then sent other reports by the hands of their old and trusted Hindu servants but these men treacherously made them over to Mashir ul mulk who tore them up also The Saiyyads and Mughals having no other alternative fortified themselves in Jakta and collected provision

Mashir ul mulk then summoned the Dakini *amirs* who had deserted from Khalf Hasan and in concert with them besieged Jakta and for two months slaughter and bloodshed went on Mashir ul mulk sent repeated petitions to the Sultan that the Saiyyads and Mughals were bent on hostility and intended to deliver Jakta up to the Sultan of Gujrat and the Sultan sent repeated *farmans* directing their total destruction Then the Saiyyads and Muglals finding that their provisions were becoming exhausted determined to leave the women and children under a guard in the fort and to march rapidly to

unfavourable light and as the latter had made over the reins of (the management of) affairs into the grasp of power of the *rāzīs*, those

Ahmadābād Bīdāl, and explain the facts to the Sultān Mashīr ul-mulk and Nizām ul mulk then decided that if the Saīyyads and Mughals did this, they would have to pursue them and a considerable number of them would be slain. They therefore determined on fraud and deceit, and sent a message, that they had reported their helpless condition to the Sultān, and the latter had ordered that there should be no injury to their lives and properties, and they should be allowed to go where they liked. Mashīr ul mulk and Nizām ul mulk swore on the *Qurān* to testify to the truth of their statements. The Saīyyads twelve hundred in number and the other Musalmān foreigners thirteen hundred in number then came out of Jākta with their women and children. As they had no beasts of burden, they encamped in front of the fort. The Dakinis abided by their agreement for three days, but on the fourth day they invited the Saīyyads to the fort and all, except Qāsim Beg Safshikan and Qarā Khān Gurd and Ahmad Ekkatāz in all about three hundred men of rank, accepted it. When they sat down to the feast, armed men attacked them and slew them, and about four thousand Dakinis attacked all the males who were outside, even the babes at their mothers' breasts, and treated the women with all the insult that their lust and baseness could provoke. Qāsim Beg and the others who were in camp at a distance of two miles then armed themselves and fled towards the capital. Mashīr ul mulk and Nizām ul mulk sent two thousand horsemen under Dāūd Khān to pursue them, and they also sent orders to all *jāgīndārs* and *raiyyats* to intercept and slay them. Qāsim Beg, however, held on his course, only turning round to attack the pursuers when they pressed too close on them. When they arrived at Bir, Dāūd Khān called upon Hasan Khān the *jāgīndār*, to help him in intercepting and slaying the rebels. Hasan Khān, however, knew Qāsim Beg, who had once saved his life in battle, and replied that if Qāsim Beg had been a rebel, he would have gone over to Gujrāt, which was only three days' journey from the place where they had been. Dāūd Khān then arrayed his followers for a drawn battle and Qāsim Beg met him. Dāūd Khān was at this time hit by two arrows and was slain, but his men continued to fight vigorously, and Qāsim Beg was in great difficulty. Then Hasan Khān appeared with his men. Qāsim Beg, thinking that they were coming to reinforce Dāūd Khān's men, was seriously alarmed at this new danger, but Hasan Khān's men told his men that they were coming to help them. Then they became more hopeful and defeated the Dakinis, who went back to Jākta carrying the corpse of Dāūd Khān with them.

Qāsim Beg and Hasan Khān now sent representations to the Sultān, who sent for Qāsim Beg. When the latter appeared before the Sultān, and explained matters to him, he ordered Mustafa Khān, the head of the political department who had destroyed the petitions of the Saīyyads and Mughals to be beheaded,

deceitful men sent Raja Rustam who had the title of Nizam ul mulk and Salar Hamza who bore the title of Mashir ul mulk with a blood thirsty army ¹ towards (or to seize? *ba qasd*) Jalna. When Nizam ul mulk and Mashir ul mulk arrived in the vicinity of Jalna they gave assurances of safety to twelve hundred Sayyads of true and pure descent and a thousand other foreigners and made them expectant and hopeful by strong and well confirmed oaths and gave them valuable robes of honour and sent them to their places of residence. On the following day they arranged a great entertainment and concealed three thousand men inside the house after putting ornaments on their dresses and invited the Sayyads to the feast and showing them all honour and respect made them sit down. They took thirty of them outside on the pretext of giving them their food and poured the *sharbat* of martyrdom into the gullet of each one of them. So that twelve hundred Sayyads who were distinguished by the purity of their descent were sent to the grade of martyrdom. In no time whatever since the time of Yezid the impious and the accursed had such a calamity occurred.

Couplet

Iron and steel from the same mine come out
But the one a mirror becomes and the other
a donkey's shoe

He also appointed Qâsim Beg in place of Ikhâl Hasan and made him the commander of the army of Daulatâbad and Jûnîr. The other leaders of the Mu_hâls were also rewarded and fresh Mughal levies were ordered to be raised. Mashir ul mulk and Nizam ul mulk and all their confederates were punished. They were ordered to be brought from Jakta to Ahmadâbâd Badar on foot with chains and fottors on them. The houses and property of Mashir ul mulk and Nizam ul mulk were appropriated to the Sultan's use so that their children wandered about homeless and starving. Besides this Mashir ul mulk and Nizam ul mulk were afflicted with leprosy in the course of the year.

¹ There is a slight difference in the readings. One MS and the 1st ed have مَلَى حَلْنَى as I have in the text. But the other MS has مَلَى حَلَنَى i.e. to the town of Jalna.

The Caliph Yezid who made the attack on Husain at Karbala. There are some differences in the readings. One MS substitutes عَصْرِي for عَهْدِي which is in the other MSS and in the 1st ed. The 1st ed has مَطْرُود after جَهَنَّم but this is omitted in both MSS and both MSS substitute نَبْعَ مَصْبَقَ! for اَنْ بَعْ وَادِيَ!

¹ In their old age, both Mashir-ul-mulk and Nizām-ul-mulk became afflicted with leprosy, so that (it may be imagined what would happen to them) in the after life Oh! holy God, such a father that he cast his own *rāzī* under the foot of an elephant for insulting one Saiyyad, and such a son that he caused the massacre of twelve hundred Saiyyads without any reason whatever

² As the Rāys of Kokan (Concan) vaunted of their independence, and did not make their submission, the Sultān nominated Dilāwar Khān to conquer that country, after conferring on him a special robe of honour, and sent *farmāns* to the *amīrs* on the frontier that they should collect their men and should join Dilāwar Khān When the latter arrived at the town of ³Kankūla, ⁴ he sent Asad Khān and

و روایت طبقاب مصطفی شاهی شیرالملک دکن و نظام الملک عوری در همان سال بعلت بوص گرفتار گشته

¹ Contrary to this Firishtah says that Nizām-ud-dīn describes hero events, which, according to Firishtah, happened before the invasion by and defeat of Nasīr Khān, and the invasion of the Konkan by Khalf Hasan, and the latter's death (See the early part of note 1, p 61) It may be mentioned here that Nizām-ud-dīn's account differs from Firishtah's in three main particulars (1) As already mentioned Nizām-ud-dīn places the expedition at a date long posterior to that of Firishtah Firishtah says that Dilāwar Khān started on the expedition on the Nauroz (Muharram 1st) of 840 A H Nizām-ud-dīn gives no date, but he mentions it after the death of Khalf Hasan and connected events, which took place according to Firishtah in 858 A H, though Nizām-ud-dīn unfortunately does not give any date, (2) Firishtah says that Dilāwar Khān sent the daughter of the Rāja of Sangesar or Sonkehr, who received the name of Zibā Chehra, and became the cause of Nasīr Khān's invasion of Berār, and his subsequent defeat Nizām ud-dīn says that Dilāwar Khān sent the daughters of two Rāys, viz., those of Sangesar and Rāhal, but he does not say anything about what happened to them after they arrived in the Sultān's camp, and (3) Nizām-ud-dīn says vaguely that the Sultān turned against Dilāwar Khān at the instigation of envious people, but Firishtah says, that the Sultān learnt that Dilāwar Khān had received bribes from the Rājas of Konkan, and had not done his best to reduce their fortresses Firishtah also says that after Dilāwar Khān had retired, the eunuch Dastūr ul-mulk was placed in charge of affairs

² Kankūla does not appear to be mentioned by Firishtah He only mentions according to the lith ed the Rāys of Rāhal and Sangesar Col Briggs calls them the Rāys of Sonkehr and Rairee As to Sangesar or Sonkehr see p 61, note 2

³ There are differences in the reading One MS has را سند کر فرستاد نا ولایت را حراب کردند the other has را فرستاد نا ولایت را حراب کردند, the lith ed agrees with the reading of the first MS

Fulad Khan and Safdar Khan and they devastated the country and burnt down houses and other structures The Ray of Sangesar who was the chief of the country owing to great weakness and exhaustion sent an emissary to Dilawar Khan and promised to send a large tribute with his daughter , and also engaged that henceforward they would not place their feet outside the path of obedience Dilawar Khan agreed to his prayer and sent the Ray's daughter and the heavy tribute to the capital and himself advanced to capture the fort of ¹ Rahal which was one of the most important forts of that country On arrival at that neighbourhood Safdar Khan and Fulad Khan and a body of men commenced to plunder the wealth of the country and to destroy it The inhabitants availing themselves of a fit opportunity made a sudden attack and in that action the brother and the son of Dilawar Khan became martyrs Dilawar Khan with the help of the great and holy God collected his soldiers and dispersed the assailants and made many men food for the blood drinking swords After repeated battles and much bloodshed the Ray of that district spread the bed of excuses and sent his own daughter with a large quantity of tribute to Dilawar Khan The latter pardoned his offences and returned to the presence of the Sultan and was distinguished by kindnesses and favours When the greatness and power of Dilawar Khan reached their zenith the disposition of the Sultan turned against him at the instigation of envious people and so he withdrew his hand from the Sultan's service and retired into a corner of safety

As the Ray of Bijanagar got information of this delicate state of affairs and knew that the Sultan would not march in person he in the ³ year 847 A H plundered certain *parganas* on the frontier and

¹ The name looks like حارہ or دلہ in the MSS It is راہل in the lith ed Firishtah lith ed also has دلہ and I have accordingly retained دلہ Col Briggs has Railee

² There are differences of readings here also One MS has معاشر حابرا و فولاد and the other MS has حابرا و حمی کہ در دہب اموال و عارب ارواح سروع کردد and the lith ed معاشر حل و فولاد حل و جمع کہ در دہب اموال و عارب ارواح سروع کردد ed has معاشر حل و فولاد حل و جمعی کہ در دہب اموال و عارب ارواح سروع کردد The readings of the 2nd MS and the lith ed appear to me to be nearly correct but the word کہ should be omitted and a , inserted before حمی in the lith ed

³ This campaign is mentioned both by Firishtah and by Mr Sewell The date given by Nizām ud dīn 847 A H (1443 A D) is correct but the campaign

carried away cattle and other goods and chattles. The Sultān, having received information of this unfortunate occurrence, advanced

took place, while the Mahik-ut tujjār was yet alive, and he took part in it as will be seen later on, so that although the date is correct, the chronological order of Nizām ud-dīn's account is incorrect. Firishtah commences his account by saying that the Rāy of Bijānagar convened a council of chiefs and Brahmins, to consider how it was, that in spite of the fact that his country, the Carnātic, was larger in extent, and had more population and revenue than the Bahmanī kingdom, the ruler of the latter was always victorious in all campaigns. The Brahmins, like the Brahmins of Lakshman Sen's court at once quoted their Sāstas and said that according to these, they were to be subject to the Musalmāns for thirty thousand years. Others said that the Musalmāns had stronger horses and better archers, and the Rāy ordered that Musalmāns should be enlisted in his service, and jāiqīrs should be granted to them, and a mosque should be erected in Bijānagar for their use, and no one should interfere with them in the exercise of their religion, and a copy of the Qurān should be placed in front of his throne, so that the Musalmāns might salute it. He also ordered his soldiers to be trained in archery, so that he soon had ten thousand Musalmāns and sixty thousand lāshī horsmen, who all had knowledge of archery and three lakhs of infantry. He then crossed the Tungābhadrā, and conquered the fort of Mudkal and sent his sons to besiege Rājore and Bankāpūr, and stationed himself on the bank of the Krishnā, and his soldiers raided as far as Saghīr and Bijāpūr. Sultān 'Alā-ud dīn ordered his forces to assemble, and when fifty thousand cavalry and sixty thousand infantry were ready, the Sultān at an auspicious moment marched out with artillery and other munitions of war. Deo Rāy advanced to the fort of Mudkal. The Sultān sent Khalf Hasan Basrī, Mahik-ut tujjār, with the army of Daulatābād against the sons of Deo Rāy, and Khān Zamān with the army of Bijāpūr and Khān Āazam with that of Berār against Deo Rāy himself. Khalf Hasan advanced to Rājore and fought with the elder son of Deo Rāy, so that he was wounded and had to flee. He then advanced towards Bankāpūr, and he had not yet reached that place, when the younger son of the Rāy fled and joined his father. Then there was a great battle near Mudkal, and both sides suffered heavy losses, the Musalmāns suffering more than the Hindūs. Then a second battle was fought and the Musalmāns were victorious, and the elder son of the Rāy, who had fled from Mudkal was killed by a spear thrown at him by Khān Zamān. The Hindūs fled panic struck into the fort of Mudkal, and Fakhr-ul-mulk Dehlavī and his brother pursuing them closely, entered the fort, were captured, and were taken before Deo Rāy. The Sultān then sent a message to the Rāy, that if these two men were killed, he would slay two lakhs of Hindūs to avenge their deaths. Deo Rāy then sent a message to the Sultān that if he would in future refrain from attacking his country, he would send an annual tribute, and return

towards the country of Bijanagar He distributed large quantities of arms and many horses (among his soldiers) and advancing rapidly besieged the fort of Mudhal As all appliances for the capture of the fort were prepared and the garrison saw death before their eyes the Ray of Bijanagar on account of great misery and wretchedness sent an emissary and prayed for the pardon of his offences and entered into an agreement that he should send tribute every year and who should at once pay in cash whatever the Sultan should have expended on this expedition The Sultan then drew the pen of forgiveness across his offences and returned to his capital and he (i.e. the Ray) paid whatever he had agreed to pay and thus gained safety The Sultan arranged a great entertainment in the vicinity of the capital and conferred distinctions on the amirs bestowing on them robes of honour and other favours He then stayed for some time at the seat of the empire

As Sikandar Khan Bukhari had a great share in the rebellion of Shahzada Muhammad Khan and although after that Sultan

the two prisoners uninjured and never transgressed the rules of obedience The Sultan agreed to the a proposals Deo Ray sent the two amirs and the arrears of tribute of some years and valuable presents and the Sultan also sent presents and then returned to his capital

This account abridged from Fishtah contains more facts than the vague narrative in the Tabaqat Col Briggs calls Faiz ul mulk Mashir ul mulk Mr Sewell also mentions the incident but he does not give their names but calls them two chief Muhammadan officers (page 6) He also says that the campaign must have been of short duration since while it began in 847 A.H. (May 1st 1443 A.D. to April 19th 1444 A.D.) according to Fishteh it was over before December 1443 when Abdur Razzak (who came as ambassador from Persia to Celicut and Vijayanagar) left Vijayanagar (Page 77)

¹ The words which I have translated would pay in cash are in the MSS داد حواب گوید and داد حواب گوید end and in the lith ed گوید داد the meaning of which I am told is to pay cash on the spot

Fishtah's account of the rebellion of Sikandar Khan Bukhari is as follows In 87 A.H. the Sultan had an ulcer in his leg which his physicians could not cure and he therefore came very rarely out of the palace and the report of his death was spread about Upon this Jalal Khan Bukhari son in law of Sultan Almad Shah who had jagirs in sarkar Valkonda in Tileng believing that the Sultan was dead took possession of a large tract of country in his neighbourhood and wanted to make bis on Sikandar Khan ruler of that

' Alā-ud-dīn had, after his victory, pardoned his offences he was always afraid and had suspicions of the Sultān's anger and could not be assured in the matter of the latter's favourable disposition towards him At last some evil-disposed persons informed him in the months of the year 960 A H , of some words which they told him had been uttered by the Sultān Sikandar Khān now, having no other alternative, resolved upon acting ungratefully , and sent a message to Sultān Mahmūd Khaljī, ruler of Mālwā, and persuaded him to attempt the conquest of the country of Berār Sultān Mahmūd then advanced to Berār from Mandū , and Sikandar Khān advanced with one thousand

tract of country The Khān Ā'azam had also at that time died, and there was no one of high rank in Tilang, and the *amīrs* of that province wanted to make Sikandar Khān the Sultān there Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn, in spite of his illness began to collect troops to march against him Upon that Jalāl Khān held a council and decided that he should hold that country, while Sikandar Khān should march to Māhur, and take possession of it, so that the attention of the Sultān should be distracted between the two rebellions The Sultān sent a *qaul-nāma* (or agreement) to Sikandar Khān , but as he had had a large share in the rebellion of Shāhzāda Muhammad Khān, and had committed the present acts of hostility, he could not in any way be assured of his safety, and so he sent a message to Sultān Mahmūd Shāh Khaljī of Mālwa, to the effect that Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn had become ill and was dead, but his *vazirs* had for their own purposes kept the matter in concealment, and that if he would now march in that direction, Berār and Tilang would without any dispute come into his possession Sultān Mahmūd Khaljī after consulting the ruler of Asir and Burhānpūr started in 860 A H on his march to Berār Sikandar Khān advanced for a few stages and met him with a thousand horsemen Sultān 'Alā ud dīn cancelled his expedition to Tilang, and sent Khwāja Mahmūd Gilāni known as Gāwān against Jalāl Khān He also sent the army of Berār to meet the ruler of Burhānpūr, who had advanced to support Sultān Mahmūd , and sent Qāsim Beg Saf Shikan with the army of Daulatābād to meet Sultān Mahmūd , and himself, seated in a *palkī*, followed at a distance of five *kaiōhs* Sultān Mahmūd finding that Sultān 'Alā-ud dīn was alive, and was advancing to meet him returned to his own country He left an officer under the pretence of assisting Sikandar Khān, but with secret instructions to seize him with his treasures, and to bring him to Mandū, if he attempted to escape Sikandar Khān however received information of this, and joined his father at Nālkonda, which Khwāja Gāwān was then besieging Then both father and son obtained assurance of safety from the Sultān through the Khwāja , and surrendered the fort to the latter They then came to the Sultān, and again obtained Nālkonda as their *jāgi*

horsemen for a few stages and joined him ¹ They then besieged Mahur and when a long time passed and the siege was protracted Sultan Ala ud din came with a large army to help the garrison and when he arrived in the vicinity of Mahur Sultan Mahmud marched away at night and retired towards Mandu Sultan Ala nd din honoured the *thanadar* of Mahur with the title of *Fakhr ul mulk* and conferred many favours on him and confirmed him in the government of Mahur and its dependencies in accordance with previous custom He made arrangements for the government of that part of his kingdom and then returned towards the capital On the way Sikandar came before him with his head hanging down in shame and with a shroud tied to his shoulder The Sultan on account of the great benevolence which was ingrained in his nature covered his offences with the skirt of pardon and exalted him with a special robe of honour

They say that Sultan Ala ud din was extremely patient and forbearing and he read the public prayer himself and praised

¹ This and some of the facts mentioned later have no place in Firishtah's account given in the preceding note

² These incidents are mentioned by Firishtah also in his appreciation of Sultan Ala ud din's character and attainments He says People say that Sultan Ala ud din was fluent and eloquent and knew Persian well and he had also acquired some knowledge of the sciences Sometimes on Fridays and the two *Ids* he went to the *Juma masjid* and ascending the pulpit he read the public prayers and he praised himself with these titles (the titles agree with those in the text but the name instead of being سلطان احمد سلیمانی is علام الدین سلطان احمد سلیمانی) Firishtah goes on to say that one day an Arab merchant who had sold horses for the king's use the payment for which had been delayed by the officers of the household being present at the foot of the pulpit when the Sultan spoke these words immediately stood up and said By God thou art neither just nor merciful nor patient nor liberal but art a tyrant and a liar who has slaughtered the Prophet's true and holy descendants and yet darest to speak these words on the pulpits of the Musalmans The Sultan being much affected wept aloud and immediately paid the price of the horses and said those who have reviled me in this world and the next as being like Yezid will never escape the fire of the wrath of God He then went to the palace and never came out of it till his coffin was borne out The fact of the Sultan's owing money to the Arab and ordering its immediate payment introduces an element of bathos

himself with the following title, *viz.*, the just, the forbearing, the merciful, the benevolent Sultan over the worshippers of God, the great 'Alā-ud-dumiyā-wad-dīn Ahmad Shāh, son of Ahmad Shāh the Wali, son of Muhammad Shāh, Al-Bahmanī Saiyyad Ajal, to whose great ancestors the position of the honourable *naqib* of holy *Mashhad* had been entrusted, and who was much grieved at the slaughter of the Saiyyads at Jālna, rose on a day on which Sultan 'Alā ud dīn recited these titles, in praise of himself, and said, "by God thou art a great liar, thou art not just, nor forbearing nor merciful but hast slaughtered the holy and pure descendants of the Prophet and thou daarest to speak these words on the pulpits of the Moslems" Sultan 'Alā-ud-dīn came out of the *masjid*, and made no protest of any kind This story is a clear proof of his forbearance

¹ In the year 862 A.H., in accordance with the Divine decree, a severe illness fell on the person of the Sultan When he became hopeless of surviving,² he sent one day for Humāyūn Khān who was the most highly cultured and the eldest of his sons, and said, "Oh pupil of my eye! the time has come when I should, with an open brow, accept the summons of death, but there are some royal pearls which I have received as an inheritance from my great ancestors and which I have treasured and kept concealed in the oyster-shell of my breast, and their beauty and elegance are such, that wisdom the appraiser of gems, who is possessed of perfection of intelligence, has to confess its ignorance in the matter of their price, and the speech of the word-stringing pen, in spite of its fluency and eloquence, has to acknowledge its impotence in describing their advantages and

into what would otherwise have been a scene of stern rebuke This is absent from the version of the incident as told by Nizām ud-dīn

¹ According to Firishtah, Sultan 'Alā-ud-dīn had an ulcer on his leg in 857 A.H., and it was of such a serious kind that reports of his death were circulated, and the rebellion of Sikandar Khān took place, and although the Sultan was able to proceed against Sultan Mahmūd of Mālwā, he had to do so seated in a *palkī* The malady appears to have gone on, and brought on the Sultan's death in 862 A.H.

² Firishtah does not say anything about 'Alā-ud-dīn's precepts and advice to Humāyūn Khān The latter received the title of *Zālim* or the tyrant, so Nizām-ud dīn's description of him as *دُلْجِ!* among 'Alā-ud dīn's sons, does not appear to me to be appropriate

benefits My paternal affection and my great love for my good and able son compel me that I should make heavy his ear of intelligence with those pearls of advice and those gems of precept

Couplet

I tell thee with such eloquence as I have

Thou mayest benefit from my words or mavest be wroth

¹ DIAECTIONS AND PRFCEPTS

Oh well beloved son! as the time has come when you the light of my eye and of the empire should sit on the throne of greatness it is right that in matters connected with the people you should not pass any orders without a valid reason and clear evidence and should not grant a *farman* without deliberation and examination of the policy and certainty (about it) for the disadvantage of it would be greater than the advantage You should also keep the affairs of rule and government pure and clean from the stains of the words or self interested persons for those peoples sometimes draw into the net of punishment the gems of the good deeds of men and show on the platform of appearance beneficent acts and virtuous deeds in an ugly garb and a sinister shape You should always keep wicked and dishonest men and criminals and disturbers in subjection and misery otherwise men would be bold in acting dishonestly and wickedly and justice which is the foundation of all morality and on which the laws of the *Shara* and the rules of government are based will be lost from amongst men Further³ you should not allow men who try to create disturbances to come near you and should hold the words of these men who are destined to end in adversity to be entirely destitute of credence You should

¹ The reading in the MSS is الرِّمَاءُ وَالْمَدْحَاجُ as I have it in the text In the hth ed it is كَه سُلْطَان عَلَيْهِ الدِّين نَسْر حَوْد هَبَائِن حلْ كُرْدَه اَهَدَه One MS in erts the word وَاسْتَه حَكْمَه between بَرَان and دَنْجَر سَام و سَاعِي بَالْفَسَادِ رَاه

³ There are different readings One MS has و دَنْجَر سَام و سَاعِي بَالْفَسَادِ رَاه etc as in the other The hth ed has و دَنْجَر سَامِي بَالْفَسَادِ سَعْدَه سَعْدَه رَاه سَعْدَه All three appear to me to be incorrect but the first would be correct if و سَاعِي رَاه is changed to سَاعِي

not also, for a few words or for a suspicion, which may enter your mind, throw an innocent man into the narrow places of danger and the ravine of fear.

You should also in matters of great and small difficulties consult men of intelligence and wisdom and in the solution of intricate matters and the discovery of difficult things recognise them as just judges and impartial *Qāzīs*, for wise men have said He who consults, will never repent, as two opinions are (always) better than one, and also you should always consider justice and equity to be the two wings of greatness, and the two aims of the empire. In all matters you should not miss the path of justice and the high way of equity. You should also try to draw the hearts of your subjects and *raiyyats*. In demanding revenue from the *raiyyats* you should not be harsh, and should not cause pain to the retainers and soldiers by unreasonable demands. You should make every endeavour for the amelioration of the condition of *daiwishes*, and for keeping their hearts in peace and comfort. You should (in fact) so act that when the elemental body, and the limbs, which constitute it, come to extinction, and the physical form and the bodily arrangements pass away, the pages of the volumes of time remain full of descriptions of your good deeds, and praises of your acts.

Couplet

He who after death leaves a name behind,
Be sure that in life he did great deeds

Further you should beware (of causing) the lamentations of the oppressed, who have suffered at the hands of tyrants, and of the injured who have suffered privation and hardship, and you should know for a certainty that the¹ real favour of the great and holy God always watches over the condition of the oppressed ones”

When the *amīrs* and *vazīrs* received information of these directions,² Mahk Nizām-ul-mulk, who was entrusted with the administra-

¹ The meaning of the words عَدْنَى عَلَيْهِ عَذَابٌ which in one MS are written as عَذَابٌ عَلَيْهِ عَدَنٌ is not clear in the context.

² This is also mentioned by Firishtah, who explains the matter somewhat better than Nizām-ud-dīn. He says, that as contrary to their representation, Sultān ‘Alā ud-dīn made Humāyūn Shāh Zālīm (tyrant), whose manners were hateful to the people, his heir, Nizām-ul-mulk Daulatābādī, who had just

tion of the kingdom fled and went to his son who had the title of Malik ut tujjar and was the governor of Junir and from there both of them went away together to Cujrit When on the 121st of Jamadi ul āwwal 862 A.H Sultan Ala ud din took his place from the throne (*talik*) on the plank (*talika*) of the coffin Saif Khan Mūllu Khan and other *amirs* rendered homage to Hasan Khan Shah zada who was the younger brother of Humayun Khan and placed him on the throne the common people plundered the palace of Humayūn Khan and set fire to it Humayun Khan determined on flight³ with 80 horsemen It so happened that on the way elephant drivers (*filbanan*) and officers of the bed chamber and of the private apartment (*pardadarān*) and other retainers (*sayer ahl e hashm*) saw him and hastened to join his service Hasan Khan sitting on the throne saw Humayun Khan enter the palace and fear over whelmed him and he could not sit firmly on that great place and

before that been made the *talik us sultanat* and who was well known for his intelligence and knowledge of affairs fled before Ala ud din's death and went to his son who after the death of Qasim Beg Saf shikan had received the title of Malik ut tujjar and was the Subahdar of Daulatabad and Junir and from there before even the news of the death of Sultan Ala ud din had arrived they went away to Gujarat

The above is a translation from the 11th ed of Firishtah but Col Briggs does not mention Nizām ul mulk or his son by name but says Several of the nobles made their escape to Guzerat before the King's death to avoid the tyranny of his successor

¹ Firishtah does not give the date of Sultan Ala ud din's death but the year is 862 A.H as in the text Mr Sewell (page 93) says Ala ud din died February 13th A.D 1458(?) He says in a note Firishtah says that he reigned 23 years 9 months and 20 days which gives this date The Burhan i Ma asir fixes his decease at the end of Jamadi ul āwwal 86 A.H which answers to April 1458 A.D As will be seen a little further down according to Nizam ud din Sultan Ala ud din reigned for 23 years and 9 months and - days i.e 2 days longer than the period mentioned by Firishtah

Firishtah's account agrees but he says that the *amirs* kept the fact of the death of Sultan Ala ud din concealed and Shah Habib ul lah son of Khalil ul lah (who had come from Kirman in Persia on the invitation of Sultān Ahmad Shāh —See note I page 50) and others also joined them

³ The words are عرب کریں هر سب دبوس کرد *Karib kroon hary sab doos kord* i.e gave battle to the plunderers and the plunderers being defeated took shelter with Hasan Khan Humayūn pursued them and entered the palace

came down from it ¹ The *amīns* and *vazīrs* and all the others then kissed the ground of service, and (Humāyūn Khān) sat on the throne The first order that he gave was ² this, that they should tie Saif Khān to the foot of an elephant, and drag him through the whole city Mallū Khān, seeing this (barbarous) punishment fled, and took shelter in a corner

The period of his (*i.e.*, Sultan 'Alā-nd-dīn's) reign was twenty-three years, nine months and twenty-two days

AN ACCOUNT OF THE REIGN OF SULTĀN HUMĀYŪN SHĀH SON OF SULTĀN 'ALĀ-UD-DĪN

The *amīns* and *maliks* with great unwillingness and reluctance placed their heads of loyalty and their foreheads of fealty on the ground of service. Sultān Humāyūn Shāh although he was well known for great bravery and manliness, and distinguished for eloquence of speech and sweetness of tongue, and bravery, and courage, yet was harsh and malevolent in his temper He showed great excess in committing sins, and great deficiency in the payment of just dues He was sound in wisdom and policy, but barbarous and cruel in the punishment of criminals and offenders Although he was ferocious and wrathful, the sanity of his judgment was such, that every project that he sketched out on the board of his mind, with the pen of thought, resulted according to his anticipation When he took his place on the throne of empire, he devoted all his energy to the appointment of a perfect and wise *vazīr*, and he laid down, that the ascent up the gradations of rule and the steps of empire is not possible, except with the help and assistance of a *vazīr*, of whose world-adorning wisdom, the structure of the empire and the amelioration of the condition of the *raiyyats* would be the result, and the increase of the revenue and the administration of the army would be the fruits

¹ The reading is the same in the MSS and in the 1st ed, but the sentence appears to me to be incomplete, as it does not say before whom the *amīns* kissed the ground, and who sat on the throne

² According to Firishtah he ordered that Shāh Habib-ul-lah and other should be cast into prison Mallū Khān fought his way to the frontier of the Carnatic Col Briggs says that Hasan Khān's eyes were put out, but I cannot find this in the 1st ed of Firishtah

of whose mature deliberations He entrusted the duties of the *ta'ir* to ¹ Khwaja Najm ud din Qiran Gilani who was a wise and understanding man experienced and God fearing and the reins of binding and loosening and the tying and untwing of all matters of the government of the country were placed in the grasp of his power and the title of Malik ut tujjar was conferred on him

And in the spring time of his (*i.e.* Humayün Khan's) rule Sikandar Khan Bukhari who had formerly rebelled against Sultan Ala ud din and had joined Sultan Mahmud Khalji became ashamed and repentant and forgetting the duties of allegiance made the field of the government of Humayun Shah dark with the dust of disturbance and having raised the standard of rebellion went away to ² Mallonda with a large force Humayun Shah determined to march to Malkonda and sent ³ Khan Jahan two stages in advance of him self Sikandar Khan saw that Khan Jahan was weak and attacked him with force and violence and defeated him ⁴ On the following

¹ This is the name in the MSS In the lith ed it is مسلم الدین سانجم الدین Firishtah however says that in accordance with the late Sultan's direction Sultan Humayün made Khwaja Mahmud Gawan the Malik ut tujjar and the Vali ush shahī and the *tarafdar* of Bijapur M Hidayat Hosain has مسعود written after مارن in the text

² Nizam ud din does not explain the reason of Sikandar Khan new rebellion It appears from Firishtah that Sikandar Khan who was a companion of Sultan Humayün when the latter was yet *shah utsa'* fully expected to be made a *pahsūr* of Tilang but when he found that Malik Shah who was a descendant of one of the great men among the Muhibbals and according to some a descendant of the Sultans of the family of Chengiz Khan was made Khwaja Jahān and *tarafdar* of Tilang and a nephew of Imād ul mull Churi was made a commander of a thousand horse and received *jagirs* in Tilang he was disappointed and left the court without asking for permission and went to his father at Nalkunda and the latter had no alternative but to collect men to support his son

³ The name is Balkonda or Nalkonda in the MSS and the lith ed Firishtah calls it نلکونڈا Nalkonda and Col Briggs has Nowlgoonda

⁴ According to Firishtah he was the governor of Berar and had come to offer congratulations to the Sultan on his accession

⁵ The account of the expedition and the battle as given by Firishtah is different from and more elaborate than that given by Nizam ud din According to him Sikandar Khan met Khan Jahān and defeated him Then Humayün

day, when the standards of the dawn rose over the eastern horizon, Humāyūn Shāh arrived his army, and advanced to the field of battle and slaughter. After the two armies had met, and the flame of battle had flared up, the breeze of victory and triumph blew on the standards of Humāyūn Shāh and the enemy fled into the desert of dishonour and a number of them were crushed under the feet of the elephant of death. Sikandar Khān also fell down from the seat of his saddle on the bed of the ground. Jalāl Khān Bukhārī fled from the battle-field and shut himself up in the fort of Mālkonda. When the Sultān arrived in the neighbourhood of that place, he obtained a safe conduct, and carried his life away to safety from the danger-zone of the (Sultān's) wrath. The Sultān returned to his capital.

In the year 863 A.D., when the tyranny of Humāyūn Shāh became patent to all, the Rāys of Tilang placed their feet outside the circle of allegiance, and shortened their arms in the payment of the stipulated tribute. Humāyūn Shāh conferred the title of

Shāh marched in person and encamped in front of Nalkonda. He waited for Jalāl Khān and Sikandar Khān to come and render him homage, when Sikandar Khān made a night attack on the Sultān's camp and did some damage. The next morning the Sultān advanced to seize the fort, but Sikandar Khān advanced with seven thousand or eight thousand horsemen and met him. Humāyūn Shāh sent him a message, that it would not be right for him to fight with his benefactor, and offered him any *paigana* he might choose in Daulatābād as his *jāgīr*, if he would only make his submission. Sikandar Khān replied that if Humāyūn Shāh was Ahmad Shāh's son's son, he was his daughter's son, if the Sultān would give him the country of Tilang well and good, otherwise he should be ready for battle. Then Humāyūn Shāh became angry, and prepared for battle, and Sikandar Khān did the same. Sikandar Khān fought bravely, and the battle continued all day, when Malik-ut-tujjār Gāwān and Khwāja Jahān Turk attacked Sikandar Khān from the right and left wing, and Humāyūn Shāh attacked him in the centre. Sikandar Khān like an infuriated tiger attacked Humāyūn Shāh, and routed his companions. As the elephant on which Humāyūn Shāh was riding was killing many warriors, Sikandar Khān attacked it with his spear, when the elephant caught him by the trunk and threw him on the ground, and his own followers who were riding close behind him trampled on him and killed him. Humāyūn Shāh then sent men in pursuit of the routed enemy. Nalkonda was then besieged, and Jalāl Khān surrendered it with much treasure. His life was spared, but he was kept in imprisonment.

¹ Khwaja Jahan on Malik Shah a Turk slave and sent him to the country of Tilang and Nizām ul mulk Ghuri was sent with him and the Sultan himself followed with twenty thousand horsemen and forty elephants Khwaja Jahan besieged the fort of Deorlonda The garrison prayed for help from the Ray of Orissa agreeing to pay him a large sum of money for it The Ray sent a grand army with one hundred elephants Nizām ul mulk Chūri said We should go away from the foot of the fort and station ourselves in the open field before the Ray of Orissa arrives Khwaja Jahan who had no experience considered the opinion of Nizam ul mulk unreasonable and remained where he was The next day when the light giving sun rose over the eastern horizon the Ray of Orissa and the garrison attacked Khwaja Jahan from the two sides and he was defeated He fled eighty *karohs* and joined Humāyun Shah He represented to the latter that the defeat was due to Nizam ul mulk's

¹ As we have seen Khwaja Jahan had already been employed to the war against Sikandar Ikhān Firishtah a description of him has already been given in note ^a page 77 Firishtah says that Humāyun Shah attacked Deorlonda because the Talangā amīndars who held it had been on friendly terms with Sikandar Ikhān He sent the two officers named to attack it and himself went to Warangal (Warangal however appears to be a long way beyond Deorkonda) The garrison made several sallies but were defeated each time and when they were in considerable distress they prayed for help from the Ray of Orissa He sent a large body of men and also some elephants of war and sent an announcement of his own approach Then Nizam ul mulk Chūri and Khwaja Jahan had a conference Nizam ul mulk gave the advice which is mentioned in the text Khwaja Jahan said that if they moved away the Talangās would pursue them and they should therefore prepare for battle where they were Nizam ul mulk Chūri had to remain silent Then the battle took place and both Nizam ul mulk Chūri and Ikhān Jahan fled to Humāyun Shah at Warangal Ikhān Jahan failed to avenge the defeat to Nizam ul mulk and Humāyun Shah without any inquiry ordered him to be put to death and his relations and adherents went and joined Sultan Mahmūd Ikhālī Ikhān Jahan was imprisoned in a fort Humāyun Shah was intending to send another army to Deorkonda when news came from Ahmadabad that Yusuf Turk had taken Hasan Ikhān and Shah Habib ul lah towards the city of Bir

There is a curious resemblance between the language of Firishtah in some of the above sentences to that of Nizam ud din and it appears to me that he copied from the latter though of course in other places his accounts are more logical and accurate

action, and Humāyūn Shāh's disposition turned against Nizām-ul-mulk, and he spoke unbecoming words to the latter who fled and joined Sultān Mahmūd Khaljī. Humāyūn Shāh also east Khwāja Jahān from favour, and made him over to a jailor. And according to another statement, Nizām-ul-mulk Ghūrī was put to death with great contumely, and his associates and tribesmen went and joined Sultān Mahmūd Khaljī.

In the year 864 A.H., Humāyūn Shāh again determined on the conquest of Tilang. On the way seven of the special associates of Amīrzāda¹ Muhibb-ud-dīn Habib-ul-lah, who on account of some

¹ There appears to be some confusion in the names. We know Shāh Habib ul-lah and Shāh Muhibb-ul-lah, but not Amīrzāda Muhibb-ud-dīn Firishtah in the corresponding passage has Shāh Habib-ul-lah. There is not much difference between Nizām-ud-dīn's account and that of Firishtah, as to the way in which the release of Shāh Habib-ul-lah and Shāhzāda Hasan Khān was effected. But the seven adherents of Shāh Habib ul-lah, who are called his مولیان مخصوص, intimate friends, in the Tabaqāt are called specifically his مولیان or disciples. Malik Yūsuf Turk is called Yūsuf Turk Kachāl. Then again the سارـ citadel, in which the prison was located, is called the دارـ سارـ by Firishtah, and the seraglio by Col Briggs. It appears also from Firishtah's account, that the original intention of the conspirators was to effect the release of Shāh Habib ul-lah alone, and they released Hasan Khān and Yehayā Khān and Jalāl Khān Bulkhārī, because they begged them to do so. Firishtah also says (contrary to Nizām ud-dīn's account) that it was after these men had been released, that the seven thousand other prisoners were set free.

There is, up to this again, a curious similarity between the languages of Nizām-ud-dīn, and Firishtah, and the latter, as the later author, appears to me to have copied from the former.

The subsequent movements of Hasan Khān and Shāh Habib-ul-lah, some of which are not mentioned by Nizām-ud-dīn, are thus described by Firishtah. After leaving the city, they remained for six or seven days in the garden of Kamthānā, which was three *karōhs* from Ahmadābād Bīdar. Then with three thousand horsemen and five thousand foot soldiers they attempted to seize the citadel of Ahmadābād Bīdar, but finding this to be difficult they went towards the town of Bīr, and took possession of the country around. Yūsuf Turk was made *Amīr ul-umrā* and Shāh Habib-ul-lah *vazīn*, and they commenced to collect troops.

Humāyūn Shāh now returned to Ahmadābād Bīdar, and he put the three thousand soldiers, whom he had left to guard the city, to death with much torture, and he put the *hotwāl* in an iron cage and had one of his limbs cut off.

heavenly catastrophe had become dispersed like the constellation of the Bear again became united like the Pleiades and as in the time of prosperity they had been partakers of his wealth they spoke among themselves that as that moon of the sky of bravery was in eclipse what use was there in life It was right that they should think out a plan for his release They went to Malik Yusuf Turk who among the slaves of Sultan Ala ud din was well known for his honesty and piety and famous for his good deeds and his devotion to God and the cup of whose hopes had always been filled with the wine of the benefaction of the *Amirzada* and lifted the veil from the face of their plan That worthy man joined with them and made some of the guards his confederates and having waited for a proper opportunity went with twelve horsemen and fifty foot soldiers to the gate of the citadel When the time of the afternoon prayer passed he dismounted from his horse and after performing the prescribed devotions prayed to the great and holy God for success and help About the time of sunset they went close to the gate Most of the guards had gone away on their various businesses and the few who remained stretched out their hands to forbid and stop them Malik Yusuf Turk acted with courtesy and gentleness and showed them a *farman* with a red seal as is the custom with all *farmans* in the Dakin which he had prepared beforehand and had taken with him and so they passed through the first gate When they arrived at the second (i.e. the inner) gate the guards met them with hostility and resistance and although the forged *farman* was shown to them

every day He was compelled to eat it and he was taken round the city till he died After that Humayun Shah sent eight thousand horsemen and an enormous number of infantry against his brother Hasan Khan A battle took place outside the town of Bir in which through the exertions of Shah Habib ul lah Hasan Khan was victorious Then Humayun Shah sent more troops His natural ferocity now blazed up and he sent the army which had accompanied him to Tilang to Bir keeping the wives and children of the officers as hostage so that they might not join Hasan Khan Another battle was fought and Hasan Khan was defeated and he went away with six or seven hundred soldiers to Bijapur There Siraj Khan Junaid treacherously seized them Shah Habib ul lah suffered martyrdom while resisting his capture but Prince Haan Khan and the others were sent prisoners to Ahmadabad Bidar

they did not accept it, and said that there should be a *parwāna* (an order or permit) from the *kotwāl* Malik Yūsuf immediately cut off the head of the chief guard with his sword, and entered the citadel. There was great tumult, and in the first instance they went to the big prison and broke down the gate. About seven thousand prisoners including Sayyids and learned and wise men and men of the middle class who were confined in that prison considered it a great boon, and each one went to his own nook and corner.

They then went from that place, and releasing *Amīrzāda* Habib-ul-lah, and the sons of the Sultāns, and Jalāl Khān Bu^{khārī}, each one went away in a separate direction. The *kotwāl* (Police Superintendent) of the city seized Jalāl Khān Bu^{khārī}, who was eighty years of age, and Yahya Khān, a son of Sultān 'Alā'-ud-dīn, and put them to death with great torment and torture. Hasan Khān and *Amīrzāda* Habib-ul-lah went to the house of a barber, who had been in the service of the latter, and had their heads shaved off, in the manner of *qalandars* (*faqīrs*, mendicants). The *Amīrzāda* wished to retire into an obscure corner and cover his feet under the skirts of contentment, but as Hasan Khān said that the people of the city and the soldiers were on his side, on account of the tyranny and injustice of Humāyūn Shāh, and it was certain that when the falcon of his greatness should spread the wings of fortune he would be able to seize Humāyūn Shāh like a bird whose wings should have been cut, and a wild animal whose legs should have been broken, without trouble and difficulty. As the *Amīrzāda* always fashioned (lit sewed) a *kulāh* (high cap) of this felt (*i.e.*, had such an ambition himself), he cancelled his original intention, and making strong terms of engagement with Hasan Khān, they both went out of the city. Soldiers came to them in large numbers. Humāyūn Shāh on hearing this put his sword into friend and stranger. When he arrived in the city of Bidar, he perpetrated such acts of cruelty, that ¹Hajjāj became (in comparison with him) Naushirwān, the just. His body has perished, but his bad name and the memory of his tyranny have continued in the world. One of his victims made this quatrain about it:

¹ A cruel tyrant of Arabia.

¹ Quatrain

Ah tyrant ! fear the sighs of the heart of sleepless men
 And fear thy bad deeds and thy evil inciting spirit
 Look at the eyelashes steeped in blood of thy victim !
 Fear that dagger sharp that drips with blood !

When the news of the return of Humayun Shah reached *Shahzada Hasan Khan* and *Amirzada Habib ul lah* they found them selves to be without the power of withstanding him and turned their faces towards Bijapur *Siraj Khan* who afterwards received the title of *Muzzam Khan* behaved towards them with courtesy and flattery and presented much tribute and after taking oaths took them into the citadel. He then collected a force in the course of the night and attacked them. The common people became dispersed *Hasan Khan* and *Mr Habib ul lah* and the seven friends who had brought them out of prison were besieged in a kiosk in which they had been accommodated. *Hasan Khan* after receiving a safe conduct went to the besiegers but *Amirzada Habib ul lah* in agreement with his friends said We are all prepared for death and the birds of our spirit will not lower their heads into the nest of your safe conduct. They fought and exerted themselves to the extent of their means and their strength and reached the end and object of their hope (i.e. they heroically met their death).

^² Humayun Shah when he saw *Hasan Khan* threw him in his

^¹ This quatrain is quoted with some variations by Firishtah also. He says that it was written by the poet *Maulana Nasir* who had according to him got the title of *Malik ush shor* or the King of poets apparently in imitation of the *Malik ut tujjir*. In the version printed in the 11th ed of Firishtah the second line is مَرْكَلْ دِم الْوَدَدْ وَارْبَسْ دَدْ سُومْ سُرْ اَنْجُلْ تُوبَسْ مَظْلُومَانْ دَهْ I think the third line as quoted by *Nizam ud din* is better

But see note 1 page 80 from which it will appear that according to Firishtah they fought two battles with Humayun Shah's army near Bir and were victorious in the first. *Nizam ud din* omits all mention of what happened near Bir.

^² Firishtah mentions the atrocities which were perpetrated by Humayun Shah on the companions of *Hasan Khan* who were sent to Ahmadabad Bidar by *Siraj Khan*. It appears from Firishtah that *Shah Habib ul lah* alone attained to martyrdom and the others including *Yusuf Turk* and down to

own presence before a tiger¹ Sayyid Tāhir, the poet has said the following chronogram on the date of the death of *Amīzāda* Habib-ul-lah

Quatrain

In the month of Sha'bān in India, to martyrdom attained,
Habib-ul-lah Ghāzi, may his tomb be sanctified!
The mind of Tāhir, sought the date of his death
He found it in *rūh-i-pāl-i-Na'mat-ul lah!*

(the holy spirit of Na'mat-ul-lah)

Sayyid Na'mat-ul-lah was Shāh Habib-ul-lah's great ancestor. They say that Siāj Khān was afflicted with leprosy in the course of a short time.

Then, in short, in the year 865 A.H., when the tyranny of Humāyūn Shāh reached to such a pitch, that he stretched out his hands to wives and children of other men, and he became the slave of his lust. Sometimes he ordered that a bride should be seized on the road, and should be brought into his seraglio and he after satisfying his lust, sent the woman to the house of her husband, and sometimes he put the members of the harem to death without any cause. The *amīrs* became suspicious of him to such a degree, that whenever they went to make their *salāms* (homage) to him, they first of all gave directions to their sons, before placing their feet on the road.

(At last)² Shīhab Khān who was the guardian of the seraglio

even the menials such as *farāshes*, water carriers and sweepers were sent to Ahmadābād Bidar, where they were put to death with cruel tortures, and their wives and children, and others in any way connected with Hasan Khān were also put to death with unheard-of and unnameable cruelties.

¹ Firishtah calls him Sayyid Tāhir Astarābādī, and he also quotes the chronograms

² Firishtah has two versions of the circumstances of Humāyūn Shāh's death. One is that he became ill, and that when he had no hope of his surviving the illness, he made his eldest son, Nizām Khān, his heir, and he released Khwājah Jahān Turk from prison, and sent for the Mahk ut tujjār from Tilang, and appointed the former to be *valīl ush-shāhī*, and the latter to be the *vazīr*, and he directed his son always to act under the guidance of his mother. The other version is somewhat like that given by Nizām ud-dīn, but it is said that Humāyūn Shāh had been ill, and was murdered after his recovery. The guardian of the harem is called Shīhab Khān eunuch in the lith ed. of Firishtah.

associated some *Habshis* with him and on the night of the ¹ 27th Dhīqā dāh of the aforementioned year one of the female *Habshi* slaves struck Humayun Shah when he was resting in the seraglio on the head with a piece of wood and made him like those who had been dead a thousand years ago

Couplet

In this turquoise palaeo with calamities filled
For evil evil ever is the recompense sure

The poet Nazīrī who was the friend and companion of *Amīr-ada* Habib ul lāh and who had been delivered from captivity by the kind exertions of Mālik Yūsuf Turk wrote this verse on the date of the death of Humayun Shah

Verse^s

Humāyūn Shah is dead the day has pleasant become
God is great oh happy and auspicious death!
The earth is full of flavour new The date of the death
Bring out even from *Dhaaq i jahān*

The word *Dhaaq i jahān* (flavour of the world) becomes the date of his death

The period of his reign was ³ three years and six months and five days

It is also said that Humayun Shah was killed when he was sleeping after drinking some intoxicating liquor Col Briggs gives the second version somewhat briefly and does not give the name of the eunuch

¹ Firishtah has 28th Dhīqā dāh 86 Col Briggs gives September 3rd 1461 as the corresponding date of the Christian era Mr Sewell also gives the 28th Dhīqā dāh of course from Firīhtah but he has the 27th September 1461 A.D. as the corresponding English date

² This verse has also been quoted by Firishtah who however substitutes دو روس سد و در حوس سد at the end of the first line and درس عالم ناریخ مرکس for ناریخ دو رس ناریخ

³ Firishtah has three years six months and six days as according to him the death took place on the 8th and not on the 27th Dhīqā dāh See note 1 above

AN ACCOUNT OF THE REIGN OF NIZAM SHAH, SON OF
HUMAYUN SHAH

When Nizam Shah in his eighth year sat in his father's place, the establishment of the rules of government and the strengthening of the acts of administration were entrusted in the hands of ¹ *Makhdūma-i-Jahān* and that ² veiled one behind the curtain of chastity directed all her energies in furnishing the bed of equity and justice, and shortened the hand of the tyrant from the skin of his victim. But as owing to the great oppression of Humayun Shah, the hearts of men were wounded and lacerated, the work of government could not be regulated and organized.

At this time the ³ Rāy of Orissa having received information of

¹ The widow of Humayun Shah and the mother of Nizam Shah, whom Firishtah describes as a عالیہ عورت or a wise woman.

² Firishtah describes how, every morning, the two ministers Khwājah Jahān and Malik ut tujjār Gāwān went to the palace and through the intervention of a woman of the name of Māh Bānū, they had a conference with the queen-mother, and then they took the young Sultan and placed him on the turquoise throne, and carried out the administration on the lines which had been determined upon in consultation with the queen-mother.

³ Firishtah says, the Rāy of tho اوریا and اوریا in concert with zamīndārs of Tilang came to conquer the country of the Dakin, by way of Rājalmāndri, and they laid waste all the country as far as Kulās. I cannot say exactly what the word after اوریا!, which looks like بیڑا! Auriyā or Uriyā is, and whether the Rāy of Orissa and Auriyā represent one Rāy or two Rāys. Firishtah has the two words all through his account, but Col. Biggs does not mention Auriyā. Firishtah's account agrees with Nizam-ud-din's as to the main incident, namely the attack of Shāh Muhibb ul-lah on the vanguard of the Orissa army. But before coming to that he says that, Nizam Shah's advisers proceeded with great calmness to collect troops, and they got together forty thousand horsemen and marched to the camp of the Rāy of Orissa and Auriyā, taking the young Sultan with them. The Rāy intended to take possession of the territories and then after extorting tribute to return to his own kingdom. But Nizam Shah's ministers sent word to him that they intended to invade and conquer Jājnagar and Orissa and Auriyā, but that as he had now invaded the Dakin, matters had become easy for them, and unless he paid tribute, and restored whatever his men had seized, not one of the latter would be allowed to return in safety. Immediately after this Shāh Muhibb ul-lah, who had come to carry on a *jehād* (religious war), fell on the vanguard of the Orissa army. The action is

the state of things came forward with a large body of cavalry and infantry to plunder and ravage Bidar and by successive marches came within thirty *korohs* of the city. The *amirs* in spite of the fact that they were unprepared marched out for the campaign taking the eight year old Nizam Shah with them. When the distance (between the two) was only eight *korohs* Amir ada Muhibb ul lah with only one hundred and sixty brave and well armed men separated himself from the army of Nizam Shah and advancing forward fell upon the vanguard of the Ray of Orissa which consisted of ten thousand and infantry and four hundred horsemen. From morning till the time of midday they fought with courage and bravery till in the end the breeze of victory and triumph blew on the standard of the Chazis and the vanguard of the Orissa army fled and joined the main army. The Ray of Orissa marched away at night and returned to his dominion. The *amirs* carried out the customary thanksgiving to God and returned at the stirrups of Nizam Shah.

They had not yet settled down at Bidar when Sultan Mahmud Khalji at the instigation of Nizam ul mulk Churi invaded the

describably Firishtah in almost the same words as Nizam ud din but Firishtah goes on to say that the Dakin army pursued the Orissa army which lost two or three thousand men daily. So the Ray took shelter in a fort and sent me sages expressive of his distress and finally agreed to pay five lakhs of silver *tankas*. Col Briggs says in his translation that the threatening message was sent with Shah Muhibb ul lah but his escort being stopped by the infidels he charged the Ray's advanced pickets so boldly that supposing the whole army was in motion the Hindoos fell back on their main body. I cannot find anything in the history of Firishtah which agrees with this. There is nothing in it about the message being taken by Shah Muhibb ul lah. In fact it appears that Shah Muhibb ul lah only joined the army to carry on a *jehād* or religious war. Col Briggs also says in a note that Firishtah hastily adopted the language of Moolla Dawood of Bidur and other historians of the Bahmuni dynasty and has not exercised any discretion or even much research in not endeavouring to account for the sudden retreat of the Hindoos. I do not quite agree with Col Briggs. There were many instances of such panic and sudden retreat in the case of the Rays of Bijapur and others.

¹ This is mentioned by Firishtah but not by Col Briggs. Firishtah also says that Sultan Mahmud advanced with twenty eight thousand horsemen and the Ray of Orissa and Aurangzeb and the Ray of Telangana advanced at the same time. Nizam Shah's ministers sent the Telangana army against the Ray of

Decean, and began to advance by successive marches. The *amirs*, taking Nizām Shāh with them, advanced to meet the army of Mandū. When there was a distance of three *farsuhs* (between the two armies) Nizām Shāh nominated ten thousand horsemen to the right wing and placed them in charge of Khwājah Mahmūd Gilānī, who had the title of Malik-ut-tujjār. The left wing was made over to Malik Nizām-ul-mulk, and he himself took up his stand in the centre with eleven thousand horsemen and one hundred elephants. The superintendence of the centre of the army was made over to Khwājah Jahān Malik Shāh Turk. Sultān Mahmūd Khaljī divided his twenty-eight thousand horsemen into three detachments and advanced to the field of battle and bloodshed. After the two armies had met, Malik-ut-tujjār advancing rapidly fell upon the left wing of the Khaljī army. Mahābat Khān, the governor of Chandēī, and Zahū-ul-mulk the *vazīr*, who commanded the left wing of that army were killed on the battle-field and a great defeat fell on the army of Mandū, so that Malik-ut-tujjār pursued it for two *torōhs*, and plundered the Khaljī camp.

Orissa and Auriyā and the Rāys of Talingāna, and themselves advanced with the armies of Bijāpūr, Daulatābād and Berāi, at the stirrups of Nizām Shāh against Sultān Mahmūd. The two armies met at the neighbourhood of the fort of Qandahār. Firishtah mentions the attack by the Malik ut tujjār, whom however, he calls Malīmūd Gāwān, on the left wing of the Mandū army and says that although Mahābat Khān and Zahū-ul-mulk fought bravely, they were at last compelled to retire and were killed. He also mentions the attack of the left wing of the Dakini army under Nizām ul mulk Turk, on the right wing of the Mandū army which was led by Shāhzāda Ghulās-ud-dīn. This is not mentioned by Nizām ud-dīn. They fought bravely, but the Shāhzāda was wounded and was thrown from his horse, and was about to be killed when he was rescued. This wing of the Mandū army was thus defeated and was pursued by the Dakini army, and the camp was looted, and fifty elephants were seized. Sultān Mahmūd seeing both wings of his army routed determined on retiring to Mandū but one of the *amirs* dissuaded him. At this time Nizām Shāh wanted bravely to attack the centre of the Mālwa army. Khwājah Jahān stopped him, but after a time he advanced with ten thousand horsemen to attack the centre of Sultān Mahmūd's army, which consisted of twelve thousand horsemen. At this time Sultān Mahmūd hit the forehead of an elephant, which Sikandar Khān a Turkī slave of Khwājah Jahān was riding. The elephant became furious, and trampled on many men belonging to the Dakini army, and it was likely

At this time when the men were engaged in plundering Sultan Mahmud appeared before Nizam Shah's army with twelve thousand horsemen. Khwajah Jahan Turk who was the leader of the centre of the army turned round and seizing the bridle of the Sultan's horse turned towards Bidar and in spite of the fact that Malik ut tujjir had been victorious over the Malwa army the army of Nizam Shah was defeated and the men who were engaged in plundering were slain at the spot where they were. Malikah Jahan being apprised of the treachery and deceit of Khwajah Jahan entrusted the defence of the fort of Bidar to Mallu Khan and took Nizam Shah with her to Irzabad. Sultan Mahmud pursued the army of the Deccan as

that Nizam Shah himself should receive some injury. Then Sikandar Khan either through foolishness or through some enmity which he had against Khwajah Johān did not exhort the army to fight but carried away Nizam Shah; whether he liked it or not placing him behind himself on the same elephant and they stood a short distance behind the army. The amirs not seeing the standard of the Sultan in its place turned round one after another and taking Nizam Shah who was standing in a corner with them went back to the capital.

The above is Firishtah's version of the engagement in the fifth ed. It will be seen that the account of the latter part of the battle and of the way in which Nizam Shah was taken away from the field differs materially from that given by Niām ud din.

1 According to Firishtah there was no doubt at least at that time about the good faith or behaviour of Khwajah Jahan. The only question was about the conduct of Sikandar Khan. Firishtah says that the queen mother at first praised him for having brought her son out of danger but when he went to see Khwajah Jahan the latter ordered him to be imprisoned for having brought Nizam Shah away at such an inopportune moment. The other Turkish slaves however went to the queen mother and defended the conduct of Sikandar Khan. She sympathised with them but expressed her inability to do anything just then. Khwajah Jahan hearing of this sent Sikandar Khan to her and he was released to be set at liberty.

Firishtah however goes on to say that the queen mother had suspicions of the treachery and deceit of Khwajah Jahan and knew the defeat was due to his want of firmness and courage and therefore with the advice of Malik ut tujjir Mahmud Gawan (or Gilani) she placed the defence of the citadel of Ahmadabad Bidar in charge of Mallu Khan. Firishtah goes on to say that Sultan Mahmud of Mewa took the fort of Bidar after a siege of seventeen days and took possession of the greater part of Berar and Daulatabad so that people thought that the power of the Bahmanis should pass to the Khaljis when the news of the approach of the Gujarat army came.

far as the gate of Bidar, and having devastated the country outside the fort, occupied himself with providing the necessary apparatus for its capture.

Nizām Shāh had, at the time of starting on the campaign, written a letter in the language of sincerity, giving an account of what was happening to Sultān Mahmūd of Gujrāt. Now when he was recovering at Firuzābād and the men who had fled had assembled again, he sent Khwājah Jahān with a large army to fight with Sultān Mahmūd (Khaljī). About this time information came that Sultān Mahmūd Gujrātī had arrived at the frontiers of the Decean, with eighty thousand horsemen. Sultān Mahmūd Khaljī, finding that he had not the strength to withstand him, started on the seventeenth day for Mandū, by way of ² Gōndwāra Khwājah Jahān.

¹ The actual words are در دیروز اراده نہیں درست کرد Firishtah whose language at this part of the narrative resembles that of Nizām-ud-dīn has نہیں راست کردا

² The name is گوندوارہ in one MS., گوندوارہ in the other, and کوندوارہ in the lith ed. Firishtah has ڈارہ, but Col Briggs has Gondwana. Firishtah's account agrees with Nizām ud-dīn's, almost *verbatim*, up to the mention of the arrival of Sultān Mahmūd of Gujrāt. After that he goes on to say that Makhdūma-i-Jahān sent Malik-ut-tujjār Mahmūd Gāwān with five or six thousand horsemen by way of Bir, to meet the Sultān of Gujrāt. The latter sent twenty thousand horsemen, with many of his great amirs to co-operate with Malik-ut-tujjār. More soldiers joined him, and then Malik-ut-tujjār advanced with forty thousand Dakinī and Gujrātī horsemen towards Ahmadābād Bidar, Sultān Mahmūd Khaljī who was engaged in the siege of the citadel, and was fighting daily with Mallū Khān, now started for Mandū in great distress. Malik-ut-tujjār sent ten thousand horsemen to Berāi to stop the road and himself with ten thousand Dakinī, and twenty thousand Gujrātī horsemen, advanced to a point between Qandahār and Bir, where the encampment of the Mālwa army was located, and prevented the importation of grain and other provisions into the camp. Sultān Mahmūd Khaljī had thirty thousand horsemen ready for battle, but Malik-ut-tujjār did not meet him, and went on carrying out his own plans, till there were signs of a famine in the Mālwa camp. Sultān Mahmūd Khaljī then blinded (کور کردا, Col Briggs has killed) the elephants he had with him, and set fire to all his heavy baggage. He then started well armed and in light marching order having washed his hands of his life (*i.e.*, almost despairing of arriving safely at Mandū). He told the headman of Gōndwāra, who was with him, to take him along a good road. The

returned after pursuing him for three or four stages. At the time of his return as the road through Condwara was uneven the Gonds harassed him at every stage and some thousand of men and animals perished on account of scarcity of water. It is stated that at the first stage (of the journey) about six thousand men died for want of water and the price of one *kāra* (cup) of water was cheap at two *tanlas*. In truth as the act of Sultan Mahmud Khalji was in reality outside of rectitude and justice the result of such unrighteous conduct could not be anything but misfortune and wretchedness.

Couplet

Plant such a branch that it bear fortunate fruit
Sow such seed that a harvest thou mayst reap

When he got out of the desert he ordered the ¹ Rajas of Condwara who had performed meritorious services and were innocent to be put to death.

In the year 867 A.D. Sultan Mahmud Khalji again advanced with ninety thou and four hundred to attempt the conquest of the

headmen who wanted to have his revenge (it does not appear for what injury) said that there was no broad road in that part of the country along which the army might march but there was a road along a waterless desert. The Sultan said it was better to escape along that road than to be killed by the Dakinis and marched forward. They suffered great privation from heat and scarcity of water and also from robbers and thieves. When they at last got out of the desert the Sultan knowing that the crowd of robbers and the concealment of wells had all been brought about at the instigation of the headman ordered him to be put to death. The Gond said he had had his revenge and he was not afraid of death because he had sons living and he expected to be born again from which Firishtah infers that the Gonds like other Hindu *kafrs* believed in the transmigration of souls.

¹ But see the later part of the preceding note for Firishtah's version of the behaviour of the Gond chief or headman.

Firishtah's account of this second invasion does not differ materially from that in the text. In fact Firishtah says that he was indebted for an account of this invasion to Nizam ud din Ahmad but he apparently adds one or two touches of his own for instance he says that on arrival in the neighbourhood of Daulatabad Sultan Mahmud made some display of his grandeur (کروڑی سوڑی) that Sultan Mahmud Gujrati sent a well equipped army without delay or hesitation towards Sultanpur and also that the two Sultans i.e. those of Gujrath and the Dakin who were bright as the sun and beautiful as Joseph bade adieu to

Deccan Nizām Shāh also advanced after making preparations for war, and asked for help from Sultān Mahmūd of Gujrāt. When Sultān Mahmūd Khaljī arrived on the frontier of Daulatābād his scouts brought the news, that Sultān Mahmūd of Gujrāt was approaching. The army of Mandū then left the road (to Bidar), and marched away towards Mālkonda, and returned to Mandū by way of Gōndwāra.¹ Nizām Shāh sent a letter to Mahmūd Shāh (Gujrāti) containing his thanks, and praised him for his help, and² Sultān Mahmūd, turning back from the way, went to Ahmadābād in Gujrāt.

³ In the month of Dhīqādah of the same year Nizām Shāh became ill, and on account of that illness, he passed away to the vicinity of the great God.

Couplet

Into the dust, was thrown that flower of state, which the
garden of empire
With a hundred thousand caresses, in its bosom, had
nourished

The period of his reign was⁴ two years

each other from a distance, and sent gifts and presents for each other, and then went back to their respective capitals

¹ According to Firishtah, Nizām Shāh sent besides the letter, many wonderful presents and many elephants and horses in charge of some trusted servants and made many excuses for the trouble which he had given him.

² The readings in the MSS as well as in the lith ed are incorrect. One MS has و سلطان محمود اور راجہ سراج الدین احمد رفت and the other MS has the same reading, but leaves out the name سراج الدین. The lith ed omits the initial و, and also the name سراج الدین. The first reading is correct, but I have inserted the word سراج الدین Gujrāti after Ahmadābād to make the meaning quite clear.

³ Firishtah also does not say what Nizām Shāh died of, but he says that the queen-mother arranged great festivities for the marriage of Nizām Shāh, when suddenly at midnight, when the marriage ceremony was taking place sounds of wailing and lamentation were heard, and it was known that Nizām Shāh was dead.

⁴ The period of his reign is given as one year and eleven days in one MS, and one year and eleven months and one day in the other, while the lith ed has two years. Firishtah says that Nizām Shāh died on the night of the 13th Dhīqādah, 867 A H, 29th July, 1463 A D, and he reigned for two years and one month.

**A N ACCOUNT OF THE REIGN OF MUHAMMAD SHAH SON OF
HUMAYUN SHAH**

When Muhammad Shah son of Humayun Shah sat on the *masnad* of sovereignty in his 10th year he in spite of his youth exerted himself in performing the duties of equity and justice. During the period of his rule all the people had repose in the cradle of peace and safety.

Couplet

To a tribe to whom God prosperity grants
He gives a sovereign just and wise and good

In all matters of government he had the custom of holding conferences with men of wealth. When physical greatness was combined with mental greatness he gave himself the title of Muhammad Shah *Lashkari* and he entrusted the arrangement of all affairs and the execution of all business to his own wise opinion and his penetrating intellect. He considered that to be the best and wisest which the inspiration of his own greatness imprinted on the page of his mind and carried it into execution. Consequently the government of the kingdom and the greatness of the paraphernalia of power in the period of his rule reached to such a pitch that nothing higher than it could even be conceived. He enlisted a thousand Turkish slaves among his servants and advanced the grandees of that tribe to high ranks and great positions. Among these he ³granted

¹ This is the heading in the 1st ed. The MSS leave out the word *al-*
دُكْر سَاهِي سَمْسَال الدِّين فِرِیهٰ
Firī htah has a rather grandiloquent heading *zīr al-dīn abū al-mutawwif al-awālī Shams ud dūnyā wad dīn* (the sun of the world and of religion) Abul Muzaaffar Al-Chaz Muhammad Shāh Bihmanī Lashkari. The date of his accession appears to have been the 13th *Dj̄id qādah* 867 A.H. July 30th 1463 A.D.

Firī htah says he was the second of the three sons of Humayun Shāh by Makhduma Jahan. The three were Nizam Shah Muhammad Shah and Ahmad Shah. He also says that Muhammad Shah succeeded his brother in his ninth year.

³ The grant of these fiefs is not mentioned by Firī htah nor does he say like Nizam ud din that the government was carried on by the nine or ten years

Kāwil to 'Imād-ul-mulk and Junū to Nizām-ul-mulk and Māhūr to Khudāwand Khān, in *jāqīn*

¹ Unlike former Sultans in the matter of the capture of forts and the conquest of towns he did not consider it sufficient merely to have a show of obedience and submission, and the sending of gifts and presents but he devoted all his attention to measures by which strong forts might come into his possession. In fact the *farmāns* of the rule of the Bahmanī dynasty ended with his great name ² and all disturbances and rebellions which had found their way into the kingdom during the reigns of Sultan Humāyūn Shāh and Nizām Shāh were remedied by the grandeur of the personality of Muhammad Shāh and all weaknesses and troubles which had crept into the affairs of the kingdom and empire were cured by his attention. After the regulation of the affairs of the empire, he commenced to gratify the hearts of the pillars of the state. He had Khwājah Jahān who in the invasion of Sultan Mahmūd Khalī had determined to undermine the foundation of the greatness of this dynasty, and had besides stretched out his hands for taking and misappropriating the government money ³ executed in front of the palace

old Sultan On the other hand, he says that Khwājah Jahān Tark had all the power in his hands. He dispossessed all the ancient *amīns* of their fiefs, and made them over to new men, who were his own creatures. He even stretched his hands into, and embezzled the government funds. He kept Malik-ut tujjān Muhammad Gāwān constantly employed on the frontier, and did not allow him to have any share in the great affairs of state. It was the queen mother who impressed the dishonesty and disloyalty of Khwājah Jahān on the Sultan's mind, and arranged for getting rid of him. It appears, moreover, that according to Firishtah, Muhammad Shāh could not even give the order for the execution of Khwājah Jahān, when everything had been previously arranged, without being specially reminded by his mother, through two old women.

¹ The meaning and logical sequence of these sentences is not very clear

² There is some difference in the readings I have retained that in the lith ed but the MSS have instead of شکوه وحدت داده to ملاح او سلاح ندوه and ندوه او سلاح بذیرفه simply ندوه او سلاح بذیرفه

³ See the latter part of note 2, above

¹ He appointed Malik Nizam ul mulk the governor of Junir to conquer the fort of Kehrla which now belonged to the rulers of Mandū after giving him a special robe of honour. Malik Nizam ul mulk arranged his army and then with a large body of men traversed the various stages and encamped on the bank of the river which flows at the foot of the fort. ²The Mandū army sallied out of the fort and commenced the battle but afterwards again fled into the fort. Nizam ul mulk's soldiers pursued them to the gate of the fort. The garrison finding the grandeur and great strength of Nizam ul mulk's army prayed for safe conduct. Nizam ul mulk granted it and when they were brought out of the fort he gave *pan*

³ According to Firishtah this expedition did not take place till the year 87 A H 1467 A D i.e. nearly four years after Muhammad Shah's accession and in the meantime Malik ut tujjar Muhammad Gawan was made Lakhwajah Jahan and amir ul umra and kalil us sultanat and when Muhammad Shah was fourteen years of age the queen mother arranged for his marriage which was celebrated with great grandeur and eclat. After this the queen mother retired from active participation in the affairs of the state and devoted herself to devotional duties. But even now Muhammad Shah did not put his hand to any important affair till he had consulted her and went every morning to offer his respects to her.

He was made the Malik ul amr commander of the army of Berar but Col Briggs makes him the governor of that territory.

³ Firishtah's account is different. According to him Nizam ul mulk defeated the army which had come from Mandū to aid the garrison on the last occasion when twelve thousand Afghans and Rajputs fought a great battle with the Daknis in front of the fort but were signally defeated when the garrison which had sallied out to join in the fight attempted to re-enter the fort. Nizam ul mulk and a small number of his soldiers pursued them and got into the fort and seized it. According to another version the garrison being disheartened surrendered the fort and were allowed to leave it in safety. At this time some of the Daknis abused and taunted the Malwa soldiers. Two Rajputs who were in the garrison determined to show their courage. After the fort had been evacuated they went near the crowd that surrounded Nizam ul mulk and said that they had never seen a great man like him and they wanted to show their respect by kissing his feet. Nizam ul mulk seeing that they had no arms allowed them to approach him when they snatched a dagger and a sword with great activity and each of them inflicted a wound and slew Nizam ul mulk. They attacked and slew others also and fought till they were both slain.

(betel) to each one of them with his own hand. When this was going on a man after taking the *pān*, struck Nizām ul-mulk with his dagger and made him a martyr. ¹ Ādhil Khān and Daryā Khān, who were his two accomplished sons, slew the governor of the fort and the entire garrison and placing a man in whom they had every trust, in the fort and taking the dead body of their father with them, went to render homage to Muhammad Shāh. After they had had

- - - - -

¹ Firishtah calls them Yūsuf 'Ādhil Khān Suwār, who became the *amīr* of the 'Ādhil Shāhi Sultāns, and Daryā Khān Turk, and says that they were his adopted brothers, and not sons and also says that they believed that the Rājpūts had killed Nizām ul-mulk at the instigation of the commandant of the fort, and sent men in pursuit of the garrison, who had encamped one *korōh* from the fort, and were altogether unprepared, and every one of them, young and old, was killed.

Firishtah goes on to say that the Sultān of Mālwa sent a man of the name of Sharīf ul-mulk, with valuable presents, to represent that Sultān Ahmad Bahmanī and Sultān Hūshang had entered into an agreement, that Beīār should append to the Bahmanī kingdom, and Kehīla and its dependencies to Mālwa, so that there might be no further disputes. Now the *amīrs* of the Dakin had seized on Kehīla. If the matter be so arranged that there might be no breach of the previous agreement, there would be friendship and brotherhood between the two kingdoms. Sultān Muhammad sent Shāh Shaikh Ahmad the *Sadi*, with Sharīf ul-mulk to Mandū, and pointed out that the Bahmanī Sultāns were not in need of any fort like Kehīla, as there were many such forts in the Carnatic, which were in the possession of the *kāsfirs*, and which they could easily conquer. Besides, the first breach of the agreement was not committed by them but by Sultān Mahmūd himself, who had invaded the Bahmanī kingdom, when the late Sultān was a boy, and thereto was dissension among his principal officers. When Shāh Shaikh Ahmad arrived near Mandū, he was met by the principal officers of the Mandū government, who took him with all respect and honor to the Sultān. When he delivered his message the learned men of Mandū, who were present, and the Sultān himself admitted, that the first breach had been committed by Sultān Mahmūd himself. An agreement was then concluded and attested by the learned men and the representatives of the two Sultāns, that neither party should henceforward interfere with the other's territory, and the relations between them should be the same as had been agreed upon in the time of Sultān Ahmad Shāh Bahmanī, and that Kehīla should be restored to Mālwa, and that for future expansion of their kingdoms, there were the territories of the *kāsfirs*, which the contracting parties might with divine aid conquer by the sword of *jehād*. These transactions have not been mentioned by Nizām-ud-dīn.

the good fortune of rendering service the rank and fiefs of their father were confirmed to them

¹ After some days he conferred a robe of honour and a jewelled belt to the Malik ut tujjar and sent him with some other amirs to conquer the territory of the Ray of Sonkar (Sangesar) and Kokan When the Malik ut tujjar arrived in the town of Kolapur As ad Khan advanced with his own men from Junir and Krishwar Khan from Gulhargah and Dabul and joined him He started from that place in concert with them and when they arrived at the head of the ² defile of Kukania they came to a great forest where on account of the dense growth of the trees it appeared to be difficult even for ants and snakes to pass through Malik ut tujjar's army cleared every day a distance of one *farsakh* in breadth and one bow shot in length When they arrived in the vicinity of (the foot of) Kukania the height and strength of which were such that the arrow of the plan of no conqueror of forts could reach to the ³ ambition of its conquest they encamped there There was a great fight and the enemy (عده) i.e. the refractory people fled and

¹ According to Firishtah this expedition was sent in the beginning of 574 A H 1469 A D for the punishment according to the 11th ed of Firishtah of رای سانگسر و کهنا و سانکار دلگیر علام کوکن ² of the Rays of Sangesar and Khan and the conquest of other forts in the Kokan (Conkan) Col Briggs avs that the expedition was against the Shunur Ray of Kehna and other refractory rajas in the Concan As to Sankar or Sange see note p 61

Firishtah 11th ed has the *pargana* and not the town of كوكن دور and Col Briggs the district of Kolapo The name of As ad Khan is doubtful It is so in the 11th ed but one MS calls him اساد خان Istadad Khan and the other omits the name altogether Firishtah has سید خان گلانی Sa id Khan Gilan but Col Briggs has A sad Khan According to Firishtah after Malik ut tujjar had taken possession of the ghāt or pass seeing that the cavalry would not be of any use in that country he sent back the troops whom he had brought from the capital and took with him only Sa d Khan Gilan who was of his own tribe with the army of Junir and Khush Qadam Khan his own slave with the army of Dabul and Kalbar

³ I cannot find any mention of the ⁴ بُشْتی or the defile of Kukania in Firishtah It may be identical with بُشْل کوکن mentioned there

⁴ The actual words are بُشْل کوکن which means the ambition of its conquest as I have translated it

entered the fort. The army was delayed at the foot of the fort for a period of ¹ five months. As the rainy season came on, the amīrs after consulting among themselves, returned to Kolāpūr and on their arrival there, they cast the shadow of their good fortune on the capture of the fort of ² Rangta and seized it in a short time.

When the rainy season was over, the amīrs again directed their attention to the punishment of the Rāy of Sonkai, and when they arrived at the fort of ³ Māchāl they attacked it and conquered it at the first onset and many of the rebels were slain, and some of their leaders were seized. When the overwhelming strength and power of the Malik-ut-tujjār became known, the Rāy of Sonkai sent a body of intelligent men to him, and prayed that he would pardon his offences, and he would ⁴ surrender the fort of Kankania to him. The Malik-ut-tujjār pardoned his offences, and having ⁵ placed the fort in charge of some trusted adherents, and made a

¹ One MS and the lith cd have fifty days. The other MS and Firishtah have ستاد, five months.

² The name of the fort is رامگر in one MS and رامگر in the other. In the lith cd it is رامگر. The lith cd of Firishtah has ماحل, and Col Briggs (vol II page 484) has Ramgur.

³ The fort is called ماجل, Māchāl, in one MS, and ماجیل probably Māchāl in the other, and ماحال, Māhāl, in the lith cd. It does not appear to be mentioned by Firishtah.

⁴ Firishtah's account is rather vague. He says در این کرب سدییر و بیانه دیار و پاکیزه درم و دیمار بیمهار فلجه کهنه که در هیچ دورگار کمده سروان which may be translated as, "This time with many plans and stratagems and the scattering of many dinams and dinars, the fort of Khīna, to the turrets to the capture of which, the lasso of the mighty emperor had not reached, in any (former) age, was taken" Col Brigg's (vol II, page 484) translation is less literal, but he also mentions the stratagems and gifts of money.

⁵ Firishtah says that after the capture of the fort Malik-ut-tujjār again left the ghātī and the fort in charge of men accustomed to the climate, and stayed for four months, as in the previous year (apparently at Kolāpūr), and then again invaded the territory of the Rāy, and took possession of it without difficulty, and having taken revenge from the sardārs for the outrage committed by them on Khalf Hasan Basrī, the former Malik-ut-tujjār, he started towards the island of Goa.

pecuniary allowance from the revenue of the country which might be sufficient for the subsistence of the Rāj he without any hesitation or delay advanced towards the island of ¹Gor which is a famous port of Bijanigar He sent by water 120 ships filled with ²war like men and in a short time the island came into his possession When he returned (crowned with victory) and (loarded with) plunder to the capital, his services were considered to be meritorious and were acceptable to the Sultan and the reigns of binding and loosening were placed in his hands of power and the title of ³Zam Humayūn Khwajah Jahan was conferred on him

As the armies of Muhammad Shah ⁴ Lashkari were successful wherever they went and it had been repeatedly heard that in the kingdom of ⁵Jai Singh Ray proprietor of the fort of Birakar a mine

¹ Written as ୩୨୯ in both MSS and in the lith ed of Firishtah. In the lith ed of the Tabaqat the name is printed as ୩୫ Mr Sewell (see page 99 of his book) says that In the middle of the year 1469 when Raja sekhara or Virupaksha I was the king of Vijayanagar Mahmud Gawan Muhammad's minister marched towards the west and after a fairly successful campaign attacked Goa then in the possession of the Raja of Vijayanagar both by sea and land He was completely victorious and captured the place.

The reading in one MS is ۱۰ شہر و سو ۱۰ ships and in the other
نکھل و سو ۱۰ boats Firishthali has the same reading as the first MS and I have accepted it
Firishthali also says that he himself marched by land with his victorious troops
and that he returned to Ahmadābād Bīdar after the conquest of the Concan
and Goa after an absence of three years The title conferred on Malik ut
tujjār as described by Firishthali was much longer than that given by Nizām
ud dīn At the same time the Malik ut tujjār's slave Khush Qadam had the
title of Khushār ḫshār conferred on him and the forts of Goa and Banna
(Briggs has Poonla) and Kondwāl and Kolapur were added to his former fief

³ There is a difference in the readings here. The MSS have مملو و مسجین اور مردم حنگی سر راهی ساحب which appears to be correct but the word سر راهی is rather indistinct. The 11th ed has سر رای instead of سر راهی.

⁴ Lashkari was one of the titles of Muhammad Shah and is appended to his name in the heading of the chapter about his reign in *Firishtah*. See note 1 page 93.

⁵ The name is doubtful. It is written as رای والی فلم سراکو or رای in the MSS and رای ~ in the lith ed. Finstah also gives him this name but Col Briggs (vol II page 489) calls him Ray Beejy Sing.

of diamonds had been found , 'Ādil Khān was sent with a body of *amīrs*, after a special robe of honour and a jewelled belt had been conferred on him 'Ādil Khān in consultation with the other *amīrs* besieged the fort , and active and enterprising warriors advanced the batteries day after day, and made repeated assaults In the end Jay Singh Rāy having no more strength left asked for an assurance of safety 'Ādil Khān having drawn the pen of forgiveness across the page of his action, brought him out of the fort, and placing it in charge of his trusted adherents returned to the capital Muhammad Shāh Lashkari¹ conferred that territory on him as his fief² After

I cannot find any mention of the diamond mine in Frishtah , but he says that Yūsuf 'Ādil Khan received many honours and distinctions from Muhammad Shāh , and was made the commander of the army of Daulatābād, and was appointed to conquer the fort of بیراکار, Warākhārā (Col Briggs has Wiyagur, and says in a note, probably Woshagur, lying between Antoor and Ajunta) which appears to me to be identical with Birākar , and the recovery of the fort of انتور, Antūr, which had in the course of the troubles with Mālwa (the lith ed has مالوپھان, but probably the last word is a mistake for مالوپھان) come into the possession of a Marhatta When Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān arrived at Daulatābād he nominated Qāsim Beg Safshikan to besiege Antūr , and sent Daryā Khān, whom he had given the name of brother (برادر حوابدہ حویس) to Wairakhara The Hindū who held Antūr surrendered it without any contest , but the Rāja of Wairakhara whose name was Jainak Rāy (حینک رای), after fighting for five or six months, and finding himself unable to contend any longer, sent a message to Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān offering to surrender the fort with all he had in it, if he was allowed to go out with his family in safety Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān agreed and sent an order accordingly to Daryā Khān, who allowed Jainak Rāy to leave the fort in safety Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān then came there post haste, and took possession of the fort, and all the treasures in it, and conciliated the chief men of the country with assurances of his protection He then marched to the fort of لانجی, Lānhī (Col Briggs, vol II, page 489, has Ranjny and says in a note, probably Ranjungam, the chief town of the district of the same name) , and the *rāzāda* of the place also surrendered it This is, however, not mentioned by Nizām ud dīn

¹ There is a difference in the readings The MSS have را باطاع ان ولايت را که باطاع او مقرر کرده بود بر او مقرر داست فرار داست

² The meaning is not at all clear, and the readings are doubtful It is not clear to whom and why Malik-ut-tujjār Khwājah Jahān spoke The

a time Malik ut tujjar Khwajah Jahan said that Birkana Ray had placed his foot outside the path of allegiance and having collected a very large army had advanced to the port of Goa. The Sultan advanced (against him) and besieged the fort of Birkana. This fort was so strong that the idea of taking it had never entered the mind of any conqueror of forts. It was built from its foundation to its turrets with cluselled stone and the breadth of each slab was three yards and its length was one yard and the height of its wall was

بعد ار مدبی ملک العمار حواحہ جہاں گفت کہ رای بیکنہ عدم اور حادہ اطاعت نہیں بھادہ لسکر عظیم نہیں رسائیدہ معوہ سدر گروہ سد و علمہ بعد and بعد ار مدب ملک العمار حواحہ جہاں گفت کہ رای بیکنہ عدم اور حادہ اطاعت نہیں بھادہ لسکر عظیم نہیں رسائیدہ معوہ سدر گروہ سد سلطان معوہ سدہ علمہ بیکنہ را محاصرہ کرہ

I do not think that either of the readings is strictly correct. I have adopted a reading which appears to me to be the best after comparing those in the MSS and the reading in the 11th ed. Firishtah's version is that in 87 A.H. 147 A.D. رای علمہ بلگاؤں سترک حمری فرمادہ سعائیگر عارم د رحوبہ گودند Col Briggs says In the year 87 A.H. Birkana Ray (he says in a note the Oriental Scholar will recognize in this penult the language of the southern part of the peninsula but not knowing the Dravidian languages I cannot find out the meaning of this) Raja of the fortress of Belgam at the instigation of the Ray of Beejanuggur marched to retake the island of Goa As regards Belgam Col Briggs says that it is now occupied by British troops and is deemed one of the strongest on the plain in that part of the country The name of the Ray as given by Nizam ud din has some resemblance to that of Firishtah but Nizam ud din does not give the name of the fort though in one place he gives it the same name as that of the Ray Mr Sewell on page 100 of A Forgotten Empire—Vijayanagar gives another translation of the part of Firishtah relating to this matter In it the Ray is called Parkna and the fortress Balgaon which is nearer the Persian than the name in the translation by Col Briggs Mr Sewell goes on to say that the Burhan i Maasir calls the chief of Belgaum Parkatapatah and Major King the translator of the work gives a large variety of the spellings of the name viz. B rkanah Parkatabah Parl atiyah Parkitah Barkabth (Ind Ant Nov 1899 page 86 note) Briggs gives it as B rkana It has been supposed that the real name was Vikrama Mr Sewell does not say from whom and on what authority the supposition emanated It appears to me that the real name may be Pratap or some derivative from that word

thirty yards, and the breadth of the moat forty yards.¹ In short, Birkāna Rāy bravely waited in the fort with three thousand horsemen for battle and bloodshed. Muhammad Shāh Lashkari built a second wall around the fort, in order to shut up all ingress and egress, and distributed the batteries (amongst his *amīrs*). The batteries were advanced every day, till after filling up the moat with rubbish and grass, they were taken close to the wall, and the victory became a matter of to-day or to-morrow. Birkāna now, owing to his great exhaustion and weakness sent a *ratil*, and agreed to render allegiance, and pay tribute. Muhammad Shāh having drawn the pen of pardon across his offences, gave him assurances of safety, and brought him out of the fort. He entrusted that part of the country to Khwājah Jahān, and returned (to the capital).

² In the year 880 A.H., news came that the ³Rāy of Orissa had marched into the Decean from his own country, with an enormous

¹ Firishtah's account differs from that in the text, inasmuch as he says that the Rāy at once offered his submission, but Muhammad Shāh refused to accept it, and carried on the siege with great vigour. The moat was filled up, and mines were blown up, and the fort was taken. There are different accounts of how the Rāy appeared before the Sultān just before the fort was taken, and asked for quarter, and the Sultān "pardoned his offences", and enlisted him in the band of his *amīrs*. According to Firishtah, it was after he had taken this fort, that Muhammad Shāh gave himself the title of "*Lashkarī*".

² Nizām-ud-dīn altogether omits to mention the great famine, which depopulated the Bahmanī kingdom during the next two years. Firishtah says, that on his return journey after taking Belgāun, the Sultān wanted to pass the rainy season in Bijāpūr, but there was, during that year, want of rain in the Dakin, and all the wells in Bijāpūr were dried up, so the king was compelled to move to Ahmadābād Bidar. The next year also there was no rain, and town and city and village all became depopulated, and men died, and those who survived took shelter in Mālwa and Gujrāt and Jājnagar. For two years no seed was sown in Tilang and Mālwa and Marhat and the whole of the Bahmanī kingdom, and in the third year, when "The breezes of Divine favour blew, and there was rain, there was none left who might engage in the work of cultivation". In his translation Col. Briggs leaves out the name of Mālwa in the last sentence, apparently to avoid a seeming contradiction with the preceding sentence. He explains Marhatt by the word "Maharashtra," in a note.

³ Firishtah's account is different. He says that when the Dakin was recovering from famine and pestilence, news came that the garrison of *کندنیر* (Kandnir, in the 11th ed., Condapilly in Briggs, and Kondapalle in Sewell)

and had plundered and devastated portions of it and gone back to his own country Muhammad Shah sent Malik ul mulk with a large army to chastise and punish the Ray after some days intelligence arrived that Nizam ul mulk had

slain the ruler who was a vicious tyrant and who violated the honour the property of his subjects and made the fort over to بیو حمیرا Ori in the hth ed Bheem Ray Oore according to Col Briggs) who been a protégé of Muhammed Shah Hamira sent men to the Ray of a and incited him to invade the Dakin and told him that there were no in that country on account of the famine which had lasted for two years he would be easily able to conquer Tilang and if he made it over to us the latter would surrender the fort of Kandur and its dependencies in The Ray of Orissa was deceived and with one thousand horsemen six or seven thousand infantry and taking the Raja of Jajnagar with him led Tilang Nizam ul mulk Basri the governor of Rayamandri being de to meet him shut himself up in the fort and sent a representation in facta to the Sultan The latter paid a year's wages to the soldiers and ed immediately When he arrived in the neighbourhood of the enemy latter did not think it advisable to fight and Hamira shut himself up in fort of Kandur The Ray of Orissa crossed the Rayamandri river (i.e Godavari) and encamped on the bank of the river on the side of his own territory The Sultan arrived near the river and Nizam ul mulk joined him could not however at once cross the river and when he had got the boats the Ray marched away and went back to his capital The Sultan however highly incensed at his conduct and left Shahzada Mahmud Khan and the raja Jahān there and himself advanced with twenty thousand horse to ish that *kafr* Towards the end of 88th A.H. he arrived at the capital of sa and plundered and ravaged the country The Ray had left the central of his territory unprotected and had fled to the extreme end of it so Sultan stayed in the capital for six months and obtained much treasure wealth both by peaceful means and by violence He then wanted to ion the Shahzada and the Khwājah and to make the country over to them Ray hearing this sent presents and elephants to him and said that he did not again help the *zamindars* of Tilang The Sultan demanded twenty other elephants which had belonged to the Ray a father and were very valuable The Ray had to comply and the Sultan then returned towards his kingdom On the way he besieged a fort belonging to the Ray because people of the neighbourhood told him that no one had ever before dared attack it but he raised the siege on the Ray having apologized for theness of those ignorant and boorish people Then he besieged Kandur for six months when Hamira in great distress surrendered it to him

fled from him, and had gone towards ¹Zūbād The spirit of the Sultān being now excited he marched out of the city and advanced by successive marches in the direction of Rājmandrī and ²when he arrived near it, he left Khwājah Jahān in attendance on the Shāhzāda , and advanced himself with twenty thousand selected horsemen and marching rapidly went to Rājmandrī When he arrived near it, he found a wide expanse of water, the breadth of which was about one *farsakh* before him Muhammad Shāh was compelled to draw rein there The Rāy of Orissa had encamped on the opposite bank of the river with seven *lakhs* of infantry and a number of elephants When he found that Muhammad Shāh Lashkari had arrived there in person, he left Rāv Mān, who was one of his principal chiefs, in the fort of Rājmandrī, and fled The following day the Sultān nominated Daiyā Khān to pursue the Rāv of Orissa , and himself encamped around the fort of Rājmandrī He built a second wall round the fort to stop the entrances and exits of the fort , and having distributed the batteries amongst his commanders, planned the erection of covered ways After four months when the covered ways had been completed, and the soldiers were able to overlook the garrison, Rāy Mān seeing his own death with the eye of certainty, asked for protection, in great humility and distress, and surrendered the fort, and sent an elephant, which he had in the fort, as tribute , and enlisted himself among the servants (of Muhammad Shāh) The latter confirmed him in the possession of the fort and its neighbourhood, and returned to his capital He raised the men who had performed great deeds in the expedition to high ranks and noble positions It is however mentioned in the Tabaqāt Bahādurī, that the fort of Rājmandrī was not conquered, but the Rāy of Orissa paid tribute, and turned Muhammad Shāh Lashkari off from all thought of him

And the intoxication and madness of warfare had not passed from the head of the Sultān, when news was brought that the men

¹ The name of the place is جبوري in one MS , and سبوري in the other and in the lith ed

² This agrees with Firishtah See note 24, pp 151 and 152 The wide expanse of water is apparently the Godāvarī

of Orissa had come back and had overrun some villages and *parganas* and had taken the fort of ¹Bukir by fraud and deceit Muhammad Shah started from the vicinity of his capital at the moment which was chosen by the astrologers and by repeated marches proceeded to the country of Tilang. He besieged the fort of ²Kandar when the *thanadar* of the place after much distress and lamentation sought the Sultan's protection and ³surrendered the fort. The Sultan started from there to view the sea and proceeded to the ⁴ports of Narsingh Ray and after amusing himself with a sight of the sea he took tribute from Narsingh Ray and started for the capital. He ordered the erection in those parts of a high and strong fort in the course of one month for the *thanadars*. At the time of his return in the year 879 A H the *rajas* told him that there was a city on the border of Tilang which was celebrated as ⁵Kanji and which was full of gold and gems and was one of the

¹ The name of the fort appears to be بکر Bakir in the MSS. In the lith ed it is بکر Gir. In the text edition the name of the fort is not mentioned.

² The name is کندار Kandar in one MS. کند Kand in the other کندہ Kandah in the lith ed and کنڈہ کنڈہ in the text edition.

³ There are some variations in the readings I have adopted the reading which appeared to me to be the best.

⁴ Firishtah does not refer indefinitely to the ports of Narsingh Ray but mentions one of them Machilipatan which he says belonged to the kingdom of Narsingh Ray and which he says Muhammad Shah conquered. As for Narsingh Ray or Nara Simha as he taking the Sanskrit form of the name calls him Mr Sewell (p 10.) says that he Owing to his numerous army and the extent of his dominions was the greatest and most powerful of all the rulers of Telingana and Vijayanagar and Had established himself in the mid t of the country of Kanara and Talingana and taken possess on of most of the districts of the coasts and interior of Vijayanagar. Mr Sewell's account appears to have been taken from the Burhan-i Maathir.

⁵ This city is known in Sanskrit books as Kanchi or Kanchipuram and is now known as Conjeevaram. Fishtah's account of the way in which the existence of Kanji came to the notice of the Sultan was that when he arrived at Kondpūrpalli some people of that place reported to him that there was a temple at a distance of ten days journey from there which was called Kanji and the doors and walls and roofs of which were adorned with gold and jewelled ornaments and decorated with rubies and other fine gems and not one of the Myselman kings had up to that time set eyes on it and had not even heard

great places of worship of the Hindus and it was ten days' journey from ¹Nilwāra Muhammad Lashkārī selected one thousand men and started for Kānji by forced marches. When he arrived there, there were only forty horsemen in attendance on him. The soldiers galloped into the city and plundered and ravaged it. The Sultan stayed there for ten days and then returned to the capital.

In the year 886 A.H. ²some interested persons in Golkonda, said that the coming of the Rāv of Orissa into the Sultan's dominion

its name Sultan Muhammād detached six thousand horsemen armed with daggers and started on a rapid march to the place, and ordered Shāhzāda Mahmūd Khān to remain there, and it appears from the concurrent testimony of all the historians, that the Sultan rode so fast that not more than forty horsemen could remain with him.

¹ The name is نیلوارہ, Nilwāra, in both MSS. and نیلکارہ, Nīlkāra, in the lith. ed. As will be seen from the preceding note, Kānji was, according to Firishtah, ten days' journey from Kondapūlpalli, which Col. Briggs calls Condapilly. Firishtah's account of what happened at Kānji is somewhat different. According to him there was some hand to hand encounter between the Sultan and the members of his guard, and some Hindus of gigantic stature, who were the guardians of the temple. These went on till the Hindus were compelled to retire into the temple, and when the rest of the Sultan's escort arrived, the Sultan entered the temple, and looted it, and slew the men who were inside it. Mr. Sewell quoting from Firishtah says (p. 101) that "the Sultan went to Kondapalle (which he says in a note, Scott, I, p. 166, calls Ghondpore and Briggs, II, p. 500, Condapilly), and there was told that at a distance of ten days' journey was the temple of Kunchy, the walls and roof of which was plated with gold and ornamented with precious stones." In a note he says, "this evidently means Kānelū or Conjeevaram, but the story is exceedingly improbable. The distance was 250 miles, and the way lay through the heart of a hostile country." Further on quoting the Bihārī-i-Mā'athir, he says (p. 102) that "when Sultan Muhammād was at Mālūr which belonged to Narasimha, who was the greatest and most powerful of the rulers of Talingana and Vijayanagar, he was informed that at a distance of fifty farsakhas from his camp was a city called Gangi, containing temples, etc., to which he promptly marched, arriving before the place on the 13th March, A.D. 1481 (11th Muharram A.H. 886). He sacked the city and returned."

² According to Firishtah, Malik ut-tujjār Khwājah Jahān introduced various reforms, as regards the subdivision of the country, and the government of the forts, and the payment of the troops. They were all excellent, but they caused much discontent. The minister knew it, but he disregarded it, having great confidence in himself and his friends. The chief among the latter was Yūsuf

was at the summons and incitement of Mahk ut tujjar Khwājah Jahan In support of their statement they produced a letter which bore the seal of the Khwājah (and which they said) he had written to the Ray of Orissa As a matter of fact they had given a piece of gold to the seal bearer of the Khwājah Jahan and had got his seal impressed on a piece of white (blank) paper They wrote the matter on that paper and brought it under the eye (of the Sultan) When some one went to summon the Khwājah although his slaves told him that as on account of his wealth there were ten thousand horses in his stable and there were ten thousand Turkī slaves in attendance on him it was right and proper that he should go away to Gujerat the Khwājah said I have committed no offence why should I run away ? I have every hope that the right should be separated from the wrong and the truth from falsehood As the hand of death brought the simple minded Khwājah by the nape of the neck to attend on Muhammad Lashkari that letter was shown to him and without any enquiry being made in the matter he was put to death on the

Ad 1 Khāñ his adopted son and he knew that while the latter was with him his enemies would not be able to do anything against him Then Yusuf Adil Khan was sent against Narasingh Ray and the minister's enemies entered into a conspiracy to effect his destruction The details of the conspiracy are the same as in the text but the names of the conspirators and some other particulars are mentioned The chief conspirators were Zarif ul mulk Dakun and Miftah Habshi and Malik Hasan Nizam ul mulk Bahri The two former and other Hindi slaves became intimate with a Habshi slave of the minister who was his seal bearer and bribed him with money and gems and delicate articles of food and different kinds of Arab horses etc and one day in a convivial assembly when the slave was inebriated Zarif ul mulk and Miftah Habshi produced a piece of paper which was twisted up and said it was an account of one of the friends to which most of the ministers or heads of departments had affixed their seals and they asked him to affix the Khwājah's seal to it also The slave very foolishly affixed his master's seal without unfolding and looking at the paper A letter purporting to be written by the minister to the Ray of Orissa was forged on this paper and it was produced before the Sultan and he without making any enquiry in the matter sent for the minister What the latter said and did on receiving the summons what his adherents suggested and what happened after he had come to the Sultan's presence are narrated in somewhat greater detail and with more picturesqueness by Firishtah but there is no real difference in the substance The date of the execution is given as 5th Safar 886 by Firshtah

3rd of Safar of that year. He lived nobly and died a martyr may the mercy of God be on him! Khwājah Jahān Khwājah Mahmūd Gilānī was among the most learned men of the age, and was distinguished for great perfection in literary work. He wrote an elegant book on letter-writing and included in it the letters which he had written to the great and noble men and named it the ¹ *Ruyād ul-inshā*. He also sent presents and gifts to the men of his age in Khurāsān and Ḥiāq and ‘Arab and ‘Ajam more specially he sent letters to His Holiness Maulānā ‘Abd nr-Rahmān Jāmī may his tomb be sanctified and gave expression to his veneration and respect for him. His Holiness the saint also believing in his sincerity and faith in himself sent him epistles which are extant in his correspondence. Among the *qasīdas* in his collected poems there is a *qasīda*, which he specially composed in the name of the Khwājah. The opening couplet of it is

² Couplets

Weleome ! oh messenger of the land of the heart welcome !
Weleome for I have devoted my life and heart to thee
weleome !

He has also said in it

Couplet

To the world he is Khwājah to *faqī* (poverty with contentment) he is the preface

There is the secret of *faqī*, but under the veils of wealth,
and in a *ghazl* (ode) he has said

Jāmī ! thy heart-stirring verse is an article fine

¹ Firishtah calls the book, the *Raudat ul-inshā*

² These and the following lines are all quoted by Firishtah also but in the second line of the first couplet بدل is substituted for بول means a present placed before a guest when he first comes, and may be correct. At the end of the first line of the second couplet the words اوست are added and in the beginning of the second line ایت, sign or mark, is substituted for ملٹ. In the lines from the *ghazl* which is called a *qit'ah* by Firishtah, the second line is دودش ار حسن و لطف معانی نارس, and in the fourth line عز is substituted for مهرا

Of that article the charm is from the sweetnes of the spirit

Send it with the caravan to India that it may receive The honour of the seal of acceptance of Malik ut tujjar

¹In short the execution of that victim the Khwajah was not auspicious for Muhammad Lashkar After a few days he became ill and although his physician Sharf i Jahan attended on and treated him it was of no avail and on the first day of Rahi ul awwal he passed away The period of his reign was nineteen years four months and fifteen days

AN ACCOUNT OF THE REIGN OF SHIHAB UD DIN MAHMUD SHAH SON OF MUHAMMAD SHAH LASHKARI

Sultan Shihab ud din Mahmud Shah who was the rightful son of Sultan Muhammad Lashkar ascended and sat on the throne

¹ Firishtah's account of the reign after the execution of the Malik ut tujjar is not so short as that of Ni am ud din There is not much of interest in what he says but he mentions the fact that there were many remains of the great minister in Ahmadabad Bidar specially a college built by him A note by Col Briggs says that a great portion of this building was demolished by an explosion of gun powder which was stored in it after Aurangzib had captured Bidar but what remained still attested to its grandeur Firishtah gives an account of the life of the minister as given by Mulla Abd ul Karim Hamadani Col Briggs changes Hamadani to Sindj Firishtah also gives an account of the attempts made by Muhammad Shah to get hold of the wealth which the minister was supposed to have left behind but it was found that he had left none having spent all his revenue in charity etc When he became convinced of the innocence of the minister Muhammad Shah ordered that his remains should be conveyed to Bidar for interment Firishtah goes on to say that after this the nobles all separated from Muhammad Shah and the latter knowing that an attempt to enforce his authority would end in civil war refrained from doing so He halted for three months at Fruzabad endeavouring to beguile the time in pleasure He proclaimed his son Shahzadah Mahmud to be his successor After that he grew weak and his illness was increased by frequent indulgence in intoxicating liquors He died according to Firishtah on the 1st Safar 88th A H 9th March 148th i e about eleven months after the date mentioned by Ni am ud din and the period of his reign was twenty years Mr Sewell gives 11th Muharram 886 A H 1st March 148th The Hijri date is more than a year anterior to that given by Firishtah

Nizam ul mulk but as the *Turki amirs* were many in number their party was the stronger of the two Owing to this the fiery furnace of the envy of Nizam ul mulk and all the Indian nobles was inflamed At last by the exertions of the great and the noble they entered into agreements with one another and confirmed them with strong oaths But the perfidious Nizam ul mulk taking the thread of flattery in his hand and having made the simple minded Qiyam ul mulk careless and negligent stated one day that *Ādil Khan* and *Darva Khan* and *Mallu Khan* and certain others wanted that they should after receiving permission go back to their respective *thanas* or posts They were however owing to a fear which they had in their hearts in respect of the *Turki amirs* unable to come out of their houses It would be advisable that on the day they should receive permission to leave the *Turki amirs* should remain in their houses *Mahk* Qiyam ul mulk agreed to this proposal and on the following day

friendship of Nizam ul mulk and as his de truct on was at hand did not attend to the *lotual's* warning *Ādil Khan* and *Fath ul lah Imad ul mulk* then came into the city with their respective troops from *Tlang* and *Kawil* and were honoured by being allowed to salute the Sultān The latter who was a puppet in the hands of Nizam ul mulk a party sent for the chief of the two troops to the top of the bastion and told them that the Turk slaves were committing excesses and should be punished *Fath ul lah Imad ul mulk* who was on terms of sincere attachment to *Yusuf Ādil Khan* guarded him in the *melee* and *Ādil Khan* and his troops were ordered to mass acre the Turks *Qiwām ul mulk* was first murdered and *Farhad ul mulk* the *lotual* was put into prison and other Turks were killed *Yusuf Ādil Khan* and his followers fought their way to the city gate and brought in *Darya Khan* who had twenty two thousand troops according to one statement and ten thousand according to another and there were skirmishes in the city for twenty days between the two parties till the learned and wise men intervened and proposals were made for peace *Yusuf Ādil Khan* with his adherents went away to *Bijapur*

It will be seen from the above the *Qiwām ul mulk* or *Qiyam ul mulk* was not so simple minded as Nizam ud dīn makes him out to be *Firishtah* also calls him simple minded (*سادج*) in one place but it appears that he had treacherous designs against *Yusuf Ādil Khan* *Firishtah* goes on to say that after peace had been established the whole power rested with Nizam ul mulk for a period of four years during which time he and *Imad ul mulk* acted in concert with the queen mother *Firishtah* also gives the names of the nobles on whom *jagirs* and offices were conferred

Daryā Khān and 'Ādil Khān and all the Khāns, having made all preparations, entered the fort with their troops Farhād-ul-mulk Turk, the *lotuāl*, sent information to Malik Qiyām-ul-mulk that the *amīrs* had come with treacherous designs, but as the latter was doomed to die, he did not listen to it. The traitorous *amīrs* first seized Farhād-ul-mulk the *lotuāl* and then put Qiyām-ul-mulk to death. After that they shut up the Tinkī *amīrs* in their houses, and brought them out one by one, and murdered them. After Qiyām-ul-mulk Turk had been killed Nizām-ul-mulk and Malik 'Imād-ul-mulk took up the duties of the post of the *rāzīn* and attended to all affairs in concert with Malka-i-Jahān, the mother of Sultan Mahmūd. The duties of the *lotuāl* of the capital were entrusted to Malik Barid, who was a Tinkī slave of Sultan Mahmūd.

¹ When some time had passed in this way, one day Dilāwāi Khān Habshī submitted privately to Mahmūd Shāh that Maliks Nizām-ul-mulk and 'Imād-ul-mulk still considered the Sultān to be too young, and settled all matters themselves. He then obtained the permission of the Sultān to assassinate both the ministers, and waited for an opportunity. It so happened that the two *rāzīn*s went one night to wait on the Malka-i-Jahān for the arrangement of certain matters connected with the government. When they were coming out, Dilāwāi Khān with another man attacked them with swords at the gate of the palace. Nizām-ul-mulk was wounded, but as both had great skill in swordsmanship they came out of the

¹ The account of the attempt of Dilāwāi Khān on the lives of Nizām ul-mulk and 'Imād ul-mulk as given by Firishtah is very similar to that in the text. But Firishtah says that Dilāwāi Khān was envious of the ministers' power. Firishtah does not say where Nizām ul-mulk and 'Imād-ul-mulk went. He only says that they went out of the city, and they informed Malik Barid, that the Sultān had designs against his life, and Malik Barid shut up the gates of the citadel, so that no one could get any access to the Sultān. The latter in great distress repented of the orders he had passed, and sent men to apologize to the ministers, and to ask them to return. They refused to do so, unless the Sultān ordered the execution of Dilāwāi Khān. The latter on hearing this fled to the country of Asīr and Burhānpūr (*i.e.*, Khāndesh). After that Nizām-ul-mulk and his son Malik Ahmad came back to the city, but Fath-ul-lah 'Imād-ul-mulk went away to Berāi. These events have not been mentioned by Nizām ud dīn.

mele with the strength of their arms They sent for Mahl Barid the same night (and informed him) that Dilwar Khan wanted also to murder him Early the next morning both the *amirs* came out (of their houses) and bade adieu to each other and Nizam ul mulk started for Junir and Imad ul mulk for Kawil which were their fiefs and remained there On hearing this news the *amirs* became dispersed and great irregularity and weakness crept into the Sultan's affairs and gradually Malik Barid kept him as if in imprisonment His *tre* the Sultan's power was weakened and the men of the city made an attack on him On the 1st night

¹ The meaning of the text is not quite clear The rebel are said to have made the elephant keepers etc join them and yet the elephant keepers are said to have made themselves the shields or defenders of him (س) which being in the singular would refer to the Sultan and not to the rebels Besides it is said that from amongst them (الخواص) Aziz Khan and four others resolved to devote their lives to save him Firishtah's account is that from the year 890 the flames of envy and jealousy of the Mughals and Turks were burning in the hearts of the Abyssinians and the Dakinis They tried to induce the Sultan to cast them out of his favour but it was of no avail Then Dilpasand Khan (Col Briggs calls him Pussund Khan) conspired with all the Dakinis and Habshis that they would assassinate Mahmud Shah and would place another prince of the Bahmani dynasty on the throne With this object they got all the resident of the fort namely the elephant keepers the chamberlains or ushers the guards the men in charge of the furniture and the gate keepers to join them Then at nightfall on the 1st Dhulqada 89 A.H. the same date as that given by Nizam ud din about a thousand of them fully armed some on horseback and some on foot entered the citadel of the fort where the Sultan had his abode and shut the gates of the fort from inside for fear of the Turks and Mughals coming to help the Sultan Then before the Sultan could guard himself some of them came to the place where he was resting but Aziz Khan and four other Turks and Hasan Ali Khan Sabzwari and Sayyid Mirza Ma'had-i-threw themelves between the Sultan and the rebels and offered their lives in his defence The Sultan then got away on the terrace of the Shahbury and the fight continued in somewhat like the manner of Nizam ud din's narrative till the rebels were driven out Firishtah in some places uses the same phrasing as Nizam ud din but his narrative is more consistent and logical

Col Briggs's translation is defective He gives the year as 896 A.H. calls Dilpasand Khan Pussund Khan and does not say that the men inside the fort were in conspiracy with the rebels outside except that he mentions incidentally that the rebels were admitted by the porters who were privy to the plot

of the 21st *Dhīqā' dāh* in the year 892 A.H., a body of the ungrateful wretches, having united all the people in the fort including the elephant-keepers and the ¹ chamberlains or ushers, and the guards or sentries and the men in charge of the furniture (*parda-dārān*) with themselves, treacherously attacked their own sovereign prince. They did not know that

Couplet

Those whom God's protection doth guard
No danger comes from the revolution of the skies !

At that time Mahmūd Shāh had spread the bed of pleasure when a great tumult arose in the fort. All the men taking up their arms hastened towards the palace. The elephant-keepers started after equipping their mounts, and they made the men in charge of the furniture their confederates. 'Azīz Khān Turk and Hāsan 'Alī Khān and Sayyid Mīrzā-i-Mashhadi who had the title of Mallū Khān came into the field of conflict, and made themselves his shields. From amongst them, a brave young man of the name of 'Azīz Khān, who was distinguished for his great bravery and courage, offered to sacrifice his dear life, with four other Tuks for the Sultān's safety. The latter taking advantage of this opportunity took shelter on the roof of the *Shāhbūrj* (bastion). The scraggo and the *Shāhbūrj* and the whole of the fort fell into the hands of the rebels, who fastened all the doors, so that the loyal and faithful adherents could not enter the fort. Some of the soldiers, however, climbed to the top of the *Shāhbūrj* from the surrounding moat by means of ropes, and drove away the rebels from its ² neighbourhood, wounding them with their life-destroying arrows. ³ Some men set fire to things, and

¹ The word is طیاران in one MS, and in the lith ed and ساحبان in the other MS. The word in the corresponding passage of Firishtah is حاددن chamberlains or ushers. The next word in both MSS, and in the lith ed. کوتوال, but in Firishtah it is کوتوالان I have adopted حاددان, and حاددان

² The word is حولی in the MSS, though in one of them there is what looks like a dot near the top of the ح so that the word looks like حولی. In the lith ed the word is حولی or a house, and حول neighbourhood. I think the reading in the lith ed is correct.

³ This is explained by Firishtah, who says that the sweepers and *farrāshes* (men in charge of carpets, etc.) and other menial servants (Col. Biggs groups

the elephants fled in panic out of the fort. When the tumult and the disturbance ceased in the fort (*i.e.* I suppose the Sultan) gave order that Jahangir Khan who was Mahik Nizam ul mulk should guard the gate and Khan Jahan leaving the fort should guard the city and the bazar with his own men. When half the night was over and the moon rose troops came from all sides and gathered together in the courtyard of the *Shahburj*. He then ordered that the Arabian horses which were bred in the royal stables should be distributed among the men and they mounted on them should completely destroy those men of evil destiny. When the auspicious morning dawned some of the latter threw themselves into the moat and broke their necks and some became food for the sword. Some concealed themselves in the rat holes? (جایوس حابیس) but after two or three days they were dragged out and got the meed of their deeds.

- It is written in history that one day a messenger came from Adil Khan and submitted a representation from him to the effect that the *amirs* of that *suba* had at the instigation of Dastur ul mulk raised the standard of disturbance and rebellion and that that slave (*i.e.* he himself) relying on the grandeur of the good fortune of His Majesty had with the help of Fath ul mulk dispersed them

them all as the servants of the palace) who had first joined the enemy and had got them into the fort at this time showed their loyalty and devotion and set fire to some fodder. Col Briggs says they set fire to the straw roofs under which numbers were concealed.

¹ This man's called Sultan Jahangir Khan Turk who had the title of Mahik ul maut in the lith ed of *Firishtah* and it is said there that he was ordered to guard the gate of the fort. Col Briggs calls him Sooltan Jehangeer Khan Toork. He says nothing about his having any title and says now took charge of the palace gates (vol II page 34)

² I cannot find any reference to this in *Firishtah* but probably what is narrated below refers to the same events but the account is brief and the names do not agree. I am quoting from Col Briggs (vol II page 579)

In the year 891 Adil Khan Deccany governor of Wurungole died when Kowam ool Mookl junior came by forced marches from Rajmundry to that city and established himself in Telingana. Nizam ool Mookl accompanied by the King marched towards Wurungole on which Kowam ool Mookl falling back on Rajmundry wrote secretly to the King warning him against the minister

It was however, now, reported again that they had collected together, and 'Aziz-ul-mulk had joined them

Couplet

They have nothing in their heads except rebellious thoughts,
There is no remedy except marching against them for war

Immediately on receiving this intelligence, the Sultān ordered the *amīrs* who were on his side that they should march in concert for the punishment of that body of evil destiny, and he himself with one thousand Turkī slaves (guards) marched on the wings of speed. At each stage of the journey, the *amīrs* came and joined them. When they arrived in the vicinity of Rājmundī, he on the next day made over the arrangement of the right and left wing to Mahk Fakhr-ul-mulk, and marched to the field of battle, and the evil minded rebels also advanced to meet them and arrayed their ranks. 'Ādil Khān, who was the commander of the right wing, fought bravely, and defeated the rebels. Dastūr-ul-mulk who was the head and leader of the rebels was seized, and the warriors pursued the enemy and cast most of those wretches on the dust of destruction. Some of the men, however, carried half a life away with great difficulty. When Mahmūd Shāh came back to the camp, from the battle-field, with victory and triumph, he at the request of 'Ādil Khān pardoned the guilt and offence of Dastūr-ul-mulk, who had absurd thoughts in his head, and giving him back all his property, which had been escheated to the government, confirmed him in the rank, which he had formerly held. Then he arranged all the affairs of state with the advice and concurrence of the *amīrs*, and returned to Gulbarga.

In the year 896 A H Bahadur Cilani who was one of the servants of Khwajah Mahmud Khwajah Jahan and was also in charge of the *thuna* had raised the dust of rebellion and had taken forcible possession of certain *parganas* and also of the port of Dabul. He had equipped some ships and had stretched hands of oppression and tyranny over the ports of Gujarat so that the passage over the sea was closed. It so happened also that some ship belonging to Sultan Mahmud Gujrati had fallen into his hands and he had plundered everything that was contained in them and had cast Sultan Mahmud's men into prison. Another version of the incident is that as merchants and the servants *عازماء* of merchants complained of Bahadur Cilani's acts Sultan Mahmud sent Kamal Khan and Safdar Khan with some troops some of whom were to go by water and some to march by land (with order) that they should cast the boat of his (*i.e.* Bahadur's) life in the whirlpool of destruction. As Kamal Khan and Safdar Khan went on horseback that travelled on the wind (*i.e.* ships) the bridle of (*their*) power fell into the wind (*i.e.* I suppose they were caught in a storm) and contrary winds carried their ships to a great distance from one another. Bahadur sent a man to express his allegiance. When Kamal Khan and Safdar Khan came and joined him with a small body of men he at once meditated treachery towards them and there was a great battle. So much blood and water got mixed together that the water took the colour of a bright ruby. In the end Kamal Khan and Safdar Khan received wounds and fell into Bahadur's hands and he sent them to Dabul.

When this news reached Sultan Mahmud he appointed Qiwam ul mulk with fifty thousand horsemen to attack Bahadur. When

¹ Firishtah gives the following account of the antecedents of Bahidur Gilani. He was a servant of Malik ut tuyar Iln ujah Mahmud Gilani. After the latter's martyrdom he became a servant of Najm ud din Gilani and when the latter was in charge of the port of Coa he became the *kotwal* of that town and became known for his bravery and courage. When Najm ud din died the thought of hostility (اللئام) or more correctly rebellion entered his mind and in the year 889 he took possession of Coa and the entire sief of Kushwar Khan and in a short time he seized Dalul and Chaul and Kalhar and Pinala and Kolapur and Sarvala and Vilgau and Murihi.

Qiwām ul mulk arrived at Mōhim, he made inquiries about the different roads. It was at last found out that it would be difficult to reach their destination unless they met by the sea or a part of the Deccan. So after attaining certain allies, he marched to the court, marching with great rapidity so that he might represent the true state of things and obtain permission to travel into the Dakhni kingdom.

Sultān Mahmūd Shāh Gujrātī wrote to his uncle Bahādur and sent a letter to Mahmūd Shāh Bahmanī to the purport that it was a life time, since the chain of friendship and alliance between the two parties had been strengthened, and the noble alliance between them had come to them in the form of an inheritance and from this side (i.e. from him) there had been no default in the discharge of the rights of friendship. When," he went on to say, "Sultān Mahmūd Khiljī had seized the Deccan from the late Sultān Nizām Shāh if I had not helped the latter with my army he would have lost his kingdom. At this time it had come to my knowledge that Bahādur Gilānī, the governor of the port of Dībul had plundered twenty vessels belonging to my government and to merchants which were filled with valuables and pearls and various rich stuffs, and had sent two hundred ships to Mahārāshtra and had invaded and ravaged that country and had burnt down mosques and other places of worship. As I had and have regard for our old friendship it appears, under the orders of the judge of wisdom, that I should bring the circumstances to your knowledge. If the light of sovereignty (i.e.,

¹ The meaning is not at all clear. If Qiwām ul mulk was sent by Sultān Mahmūd Bahmanī, as the context would indicate, there would be no objection to his marching over a part of the Deccan, which was in the Bahmanī kingdom. In Firishtah's account, it appears that Sultān Mahmūd Gujrātī wrote to Sultān Mahmūd Bahmanī complaining of the depredations committed by Bahādur Gilānī, and pointed out, that the army of Gujrāt could not march to attack him by the land route, unless a part of the Dakhni kingdom was laid waste and trodden under foot (and ruined) by his soldiers. It would appear that Nizām ud-din has mixed up things a little. In fact, it appears from Firishtah that Kamāl Khān and Ṣafdar Khān came with a brave army by sea, under the orders of the Sultān of Gujrāt, and that Bahādur had fought with them and seized them and kept them in imprisonment. This is however, not mentioned in Col. Briggs's translation.

you your self) should not advance to crush him I would give him such punishment that it would be a warning to him Mahmud Shah gave assurances to the ambassador and summoned the amirs who were in agreement with him and told them that The return of the rights of benefits is imminent on all and more specially on Sultan. Besides Sultan Mahmud Cujrat is a sovereign possessing much power and it is conceivable that injury may be caused by him to this country and as discourteous and wrongful acts have been committed by Bahadur Gilani it is right and proper that the amirs should collect their armies and turn their attention to his discomfiture and destruction Then according to the advice of the amirs a farman was sent to Bahadur and he was informed of the purport of Sultan Mahmud's letter He was also directed to send to the court all that he had taken from the ships and to send the ships also by way of the sea and also to send Kamal Khan and Safdar Khan and every one connected with them to his presence He was also informed of the purport of these couplets

Couplets

Why dost not thou to thy own good attend?
 Make not the face of thy fortune black
 Place not thy foot outside the measure right
 For thou wilt headlong fall into the well of danger dire

When Bahadur heard that a servant of Mahmud Shah was bringing the farman he wrote to his guards of the road that they should not let him pass beyond the fort of Mirieh He loosened his audacious tongue to give expression to boasting and bragging and wrote an improper reply and forwarded it When (the news of) the temerity and audacity of Bahadur and of his preposterous reply reached Mahmud Shah ¹ he with the advice and concurrence

¹ Firishtah's account of the expedition agrees mainly with that in the text but he says in addition that Yusuf Abdul Khan sent five thousand horsemen under his Sar Naubat (Sar or rather Veer Nobut according to Briggs p 57 means Commander of the bodyguard) Kamal Khan Dakini and Malik Ahmad Ni'am ul mulk Bahri the same number under Hubriz Khan (Col Briggs calls him Moetibar Khan) son of Khwajah Jahān Turk and Fath ul lah Imad ul mulk also sent a small body of horsemen under one of his trusted servants to reinforce him Bahadur Gilani had had fights with the first two and

of the *amīs* advanced against him by successive marches and after traversing many stages arrived in front of the ¹ fort which Bahādur had been engaged for a long time in strengthening and in which he had collected an immense number of cavalry and infantry. The garrison on seeing the number and grandeur of the Sūltān's army turned their ill-starred faces towards flight. The Sūltān remained there for three days in order to arrange the affairs of the place, and then advanced towards ² Bōrkal, where Bahādur had fortified himself. Before however the (royal) troops arrived there Bahādur abandoned the fort and fled. The Rāv or *zamīndār* of the place came to attend on the Sūltān and enlisted himself among his loyal adherents. When Bahādur fled from Bōrkal the commander of his army took up his position in the fort of Minch. The *amīs* then decided on the capture of Minch, and taking Mahmūd Shāh with them they advanced against it. When they arrived there (they found), that the governor of the neighbourhood had come to the help of Bahādur's men, and had strengthened the fort. They came forward to meet and fight with the invading army. The latter surrounded the fort from all sides and attacked Bahādur's men. When most of those who had sallied out of the fort with the desire of fighting were mixed with the dust of destruction and the

they had not been able to defeat him, and they therefore considered it fortunate that the Sultān should undertake his chastisement. When they arrived at the fort of Jāmkhandī (whence, it appears Bahādur had by his good policy, (جہنم مسرو) wrested from the possession of Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān), Qutb ul-mulk Dakinī, who was the *tarafdar* of Tilang, was ordered to attack it, but he was killed by an arrow shot from the fort. The Sultān conferred the title of Qutb-ul-mulk on Sultān Quli Khawās Hamadānī with certain territories in Talingāna as his *jāgīr*. This man later became the founder of the Qutb Shāhī dynasty. When Jāmkhandī was taken, it was made over to the servants of Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān. The Sultān then marched towards Manklīr (in the lith ed.—Mangalore (?), but Col. Briggs has Sunkeswar) where Bahādur had taken up his residence. Before, however, the Sultān's troops arrived there, Bahādur fled from that place. It was taken in the course of three days, after which the Sultān marched towards Mirch. The garrison came out and gave battle, but most of them were slain, and the survivors retired into the fort.

¹ The name of the fort is not given in the text, but probably Jāmkhandī is referred to. See the preceding note.

² Bōrkal does not appear to be mentioned by Firishtah

governor of that country who was the head and leader of the rebel was killed the remainder fled and like snakes got into hole Mahmud Shah and the *amirs* considered it advisable that they should distribute the batteries (among the leaders of the army) and ditches on various sides of the fort so that the water in the fort might flow into the moat and the garrison might be in great straits for want of water It was also decided that opposite to each bastion a bastion should be erected outside the fort

When the commandant of the fort saw that the path of flight was closed he came in great humility and prayed for quarter Mahmud Shah with the consent of the *amirs* gave him promise of protection and notified to the soldiers of Bahadur that to such of them as might wish to enter his service the men in charge of his treasury would give subsistence allowance and *jagirs* and as regards such of them as might wish to go to Bahadur the guards of the roads would not prevent them taking away with them their horses and equipment After his mind had been set at rest about the fort of Mirich the Sultan turned his attention towards the forts of Kalhar and Dibul When he arrived at the village or place called ¹ Malwa a son was born to him on the 27th Rajab in the year 899 A H In gratitude for this great gift he opened his hand for giving benefactions and largesses and placing the crown of Ahmad Shah on the head of that light of his eyes gave him the name of Ahmad Shah

When Bahadur heard of the conquest of the fort of Mirich and of the advance of the Sultan towards Kalhar and Dibul he fell into the chasm of amazement and the gulf of bewilderment He knew that with meagre preparations he had attempted a great feat On whatever side he looked he found the door of flight closed Then in distress and humility he sent Khwajah Naamat ul lah Tabrizi to wait on the *amirs* and to ask for pardon of his offences Sultan

¹ The name is Malwa in both MSS and in the lith ed In the lith ed of Firishtah the name cannot be made out the sentence being ارجح کوچندہ پادا رہ where the word پادا appears to be a mistake for the name of the place but it will be seen from note - p 1 Firishtah has Pada as the name for a place Col Briggs (vol II page 541) calls the place Walwa The birth of the son is mentioned in the lith ed of Firishtah but I cannot find any reference to it in Col Briggs's History

Mahmūd Shāh, in accordance with the prayers of the *amīrs* drew the pen of forgiveness across the offences of Bahādur Gilānī, and pardoned all his faults. He ordered that if Bahādur would hasten to render homage to him and would send two elephants and the tribute, which had been fixed to the treasury, the forts and towns, which have been taken out of his possession would again be restored to him. Khwājah Na'mat-ul-lah wrote to Bahādm that his prayers had been accepted and he should come with all haste. When the Khwājah's letter reached Bahādur,¹ the crow of pride again laid the egg of conceit and exultation in his head. He cast down the honour which he would have acquired by his (forth-coming) engagements and promises into the dust of wretchedness. The *amīrs*, taking Mahmūd Shāh with them advanced in the direction of the fort of² Jākīr. When they arrived on the bank of the river of Kalhar, they distributed the batteries (among themselves) and besieged the fort. When the morning raised the veil of darkness from the cheek of the sky, the whole army at once galloped into the battle-field, and whoever came out of the fort to give them battle became at once food for their swords. When the greatness and grandeur of Mahmūd Shāh's army were impressed on the minds of the enemy, and night came on they gave up all idea of fighting and took to flight, and owing to then evil destiny³ the town of Kalhar was sacked.

On hearing this news, Malik Shams-ud-dīn Tārmī *thānadār* of Mustafābād, came with the residents of that city to see the Sultān. The latter after waiting for two or three days in the town of Kalhar, and arranging the affairs of that territory, advanced towards⁴ Kālāpūr.

¹ This agrees generally with Firishtah, but he adds that Bahādur boasted that he would have the *Khutba* (public prayers) read in his own name, that same year, in Ahmadābād Bidā, and the next year in Ahmadābād Gujrāt. Col Briggs (vol II, page 541) says that Bahādur 'made an attack on the King's baggage', but I cannot find any mention of this in the lith ed of Firishtah.

² The name is حاکیر Jākīr in the MSS and حایگر Jāygīr in the lith ed. Firishtah does not mention the place, but says that the Sultān on hearing Bahādur's bragging, came from Piyāda to Kalhar.

³ Firishtah also says the town was sacked, but Col Briggs does not mention the fact.

⁴ The town is called Kālāpūr in one MS and in the lith ed and Kālānūr in the other MS, but evidently both names are incorrect, the correct name is Kolāpūr, and is used later on.

When he arrived in the village of ¹Salala news was brought that Bahadur having come out of the fort of Panala had marched towards Kolapur and had with a mistaken idea got a body of men to join him and was preparing for strife and bloodshed. After receiving this news when (the Sultan) by success five marches arrived in the vicinity of Kolapur most of Bahadur's troops separated from him and joined the service of Mahmud Shah. Bahadur then fled and betook himself to a corner. Mahmud Shah with the advice of the amirs sent Malik ²Fakhr ul mulk and Am ul mulk to take charge of the fort of Panala and its neighbourhood and decided that he would spend the rainy season in Kolapur till the bushes of the enmity and tree of the rebellion of Bahadur should be totally uprooted. When Bahadur received information of this his eye of hope became blind and he fell from the zenith of pride down to the nadir of humility. He then again sent a petition by the hand of Khwajah Namat ul lah Taheriz and prayed that an ³agreement

¹ Apparently not mentioned by Firishtah.

It is according to Firishtah the strongest fort in that part of the country and Bahadur had taken shelter in it when he was frightened on hearing the news of the capture of the forts of Mirch and Kalhar. He now came out because the Sultan did not at once proceed to besiege it but went to view the sea and the port of Dabol. Firishtah says that when Mahmud Shah went to see the sea and the port of Dabol Bahadur came rapidly to Kolapur with the intention of blocking the road and giving little but when he saw the pomp and grandeur of Mahmud Shah's army he again became frightened and fled. Bahadur's belief that the Sultan is too weak to engage him is apparently referred to by Nizam ud din by the use of the words ⁴بصور سلطان

² Firishtah calls him حاکم پورندہ حمل حاکم بردہ in the 1st ed but Col Briggs calls him Khwajah Jahan governor of the fort of Porenda. Firishtah also joins ⁵امیر الملك بحری with Fakhr ul mulk and Am ul mulk but Col Briggs does not mention either Am ul mulk or Amir Khan.

³ Firishtah says that the qasim ma was to bear the sacred seal (خوار اندس) i.e. of the Sultan and also the seals of Malik Qasim Bard and other chief men. It may be mentioned that throughout the narrative of the expedition against Bahadur Gdān and in fact of the whole region both in the accounts of Nizam ud din and Firishtah there are indications of Mahmud Shah being a puppet in the hands of Qasim Bard and other nobles. There are attempts made to show that he had great power and grandeur but it appears also that he could do nothing without the concurrence of Qasim Bard and his associates.

(*gaulnāma*) might be sent to him by the hand of the *vazirs*, so that ¹ he might, with assurance of safety, come and attend on His Majesty, and for the remainder of his life never transgress the path of obedience. Mahmūd Shāh accepted the prayer in order to put down the flames of disturbance and sent the *gaulnāma*. Khwājah Na'mat-ul-lah again represented that if ² Shaif-ul-'Ulamā Sadi Jaliān and Qādi Zain-ud-dīn Hasan should also go with the ³ learned men it would be the cause of greater faith in the wild (^{چیز}) Bahādūn. (The Sultān) ordered that these revered men should accompany the ⁴ *vazirs*. When the *vazirs* and noble men arrived near Bahādūn (they found) a deep river (in front of them). First of all Khwājah Na'mat-ul-lah and ⁵ Khwājah Majd-nd-dīn crossed the river, and described the graciousness of the Sultān, and the coming of the *vazirs*.

Bahādūn's resolution was again changed and his evil destiny did not permit that he should keep his feet of grace straight in the path of goodness. The two Khwājahs came back, and stated to the *vazirs* how the matter stood. ⁶ Khadam Khān who had the reins of the affairs in his grasp of authority, and Quṭb-ul-mulk then crossed the river, and went to Bahādūn and they did everything that was possible in the way of advice. Bahādūn welcomed the arrival of the Khāns with all honour and respect, but as his mind had become darkened it did not at all become clear by the polishing of

¹ There are slight differences in the readings. One MS has ار روا اطہ بیان عارم ~ سور گردید. The other has باتفاق وردا عارم ~ سور گردید. The lth ed has ارس اطہ بیان باتفاق وردا عازم ~ سور گردید. The first appears to me to be the best, and I have accepted it.

² He is called سرف العلما in one MS and in the lth ed., but in the other MS he is called اسرف العمل or سرف العمل. Firishtah calls him مشرف العمل.

³ Both MSS have ااما, but the lth ed has وردا.

⁴ The MSS have ما وردا همرا برويد وردا و سرفما چون فریب بهادر رسیده but the lth ed has ما وردا و سرفما برويد چون وردا و فریب بهادر رسیده.

⁵ According to Firishtah he had come with Khwājah Na'mat ul-lah, bearing Bahādur's petitions.

⁶ This name is doubtful. It is حدمخان (apparently a mistake for حدمت خان) in one MS, and حدمت خان in the other. It is حدم خان in the lth ed., and فدم حل in Firishtah.

their precepts. When they returned ¹ Makhsum Azam Sadr Jahān and Qadi Zain ud dīn Hasan also went and did not refrain from giving him advice. But as he had fallen a hundred *farsakhs* away from the path of truth good fortune did not come to his aid and wishing only to waste time he said that if Mahmud Shah should march towards the fort of Mhrich this slave (that is he himself) would come there and render him homage.

² After the amirs had returned the Sultan summoned Malik Fakhr ul mulk from the fort of Panala and having with the consent of the amirs conferred on him a special robe of honour and a jewelled belt sent him to effect the destruction of Bahadur. Malik Fakhr ul mulk proceeded by successive marches and when he arrived in the neighbourhood of Bahadur he on the following day marched forward with his army arrayed for battle. Bahadur met him with great pride and self confidence and began to act with great gallantry. But suddenly an ³ arrow discharged from the bow string of destiny struck him on the side and Zain Khan with the blood letting blade of his lance hurled him from the saddle to the ground and cut off his head which had been filled with so much pride and sent it to the Sultan. This victory was the result of the skilful work of Malik Fakhr ul mulk and Zain Khan and it gave much pleasure and happiness to all.

¹ He is called مادر حکیم اعظم in one MS and in the lith ed. In the other MS he is called apparently by mistake only مادر حکیم. He was called something else before see note page 124. Firishtah however calls him صور العمل in both places.

² Firishtah's account agrees generally but he says that Mahmud Shah (نادر) i.e. having no other alternative or being unable to induce Bahadur to submit) sent for Malik Fakhr ul mulk. He also says that Qutb ul mulk and others accompanied Fakhr ul mulk from Lanla but Mahmud Shah sent Qutb ul mulk back to go on with the siege of Panala for fear that Bahadur might advance in that direction and the trouble might be prolonged. Firishtah also says that Bahadur had two thousand horsemen most of whom were Gilanis and Mazandaranis and Iraqis and Khurasanis and fifteen thousand infantry and many cannon and muskets.

³ Firishtah says he died (درگذشت) on being struck by the arrow but somewhat inconsistently adds that Zain Khan brother of Fakhr ul mulk and according to another statement Mam Khan cast him down from his saddle by striking him with his lance.

classes, high and low At the time of the return of Mahk Fakhr-ul-mulk, the Sultān sent the *amīrs* and the troops and all the retainers to welcome him , and ¹ conferred on him the title of Khwājah Jahān , and in the same *majlis*, a special robe of honour and a jewelled belt and an 'Arab horse and an elephant were bestowed on him and the horses and weapons whch Bahādur had brought as tribute were conferred on Zain Khān

Two or three days after the victory (the Sultān) entered the fort of Panāla and sent ² Malik 'Am-ul-mulk from there to the island (of Goa), so that he might take possession of it by transfer from Bahādur , and send all Bahādur's property and equipage , and bring Malik Sa'īd his brother to the court, after giving him assurance of royal favour After some days 'Am-ul-mulk came back, bringing Malik Sa'īd with him He also passed before the eyes of the Sultān fifty elephants and three hundred 'Arab horses and much money and other things belonging to Bahādur As marks of loyalty were patent on the forehead of Malik Sa'īd he received the title of Bahādur Malik in the same *majlis* (*i.e.* , in the *majlis* in which he was presented before the Sultān) The properties and territories of Bahādur were, with the advice and concurrence of the *vazīrs*, entrusted to 'Am-ul-mulk , and the Sultān returned towards the capital When he arrived in the town of Bijāpūr, he halted in a ³ garden house which had been built by Khwājah Jahān Fakhr-ul-mulk , and spent two or three days there in pleasure and enjoyment The Khwājah offered as tribute handsome and valuable things and 'Arab horses,

¹ Both Nizām-ud-dīn and Firishtah had been giving him the title of Khwājah Jahān from a time anterior to this Firishtah does not say that the title of Khwājah Jahān was conferred on him after this victory, but the word Makhdūm, which appears to be an entirely Dakinī honorific, was added to his title

² He is called Malik 'Am-ul-mulk Kan'ānī in the lith ed of Firishtah, Col Briggs (vol II, page 543) calls him Mulhk Ein- 1-Mulk Geelany He is said to have been sent to the port of Goa

³ Firishtah says the garden was called Kālābāgh, and it had been planted by Malik-ut-tujjār Mahmūd Gāwān Khwājah Jahān, and not by Fakhr ul-mulk Khwājah Jahān, as stated by Nizām-ud dīn He also says that the Sultān visited it at the invitation of Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān, after sending the camp on to the capital , and the tribute was offered by Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān

more than can be contained in the desire of anybody and was exalted by the gift of a special robe of honour and a jewelled belt

On his arrival at the capital the Sultan on the advice of the *amirs* showed favour to the ambassadors of Sultan Mahmud Gujrati and bestowed Arab horses on them. He also conferred on them double of what was the customary (remuneration) of ambassadors. He also made over to the *taliks*¹ five mounds of pearls of the weight of Delhi and five elephants and one jewelled dagger as presents (to Sultan Mahmud Gujrati). He sent for Kamal Khan and Safdar Khan and all the adherents of Sultan Mahmud whom Bahadur had kept in imprisonment to his presence and granted favours and benefactions to them and gave them permission to go back to Gujrat. He also ordered that the twenty ships belonging to Sultan Mahmud which Bahadur had looted should be made over to the Sultan's servants so that the chain of inherited friendship and alliance might be strengthened.

It has been narrated before that in the early days of the Sultan's reign all freshness and beauty had departed from the trees

¹ Firishtah also mentions these presents

² It appears from Firishtah that the defeat and death of Bahadur Gilani and the events connected with them took place on or before 901 A.H. 1495 A.D. and Nizam ud din says that Sultan Mahmud died in 9-7 A.H. while Firishtah says that he died in 9-8 A.H. Col Briggs has 9-4 A.H. 1518 A.D. so that there was a period of 3 or 6 years between the events. Nizam ud din passes over the account of what happened in the course of these years in about fifteen lines of the 1st ed. Firishtah gives a more detailed account. According to him Qutb ul mulk Hamadan who became the founder of the Qutb Shahi dynasty was made *ta'asir* of Warangal and got Hasanabed Gulbarga and Sagur with their dependencies as his fief. At the same time the Sultan was informed that the *manzilis* and of the latter rising in rebellion and therefore except the *manzilis* all other *mansabdars* were taken away from Dastur Dinar and were joined to the royal army. It may be mentioned in explanation that all commanders of less than five hundred were *manzilis* and those of five hundred and more were *amirs*. Dastur Dinar was aggrieved at the *mansabdars* being taken away from him and raised the standard of revolt and took forcible possession of a part of Telingana which was contiguous to Gulbarga. The Sultan demanded help from Yaqut Adil Khan and he came and joined the Sultan and Qasim Barid and they fought with Dastur Dinar and Aziz ul mulk and all the Habshi's and Dakin's who had joined him near the town of Mahundri

lasses, high and low At the time of the return of Malik Fakhr-ul-mulk, the Sultān sent the *amīrs* and the troops and all the retainers to welcome him , and ¹ conferred on him the title of Khwājah Jahān , and in the same *majlis*, a speeial robe of honour and a jewelled belt and an ‘Arab horse and an elephant were bestowed on him , and the horses and weapons which Bahādur had brought as tribute were conferred on Zain Khān

Two or thīee davs after the vīetory (the Sultān) entered the fort of Panāla and sent ² Malik ‘Aīn-ul-mulk from there to the island (of Goa), so that he might take possession of it by transfer from Bahādur , and send all Bahādur’s property and equipage , and bring Malik Sa‘id his brother to the court, after giving him assurance of royal favour After some days, ‘Aīn-ul-mulk came back, bringing Malik Sa‘id with him He also passed before the eyes of the Sultān fifty elephants and three hundred ‘Arab horses and much money and other things belonging to Bahādur As marks of loyalty were patent on the forehead of Malik Sa‘id he received the title of Bahādur Malik in the same *majlis* (*i.e.* , in the *majlis* in whiclh he was presented before the Sultān) The properties and territories of Bahādur were, with the advīee and eoneurience of the *vazīrs*, entrusted to ‘Aīn-ul-mulk , and the Sultān returned towards the capital When he arrived in the town of Bijāpūr, he halted in a ³ garden house which had been built by Khwājah Jahān Fakhr-ul-mulk , and spent two or three days there in pleasure and enjoyment The Khwājah offered as tribute handsome and valuable things and ‘Arab horses,

¹ Both Nizām ud-dīn and Firishtah had been giving him the title of Khwājah Jahān from a time anterior to this Firishtah does not say that the title of Khwājah Jahān was conferred on him after this victory, but the word Makhdūm, which appears to be an entirely Dakinī honorific, was added to his title

² He is called Malik ‘Aīn-ul-mulk Kan‘ānī in the lith ed of Firishtah, Col Briggs (vol II, page 543) calls him Mullik Ein- ul-Mulk Geelany He is said to have been sent to the port of Goa

³ Firishtah says the garden was called Kālābāgh, and it had been planted by Malik ut-tujjār Mahmūd Gāwān Khwājah Jahān, and not by Fakhr ul-mulk Khwājah Jahān, as stated by Nizām-ud-dīn He also says that the Sultān visited it at the invitation of Yūsuf ‘Ādil Khān, after sending the camp on to the capital , and the tribute was offered by Yūsuf ‘Ādil Khān

more than can be contained in the desire of anybody and was exalted by the gift of a special robe of honour and a jewelled belt.

On his arrival at the capital the Sultan on the advice of the amirs showed favour to the ambassadors of Sultan Mahmud Gujrati and bestowed Arab horses on them. He also conferred on them double of what was the customary (remuneration) of ambassadors. He also made over to the *taklis*¹ five maunds of pearls of the weight of Delhi and five elephants and one jewelled dagger as presents (to Sultan Mahmud Gujrati). He sent for Kamal Khan and Sifdar Khan and all the adherents of Sultan Mahmud whom Bahadur had kept in imprisonment to his presence and granted favours and benefactions to them and gave them permission to go back to Gujrat. He also ordered that the twenty ships belonging to Sultan Mahmud which Bahadur had looted should be made over to the Sultan's servants so that the chain of inherited friendship and alliance might be strengthened.

It has been narrated before that in the early days of the Sultan's reign all freshness and beauty had departed from the trees

¹ Firishtah also mentions these presents.

2 It appears from Firishtah that the defeat and death of Bahadur Gilani and the events connected with them took place on or before 901 A.H. 1495 A.D. and Nizam ud din says that Sultan Mahmud died in 97 A.H. while Firishtah says that he died in 98 A.H. Col Briggs has 94 A.H. 1518 A.D. so that there was a period of 23 or 6 years between these events. Nizam ud din passes over the account of what happened in the course of these years in about fifteen lines of the 11th ed. Firishtah gives a more detailed account. According to him Qutb ul mulk Hamad ni who became the founder of the Qutb Shahi dynasty was made *tarafdar* of Warangal and got Hasanabad Gulbarga and Saqur with the dependencies as his fief. At the same time the Sultan was informed that the *mansabdars* were the cause of the strength of the great amirs and of the latter rising in rebellion and therefore except the *mansabdars* all other *mansabliars* were taken away from Dastur Dinar and were joined to the royal army. It may be mentioned in explanation that all commanders of less than five hundred were *mansabdars* and those of five hundred and more were *amirs*. Dastur Dinar was aggrieved at the *mansabdars* being taken away from him and raised the standard of revolt and took forcible possession of a part of Tlang which was contiguous to Gulbarga. The Sultan demanded help from Yusuf Adil Khan and he came and joined the Sultan and Qasim Bad and they fought with Dastur Dinar and Azz ul mulk and all the Habshis and Dakins who had joined him near the town of Mahundri.

of the garden of Sultān Mahmūd Shāh, owing to the assassination of Qiyām-ul-mulk Turk, and the flight of Nizām-ul-mulk and ‘Imād-ul-

(Col. Briggs calls the place Myndingy, and says, in a note, that it is situated near Akulkote) and Dastūr Dīnār was defeated, chiefly by the main exertions of Yūsuf ‘Ādil Khān. He was taken prisoner and was ordered by the Sultan to be put to death but he was not only pardoned but re-tored in his government, at the intercession of Yūsuf ‘Ādil Khān. Some of the rebels took shelter in the fort of Saghīr, but it was seized and made over to Yūsuf ‘Ādil Khān.

In 902 A.H. Yūsuf Ghulam Dulmī and Puglisch Khān Dulmī and Mīrzā Shams ud dīn (the first two are called Yoosoof Deccany and Yoosish Khan by Col. Briggs) entered into a conspiracy to destroy Qāsim Barīd but the latter coming to know of it put them all to death. The Sultan also helped to extirpate the flames of slaughter and pillage, but he was so angry with Qāsim Barīd and the other Turks, that he would not, for one month, take their *salāms* and at last, at the intercession of Shāh Muhibb ul-lah, he was induced with great reluctance to pardon them. After this the Sultan sank again into drunkenness and debauchery, so that his greatness and grandeur completely passed away from the minds of the people.

In 903 A.H. Mahmūd Shāh asked the daughter of Yūsuf ‘Ādil Khān Bibi Sati, by name, who was one year old for his son Ahmad who was four years of age. This was child marriage *in excelsis*. Col. Briggs does not give the age of the bride, but calls her 'the infant daughter of Yoosoof Adil Khan'. The age of the bridegroom, he says, was fourteen years. The marriage, it was arranged, would take place at Hasanābād Gulbarga, and it was arranged that when the bride would attain the age of ten years she should be sent to the Shāhzada. While the marriage festivities were still in progress, Dastūr Dīnār and Yūsuf ‘Ādil Khān had a dispute about the fief of Gulbarga, the former arguing that Bijāpur up to the bank of the Bithuna (Bīnū) should belong to Yūsuf ‘Ādil Khān, and Gulbarga and Annatgi as far as the boundary of Tilang should belong to him (Col. Briggs has Koolbmiga, Sagur and Etgeer), and the latter that Hasanābād, Gulbarga, Aland, Ganjautī and Kaliān should belong to him, so that his territory should abut on that of the Sultan. A battle was fought between the two contestants, and their partisans, in the neighbourhood of Ganjautī. Yūsuf ‘Ādil Khān was victorious, and became very powerful, so that even the Sultan could not sit on the throne in his presence. Then the nobles retired to their fiefs, and Qāsim Barīd returned, and became *takīl* as before, and now his power became so great that the Sultan without his permission could not get even a drink of water when he was thirsty.

In 904 A.H., Yūsuf ‘Ādil Khān led an army against Dastūr Dīnār, and the latter fled from Hasanābād Gulbarga, and at the suggestion of Qāsim Barīd went to Malik Ahmad Nizām ul-mulk, who rendered him much help. Yūsuf ‘Ādil Khān being unable to withstand them hastened to Ahmadābād Bidar. The Sultan wrote to Malik Ahmad Nizām ul-mulk and directed him not to assist

mulk and the hearts of the *amirs* had become estranged from him At this time when he returned from camp and took up his residence

Dastur Dinar Malik Ahmad Nizam ul mulk complied with this but prayed that the Sultan would direct Yusuf Adil Khan not to molest Dastur Dinar Yusuf Adil Khan at a hint from the Sultan forbore from causing further molestation to Dastur Dinar

In 910 A.D. Qāsim Barid died and his son Amir Barid disposed the Sultan of the little power which he still possessed In the same year Yusuf Adil Khan fought a battle with Dastur Dinar and defeated him and put him to death He then took possession of all his fiefs and had the *Kutuba* read in his own name according to the tenets of the *Sia* faith in Bijapur This made him very unpopular with all the people of the Dakin and Mal mad Shah wrote letters through Amir Barid to Malik Qutb ul mulk Hamdānī and Fath ul lah Imad ul mulk and Khudāban Khan Habshi about Yusuf Adil Khan's rebellion and his acceptance of the tenets of the *Rasūl* (*Sūra*) and asked them to come immediately to help to destroy Yusuf Adil Khan Qutb ul mulk Hamdānī came with all the *amirs* of Tilang but the others sent excuses The Sultan and Amir Barid were in some anxiety to Ahmad Nizam ul mulk Bahri and asked for his help He and Malik Fakhr ul mulk Dakni Khwājah Jahān came very quickly with a large army Yusuf Adil Khan did not think it advisable to meet them He made Sighir Hasan Khan and Aland over to Daras Khan and Fakhr ul mulk Turk and sent his infant son Ismā'il with Ishaq Khan and other trustworthy noble with elephants and treasures to Bijapur so that they might govern the country from that fort He himself with five thousand horsemen started for Berar The Sultan and Amir Barid with those who had come to their assistance pursued him till Yusuf Adil Khan reached Kavil where Ishaq ul lah Imad ul mulk was encamped The latter said that it would not be advisable to fight with the Sultan and advised Yusuf Adil Khan to go for a time to Burhanpur till he could arrange matters Yusuf Adil Khan accepted this advice and went to Burhanpur Then Ishaq ul lah Imad ul mulk wrote to Ahmad Nizam ul mulk Bahri etc that Amir Barid wanted to destroy Yusuf Adil Khan and if he succeeded in doing this he having the Sultan with him would become very powerful and would crush them all They should therefore go away to their own territories They accepted this advice and started The next day Fath ul lah Imad ul mulk submitted a representation to the Sultan and advised him to pardon Yusuf Adil Khan and to go back to the capital The Sultan at the instigation of Amir Barid did not accept this advice but wanted to march with Amir Barid to Bijapur Yusuf Adil Khan hearing all that had happened came with lightning speed and joined Fath ul lah Imad ul mulk They then marched against the Sultan's camp Amir Barid seeing that he could not be able to withstand them returned with the Sultan to Ahmadābād Bidar

in Bidar, and the *sardars* went to their respective places, even the little power and the small grandeur which had been left passed away.

In 912 A.H., Yūsuf Ḥādī Khān and Iathul-hukūm Imād-ul-mulk and Fakhr ul-mulk Dākānī Khwājah Jahān died and their son succeeded them. Amīr Barīd tried to seize Bijāpūr but all his efforts were unsuccessful.

In 918 A.H., Qutb ul-mulk Ḥamadān died and his independence was removed; the name of the Sultan from the *Khatṭa*, but he sent fifty thousand *huns* every month to the Sultan.

In 920 A.H. Amīr Barīd raised a large army with the royal treasury and taking the Sultan with him marched to Gulbarga and took it from the possession of Ismā'il 'Ādīl Khān, and made it over to the adopted son of Dastūr Dīnā, who had the name of Jāhāngīr Khān and whom he gave the title of Dastūr ul-mulk. The latter collected an army and recovered all the fort on his side of the Pithōna (or the Burn river) from Sachin to Nabbang which had been in the possession of his father. Amīr Barīd then crossed the river with reinforcements from Muhib Ahmad Nizām ul-mulk Bahri and Qutb ul-mulk, and marched to Bijāpūr. Ismā'il 'Ādīl Khān gave him battle near Bijāpūr, and completely defeated him, so that he fled from the battlefield. The Sultan fell from his horse, and remained helpless on the battlefield with his son, Ahmad Khān. Ismā'il 'Ādīl Khān, however, treated him with great respect and wanted to take him to Bijāpūr, but he remained in the town of Abud where he was treated for his wounds. After a short time he went with Ismā'il 'Ādīl Khān to Hasanābād Gulbarga, the latter made over his sister, who had already been betrothed to him, to Shūbhāda Ahmad Khān. The Sultan then marched with three or four thousand Mughal horsemen whom he obtained from Ismā'il 'Ādīl Khān, to Ahmadābād Bidar. Amīr Barīd evacuated the capital, and retired to the fort of Ursā (Col. Briggs has Ousa). But soon after that, the officers of Ismā'il 'Ādīl Khān heard that Amīr Barīd had combined with Burhān Nizām-ul-mulk Bahri, and was advancing with a great army, and they returned to Bijāpūr in all haste. Amīr Barīd then came back to the capital and treated the Sultan with even greater strictness and harshness than before on account of his alliance with Ismā'il 'Ādīl Khān. The Sultan being unable to bear this treatment fled to 'Alā'ud-dīn 'Imād ul-mulk at Kāwīl (Col. Briggs says he went to Gavul in Berar). 'Alā'ud-dīn 'Imād ul-mulk received him with respect, and marched with him to crush Amīr Barīd. The latter took shelter in the fort, and sent men to Burhān Nizām ul-mulk, who sent Khwājah Jahān to assist him. Amīr Barīd then sallied out to give battle, and 'Alā'ud-dīn 'Imād ul-mulk met him, but the Sultan was bathing at the time. 'Alā'ud-dīn 'Imād ul-mulk sent one of his principal men to summon the Sultan, and the latter told the Sultan that a man who engages himself in bathing at such a time becomes a subject of ridicule to his people. The Sultan became very angry at this rebuke, and galloped off to Amīr Barīd's army. 'Alā'ud-dīn 'Imād ul-mulk then retired to his own country, and Amīr Barīd re-entered the capital.

Mahik Barid became so powerful that he left no one before (بَسْ وَسَلَّمَ!) him (i.e. probably to attend on him) and having strengthened the entrances and exits did not permit that he should come out of his harem. He took the management of affairs into his own hand and left Mahmud Shah nothing but the name of Sultan. Mahmud Shah wrote something about this to Imad ul mulk. The latter sent a reply to the effect that if His Majesty would come to Kawil this slave (i.e. he himself) would perform the duties of service and would give a fresh splendour and enterprise to the affairs of the sultanat. Mahmud Shah then with such pretexts as he could think of fled to Kawil. Mahi Imad ul mulk welcomed his arrival with respect and honour and advanced with a large following to crush ¹ Mahik Barid. ² When he arrived in the neighbourhood of the city of Bidar Mahik Barid having equipped his army came forward to meet him. At the time when the armies were facing each other the slave who was the head of Imad ul mulk's tribesmen sent a message to the Sultan that His Majesty should now mount as the time of the battle had come. It so happened that at that time Mahmud Shah was engaged in washing his head. Imad ul mulk's slave said that when the Sultan was so negligent at the time of the battle there was no doubt that it was a sign of misfortune.

with the Sultan and placed the latter in such strict confinement that it was impossible for him again to attempt to escape. Firishtah is rather inconsistent in describing the last days of Mahmud Shah. He says first that he دَرْهَمَانْ رَبْ بَوْدَ مُرَدْهَمَانْ رَبْ بَوْدَ i.e. he was not counted among the dead or among the living but later on he says that he and his son who were both weak in intellect and indolent were contented with سِرَابْ وَسَاهِدْ وَسَافِيْ وَسَعْكَارْ وَفَسْرَقْ i.e. with wine and mistresses and their throne and palace.

Firishtah places the death of Mahmud Shah on the 4th Dhil Hijjah 942 A.H. (Col Briggs has 98 A.H. October -1 1518) and says that he reigned for 37 years and 20 days.

This is a very long note but I have thought it necessary to give some account of the last years of the reign.

¹ Both the MSS have مَلِكْ بَرِيدْ. The lith ed has بَرِيدْ without any prefix. It appears however from Firishtah that Malik Qasim Barid died in 910 A.H. and was succeeded by his son Amir Barid.

This is mentioned by Firishtah among the incidents of the year 900 A.H.

Couplet

Whoe'er doth ignorance and indolence adopt,
His foot from the ground will fall, and his work from his hand

These words appeared to be insolent to the Sultān. He then mounted his horse and rode over to the army of Malik Barid, and made a complaint about the slave of 'Imād-ul-mulk. 'Imād-ul-mulk seeing what had happened returned to Kāwil. After this, life became so miserable to the Sultān, that the maid-servants of Malik Barid carried his water and food to him, till in the year 927 A.H., he departed from this difficult lower world. The period of his reign was forty years and two months and three days.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE REIGN OF AHMAD SHĀH,
SON OF MAHMŪD SHĀH

¹ In the year 927 A.H., Malik Barid placed Sultān Ahmad Shāh, son of Mahmūd Shāh, on the throne, in the city of Bidar, with the concurrence and advice of the *amīrs* and *khāns*, but he left only the name of *bādshāh* to him, and kept him (confined) in his house. The *amīrs* all took up their residences in their *jāgīrs*, and were all independent of one another. The name of *bādshāh* was given to

¹ Firishtah says that Amīr Barid placed Ahmad Shāh on the throne, because he had only a small territory and only three or four thousand horsemen, and he was afraid that otherwise the rulers of the neighbouring countries would be tempted to seize Ahmadābād Bidar. He also says that the Sultān, like his father, was satisfied with sensual pleasures. As the stipend given to him by Amīr Barid did not suffice for his expenses, he broke up the jewelled crown of the Bahmanis, which was valued at four hundred thousand *hūns* (Col. Briggs says in a note £1,60,000), and sold the gems secretly. When Amīr Barid became aware of this, he put many musicians and others, who were in the palace, to death, and tried to get back the jewels, but was unsuccessful, as the men who had bought them, had fled to Bijānagar and other places.

The Sultān sent men secretly to Ismā'il 'Ādil Khān, and complained of the hardships he suffered at the hands of Amīr Barid. Ismā'il 'Ādil Khān sent an ambassador with presents, and sent some verbal messages, but the Sultān died before the ambassador could arrive.

Firishtah says that Ahmad Shāh died in 927 A.H., after a reign of two years and one month. Col. Briggs (vol. II, page 554) has the same year, but he reduces the duration of the reign to two years only.

poor oppressed Ahmad Shah for a period of two years and one month
He died in the year 929 A.H.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE REIGN OF SULTAN ALA UD DIN¹ SON
OF MAHMUD SHAH

When the poor and helpless Ahmad Shah died Malik Barid with the concurrence of the *amirs* took Ala ud din the brother of Ahmad Shah by the hand and made him the *badshah*. He kept him (confined) in the house as he had kept his brother. The nobility of the nature and the high spirit of the prince however incited him to collect men round him and to give fresh life to the ancient customs and rules and like his great ancestors to conquer fresh territory. Malik Barid coming to know of this in concert with Nizam ul mulk son of Malik Nizam ul mulk and Imad ul mulk son of Imad ul mulk and Adil Khan son of Adil Khan Sawai took away the name of *sultanat* from him. He in truth released him from bondage and confinement and raised his brother in his place. The period of his reign which was passed in confinement and imprisonment was one year and eleven months.

¹ He is called the son of Mahmud Shah in the MSS as well as in the 11th ed. In the heading in the 11th ed of Firishtah he is described as the son of Ahmad Shah Bahmani. There is nothing said about his parentage in the account of his reign. In Col Briggs's translation there is no mention of King Alla ood Deen's father. It appears however that Mahmud had three sons Ahmad Shah Ala ud din and Wall ul lah and they were raised to the throne one after the other but none of them had any real power.

According to Firishtah Amr Barid kept the throne unoccupied for fourteen days but after that for the same reason as before he did not himself mount it but placed Ala ud din on it. The latter who was brave and intelligent and knew that his predecessors had ruined themselves by indulgence in wine and sensual pleasures abstained from them and exerted himself to effect the destruction of Amir Barid and the others who had seized his ancestral dominion. With this object he flattered and conciliated Amir Barid. At the same time he collected a body of men for the assassination of Amir Barid and kept them concealed in the palace. They were to seize Amir Barid and his associates when they came to offer their salutations on the morning of the first day of the month. When they came near the Sultan a apartment one of the men who was hiding happened to sneeze. The plot was discovered. The conspirators were tortured and put to death and the Sultan was imprisoned and soon after put to death. His reign extended to two years and three months.

**AN ACCOUNT OF THE REIGN OF SULTĀN WALI UL LĀH,
SON OF MAHMŪD SHĀH**

When¹ Mahik Barid son of Barid, gave Sultān 'Alā ud din freedom from the imprisonment of sovereignty, he brought his brother, who had the name of Wali-ul-lah and appended the name of Sultān to him. He however without hesitation entered the Sultān's harem, and no one had the power to forbid him. Going there he conceived a passion for the Sultān's wife, and his evil passion led him to administer poison to Wali-ul-lah, and to take the latter's wife to himself. The period of his (*i.e.*, Wali-ul-lah's)² imprisonment did not reach a year.

**AN ACCOUNT OF THE REIGN OF³ KALIM UL LĀH
SON OF MAHMŪD SHĀH**

After Sultān Wali-ul-lah had drunk the *sharbat* of martyrdom from the hand of⁴ Malik Barid, and after this nefarious deed had been perpetrated, the helpless Kalim-ul-lah was made Sultān, and he was kept under guard like his brother in the city of Bidar.

¹ Both MSS leave out the word *Malik* before the second Barid. Of course the father was Qāsim Barid, and the son Amīr Barid.

² According to Firishtah Wali ul lah reigned as a puppet in Amīr Barid's hand for three years. He also like his brother tried to secure freedom. After this, Amīr Barid confined him in his harem. The latter then conceived a passion for the Sultān's wife, and effected his death, and then took his wife to himself.

³ Firishtah also in the heading of his account of Sultān Kulīm ul lah's reign calls the latter the son of Sultān Mahmūd Bahūnū, but at the end of his account of the reign of Sultān Wali ul lah, calls Sultān Kulīm ul lah daughter's son of Yūsuf 'Ādil Shāh. This is incorrect, because it was Ahmad Shāh the eldest son of Mahmūd Shāh, and not Mahmūd Shāh himself, who married the daughter of Yūsuf 'Ādil Shāh. Col Briggs makes the same mistake at the commencement of the account of Kulleem Oolla Shah Bahūnū where he describes the latter as "The son of Ahmad Shah by the daughter of Yoosoof Adil Shah". It will be seen from the account of the events of the year 903 A H in footnote, page 128, and also from Col Briggs's History (vol II, page 558) that it was Ahmad Shah who was married to the daughter of Yoosoof Adil Shah.

⁴ Both MSS have ار دست ملک بورید, without any reference to Malik Barid's parentage, but the 11th ed has ار دست ملک بورید دن بورید

When the curtain of agreement was raised from the face of the affairs of the *amirs*, Imdulmulk khowst went to the aid of Muhammad Khan son of Abd Khan the ruler of Ahr and Burhanpur and after fighting with Nizam ul mulk and Malik Parid and Khondwan Khan and all the *amirs* of the Deccan ran away. Three hundred elephants and a hundred horses and a large quantity of arms fell into the hands of the Didar armies. Imdulmulk fled to Ahr and Burhanpur. But in the end with the help of Sultan Bahadur of Bijapur he regained possession of his dominions. In the year 91 A.D. he read the *Khattra* in the name of Sultan Bahadur in the towns and *parganas* of his territories. Again at the invitation of Imdulmulk Sultan Bahadur invaded the Deccan. As Nizam ul mulk and Malik Parid and the other *amirs* were not strong enough to withstand him they in their helplessness read the *Khattra* in the name of Sultan Bahadur in Ahmednagar and all the provinces of the Deccan. The province of the Deccan then came into the possession of four *amirs* i.e. Nizam ul mulk, Abd Khan, Qutb ul mulk and

For full details on this subject see on the page at all account of the reign of Nizam ul mulk it has entirely been left from that of Nizam ul mulk. It is that in 93 A.D. a letter came from Abd Khan and took possess of Dhar, Panvel, Alibagh, Burhanpur, Shah Bahlol and Qill Qutb Shah all sent petition to him expressing their attachment to him. Sultan Khan ul mulk on hearing it also sent an ambassage to him. He sent him the territories of Berar and Daulatabad to him if he would free him from the fort in which he was kept. Babar was too busy elsewhere and could not pay any heed to this petition. When the news of his having sent the petition became known to Sultan Imdulmulk he was very anxious for his safety and fled in 931 A.D. to Panvel Abd Shah who at that place is described as his *Jâz* (maternal uncle) at Bijapur. The latter accepted the fifth attempt (it was the fifth (C. I. says however says that I was free lived honourably). He then escaped with eighteen horsemen to Burhanpur. Nizam Shah received and treated him with royal honours till Shah Tâfir (who in the memory of C. I.) forced him to do so and explained that such conduct was highly impolitic for him. After that Burhanpur Shah discontinued receiving Sultan Khan ul mulk who after that died at Ahma Nagar either by poison being given to him or by a natural death.

2. Firozshah mentions five dynasties in total of Nizam ud din's four i.e. Abd Shah, Nizam Shah, Qutb Shah, Jumâl Shah and Daud Shah. Mr. Sewell (page 100) mentions five dynasties i.e. the Adil Shahs of Bijapur, the Barid Shahs of Bidar or Mavalabad; the Imdâl Shahs of Daulatabad, the Nizam Shahs of Ahma Nagar and the Qutb Shahs of Golconde.

Malik Barīd , and up to this day which is in the year 1002 A H , the rule of the Deccan is vested in these four dynasties And something of their conditions will now be narrated

SECTION II 1 THE NIZĀM-UL-MULKI LINE OR DYNASTY.

AN ACCOUNT OF NIZĀM-UL-MULK BAHRI

He was a slave of Brahman descent His name had been ² بھری (Bhareu) and by change of letters, he was called Bahri ³ His son Alimad, who had in his head an ambition to rule, commenced hostilities, the *vazirs* of Sultān Kalim-ul-lah made Nizām-ul-mulk Bahri a prisoner, and drawing a pencil across his eyes, ulti-

¹ Firishtah begins with an account of the 'Ādil Shāhī line, and then goes on with the Nizām Shāhīs The title of the section is not given in the text edition

² Bhareu may be a corruption of Bhairo, which again is a corruption of Sanskrit Bhanava (lit terrible) one of the names of the god Siva Firishtah (lith ed) says that Mahk Nāvib Nizām-ul mulk Bahri's name was تیمابھت Timābhat and his father's name was بھری Bhareu Col Briggs (vol III, p 189) says his name was Tumapa, son of Bhairoo It is not clear to me whv he was called Bhareu or Bahri which was his father's name, and not Timāblat which was his own name According to Firishtah, Timābhat and Bhareu were taken prisoners by the Musalmāns in Bijānagar in the reign of Alimad Shāh Bahmanī, and Bhareu's name was changed to Hasan when he was enlisted among the Sultān's slaves or guards He was very intelligent, and so was sent to school with the prince who later became Muhammad Shāh In a short time he became well known as Mahk Hasan Bhareu , but Muhammad Shāh in his boyhood being unable to pronounce Bhareu changed it to Bahri , and he became known as Malik Hasan Bahri When Muhammad became the Sultān, he made Malik Hasan Bahri a commander of one thousand horse , and the latter gradually rose to be Nizām-ul-mulk Bahri , and by the favour of Khwājah Jahān Gāwān was made *tarafdar* of Tilang In the text-edition it is بھری

³ This is a very brief and incomplete and confused account Firishtah's account of the Nizām Shāhī dynasty begins with the reign of Ahmad Nizām Shāh The murder of Nizām-ul-mulk is only incidentally mentioned in it, where it is said that when Ahmad Nizām Shāh, after capturing a number of forts such as Jaund and Lahagar and Tangī, etc , was engaged in the siege of the fort of Dandī Rājpūrī, that he heard of the murder of his father As this happened before 895 A H , it could not have been the act of the *vazirs* of Sultān Kalim-ul-lah, as stated erroneously in the text, but must have occurred in the reign of Mahmūd Shāh which extended from 887 A H to 924, 927 or 928 A H , according to different accounts

mately put him to death His rule had no stability and has been narrated in the history of the Bahmanis

¹ AN ACCOUNT OF AHMAD SON OF NIZAM UL MULK BAHRI

After the death of his father Nizam ul mulk he declared his independence and having taken possession of the whole of the country of Junir he laid the foundation of a grand city in the middle of it and called it Ahmadnagar He died after having ruled for forty years As no comprehensive work containing particulars of the conditions of this dynasty has come before my eyes I am confining myself to this much

² AN ACCOUNT OF BURHAN NIZAM UL MULK SON OF AHMAD

When Burhān sat in his father's place ⁴ Shah Tahir who was one of the wisest men of the age came from Sultanīya in Iraq to the

¹ Nizam ud dīn very frankly acknowledges that he did not come across any comprehensive history of the Nizām Shahī dynasty and he has therefore made a very brief statement about Ahmad Nizam ul mulk The latter however ruled for forty years and an account of his reign extends over about ten pages of the lith ed of Firishtah and about twenty one pages of Col Briggs's translation It would be impossible for me to add much to Nizam ud dīn's account without unduly increasing the volume of this work I may say however that Ahmad Nizam ul mulk died in 914 A H 1508 A D leaving his son Burhan a boy seven years of age as his successor

² The words بدر حوده شاه نظام الملک are in one MS only but not in the other or in the lith ed I have however inserted them in the text

³ Nizam ud dīn's account of the reign of Burhan Nizām ul mulk or Burhan Nizām Shahī as Firishtah calls him is very brief and incomplete The reign extended according to Nizam ud dīn to forty eight years and yet his narrative is confined to about nine lines of the lith ed Firishtah's account extends over eighteen pages of the lith ed and Col Briggs's translation to about twenty five pages It is impossible for me to give even a brief summary of the events which occurred during this long period I have however given a fairly comprehensive translation of the narrative in the lith ed of Firishtah (in the next note) of the conversion of Burhan Shahī and most of his subjects to the Shī'a form of the religion which appears to have taken place in 944 A H 1539 A D as this is mentioned in the Tabaqat The translation in Col Briggs vol III page - 8 is rather short and does not mention many very curious and interesting particulars

⁴ Firishtah begins with a long and detailed account of the previous history of Shah Tahir According to that Shah Tahir established himself in 906 A H

Deccan, and became a companion and confidie of Burhān, and making him adopt the *Imāmīa* religion became his guide in religious matters

- - - - -

at Sultāniyā as a religious teacher Shāh Ismā'īl Ḥasfī, however, ordered him to be put to death He then left Sultāniyā in all haste, and arrived at the port of Goa From there, he went to Ismā'īl Ḥādī Shāh at Bijāpūr, but that ruler had no use for anyone except swordsmen and warriors, and so he did not show him any favour Shāh Tāhir then started for the port of Chaul, in order to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca and Madīna On the way he halted at the fort of Parinda, where Maḳhdūm Khwājah Jahān Dakīnī received him with great honour and respect It so happened that at this time Burhān Nizām Shāh had sent his teacher Maulāna Pir Muhammad Shirwānī, on an embassy to Khwājah Jahān and he remained there for about a year as a pupil of Shāh Tāhir By this time the fame of Shāh Tāhir's learning had spread all over the Deccan, and when Pir Muhammad came back to Ahmadnagar, and explained the reason of his long stay at Parinda, and dilated on Shāh Tāhir's learning and wisdom Burhān Nizām-ul-mulk, who was fond of the society of learned men, invited Shāh Tāhir to come to Ahmadnagar He came, and was received with great honour, and began to give lessons to the learned men of the capital Soon after this Shāhzāda 'Abd-ul qādū, eldest son of Burhān Nizām ul mulk fell ill, and all the physicians were unable to effect his cure Then Shāh Tāhir suggested that he would be able to cure the prince, if Burhān Nizām-ul-mulk would make offerings to the twelve Imāms Burhān agreed to do so, but Shāh Tāhir said that he did not suggest the making of offerings alone He had something else in his mind, but he would disclose it only if Burhān would promise, that in the event of his suggestion not meeting with Burhān's approval, he would allow him and his sons to depart to Mecca Burhān at once agreed, and bound himself by solemn oaths Then Shāh Tāhir inquired that if the prince was cured that night, would Burhān agree to read the *Khutba* in the name of the twelve Imāms, and endeavour to give currency to the Shi'a form of religion Burhān agreed That night Burhān sat by the side of the bed of 'Abd ul qādir, and fell asleep, placing his head on the edge of the bed Then he saw Muhammad and the twelve Imāms in a dream, and the next morning 'Abd-ul-qādir was cured After that 'Abd ul qādū and his mother, Āmīna Bibī, and all the members of the royal family accepted the Shi'a faith Burhān wanted that the names of the twelve Imāms should be inserted at once in the *Khutba*, but Shāh Tāhir suggested that it would be better if he should convene an assembly, when the merits of the four religious sects of Islām could be discussed The discussion continued for six months without much effect Burhān Shāh spoke to Shāh Tāhir, and said, he was unable to ascertain the superiority of any of the religious sects discussed After further discussions, Burhān Shāh described his dream at the time of prince 'Abd ul qādū's illness Then most of the members of the royal family and the great officers, etc., accepted the Shi'a

In the year 945 A.H. Sultan Bahadur Cujrati advanced to conquer the Deccan and having arrived in the neighbourhood of Ahmadnagar encamped at a place which is known as Kalachabutra. Burhan came forward in the way of sincerity and service and did homage to him. The latter showed him favour and gave him an umbrella and other insignia of royalty. They say that Sultan Bahadur said to Shah Tahir Do not you recompence Burhan when he comes to me so that there may be no derogation to your honour for whenever Burhan comes to you on me he has to remain standing and as you are connected with him you have also to follow his example and remain standing. Sultan Bahadur held Shah Tahir in great respect.

As Burhan Nizam ul mulk received strength and support from Sultan Bahadur he had the public prayer read and coins struck in his own name. He ruled for forty eight years.

form of religion. Mulla Pir Muhammad and other learned men were angry and left the assembly. They then had a conference at Mulla Pir Muhammad's house where some one suggested that Shah Tahir should be seized and put to death but Mulla Pir Muhammad said that as long as Burhan Shah should be alive they would not be able to effect their purpose. He suggested that Burhan Shah should be deposed and prince Abd ul qadir placed on the throne after which Shah Tahir could be executed. Then they surrounded the fort in which the palace was located. Burhan Shah took measures for defending it but at the same time went to Shah Tahir and explained the state of things. Shah Tahir who was versed in divination told Burhan Shah to march out of the fort when the rebels would at once submit. Burhan Shah did so. Then Shah Tahir read a verse of the Quran over a handful of earth and threw it in the direction of the enemy and told the heralds to go close to the latter and call out that all loyal subjects should immediately come under the shadow of the royal umbrella and those who were disloyal (*harai khwar*) should follow Mulla Pir Muhammad. Immediately the amirs and the commanders of the army and the soldiers came over to Burhan Shah while Mulla Pir Muhammad with a small number of soldiers went to his own house. He was seized by men who were sent by Burhan Shah and the latter ordered his execution but at the intercession of Shah Tahir the order of execution was cancelled and he was kept in imprisonment in a fort for four years after which again at the intercession of Shah Tahir he was restored to favour.

This is a long note but I have inserted it as it is very interesting in many ways. Col Briggs has left the matter of the conversion of Burhan Shah and his subjects entirely out of his translation.

AN ACCOUNT OF HUSAIN NIZĀM-UL-MULK, SON OF BURHĀN

After his father¹ he sat in the latter's place. It is related traditionally that Burhān Nizām-ul-mulk became enamoured of a² prostitute, and married her. One day he asked her in private, what persons she had liked best and pleased most, among the men who had visited her during the time that she had lived in her former way. She named four persons. He had all four of them seized, and gave orders for those helpless persons being put to death. That prostitute was called Āmīna and Husain Nizām-ul-mulk was born of her.

¹ According to Firishtah the succession was not without a contest. Husain Shāh, who was thirty years of age (Col. Briggs says incorrectly that he was in his thirteenth year), succeeded Burhān Nizām Shāh as being his eldest son. But Shāhzāda 'Abd-ul-qādir, who had much honour in the sight of his father, did not agree to Husain Shāh's succession. He and the other princes left the palace and two factions were formed—the foreigners and the Habshis joined Husain Nizām Shāh, and the Daknis, Hindūs and Musalmāns were on the side of the other princes. There was every likelihood of a civil war, but Qāsim Beg Hakīm succeeded in detaching four hundred or five hundred *silahdārs* and *hawāladārs* from 'Abd-ul qādir's party. Others joined Husain Nizām Shāh, and 'Abd-ul qādir with some of his partisans fled to 'Imād-ul-mulk in Berāi. He died there. The other princes fled to Bijāpūr, and 'Ādil Shāh espousing the cause of one of them, Shāh Haidai, who was the son in-law of Khwājah Jahān ruler of Parinda marched to recover Sholāpūr but Husain Nizām Shāh attacked and captured the fort of Parinda.

Afterwards 'Ādil Shāh espoused the cause of Mirān Shāh 'Alī who was his cousin (*ammzāda*), but Husain Nizām Shāh advanced with seven thousand horsemen, whom he obtained from Daiyā 'Imād-ul-mulk, to Sholāpūr, which 'Ādil Shāh was then besieging, and after a severe battle the Bijāpūr army was defeated.

² She is called a *مَوْلَى* by Nizām ud-dīn. She is مولیٰ نامہ in the lith ed of Firishtah, and in Col. Briggs's History (vol. III, p. 215), "Ameena a dancing girl." Firishtah says, Burhān made her the chief of his harem, and from her he learned to drink intoxicating liquors, and, owing to this, Mukammal Khān who was his *rakīl* and *rāzī* during his minority and had worked with zeal and ability, resigned his office. It is also mentioned by Firishtah that when in 931 A.H. Burhān Shāh married Bibī Matīam, the sister of Ismā'il 'Ādil Shāh, Bibī Āmina did not treat her well, and she complained to her brother, and there was a war between Burhān Nizām-ul-mulk and his allies Amīr Barīd, and 'Alā-ud dīn 'Imād-ul-mulk on the one hand and Ismā'il 'Ādil Shāh on the other in which 'Imād-ul-mulk was defeated and retired in precipitation to Kāwil, and Burhān Nizām-ul-mulk became unconscious, through heat and thirst, and was carried away in a *pālkī* to Ahmadnagar.

At that time¹ Ram Rāj of Bijanagar which in the Hindi language is known as Bedbānagar had acquired much strength and power Husun Nizam ul mulk with Ādil Khan and Quṭb ul mulk and Malik Barid attacked him² Ram Rāj advanced to meet them with

¹ It appears from Sewell's A Forgotten Empire—Vijayanagar p 109 that Rām Raj or Rāma Rāya as Mr Sewell calls him was not the titular Raja of Vijayanagar Sadī wa who succeeded Achvuta in 154 AD was the Rāja *de jure* but he was virtually a prisoner in the hands of Rāmā Rāya the eldest of three brothers at first nominally his minister but afterwards independent

* * * These three men held the government of the kingdom till 1560 when the empire was utterly overthrown by a confederation of the five Muhammadan kings of the Dakhan already mentioned at the battle of Talikota—so called—and the magnificent capital was almost wiped out of existence It appears also from Mr Sewell's History p 184 note 1 that Rāmā Rāya was married to a daughter of Krishna Deva who was king of Vijayanagar from 1509 to 1530 AD

The name is سالم راج and مالک راج in the MSS and راج راج in the lith ed In text سالم راج

² This is a very brief and incorrect account of the relations between the Nizām Shāhi rulers and those of Bijānagar and the final defeat and death of Rām Rāj It appears from Firishtah that the relations between Burhān Nizām Shāh and Ibrāhīm Ādil Shāh were strained and in 900 Burhān Shāh sent Shāh Tahir to congratulate Jamsud Quṭb Shāh on his accession and on that occasion he instigated Rām Rāj and Quṭb Shāh to invade and conquer a part of the Ādil Shāhi dominion Ādil Shāh however conciliated both Nizām Shāh and Rām Rāj Some time after that Burhān Shāh at the instigation of Ram Rāj advanced to Gulbarga Ādil Shāh went forward to meet Ram Rāj and a great battle ensued in which Burhān Shāhi was at first victorious but in the end he was attacked by Ādil Shāh when his troops were engaged in plundering and was signally defeated and fled to Ahmadnagar leaving behind his royal umbrella and standards and elephants and artillery

After various other operations and after the death of Shah Tabir Burhan Nizām Shāh again resolved to attack the Bijāpur territory and sent ambassadors to Ram Rāj The latter was put to great straits by the Marhatta cavalry under Ibrāhīm Ādil Shāh Burhān Nizām Shāh attacked Ādil Shāh's camp when he and his nobles and soldiers were engaged in celebrating the Id and slew many of them and compelled the rest to run away in all haste After this Kalyan was surrendered by the garrison In the mean time Ādil Shāh marched into the Nizām Shāhi territory and devastated Bir and other *parganas* and laid siege to Parinda and captured it After that Ādil Shāh went back to Bijāpur and Burhan Nizām Shāh marched towards Parinda The thanadar

one hundred thousand horsemen and two thousand elephants and arranged them in order of battle and it was likely that the four

being panic struck left the place and Nizām Shāh reoccupied it, and made it over to Khwājah Jahān, and returned to Ahmadnagar

He again opened negotiations with Rām Rāj and passing through the Bijāpūr territory met him in the neighbourhood of Rāmchūr, and they settled that Rāmchūr and Mudkal should be seized, and should belong to Rām Rāj and Sholāpūr and Gulbāga to Burhān Shāh. They accordingly seized these forts. In 960, Burhān Shāh and Rām Rāj again invaded the Bijāpūr territory, and settled that they should besiege the fort of Sāgmu and Etgār, and should seize the whole of the neighbouring territory up to the river Bāmā and then seize Bijāpūr and Gulbāga. In 961 when they advanced towards Bijāpūr, 'Ādil Shāh being unable to meet them retired to Panāh. Burhān Shāh was engaged in the siege of Bijāpūr and was about to seize it when he fell ill and going back to Ahmadnagar died there. Firishtah points out that Muhammād Shāh of Gujāt and Salim Shāh Sūl died in the same year.

After the accession of Husain Nizām Shāh and the death of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh the former sent ambassadors to Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh and they marched from their respective capitals, and met at Gulbāga and laid siege to it, and were about to capture it, when Mustafa Khān Arghistānī, the minister of Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh persuaded the latter to detach himself from Husain Nizām Shāh, and the latter had to return to his capital without attaining his object. 'Ali 'Ādil Shāh who had succeeded Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh now entered into an alliance with Rām Rāj and Qutb Shāh in order to retaliate the injury done to him. Husain Nizām Shāh sent Mullā 'Ali Mazandarānī to Dāiyā 'Imād ul-mulk of Berār, and the emissary succeeded in bringing about an interview between his master and 'Imād ul-mulk near Sōnpat (the lith ed of Firishtah says on the bank of the Ganges, but Col. Biggs says, more correctly, on the bank of the Godāvari), and a marriage was arranged and celebrated with great splendour between the daughter of 'Imād-ul-mulk, and Husain Nizām Shāh.

Sometime after, in the year 967 A.H., 'Ali 'Ādil Shāh with Rām Rāj and Qutb Shāh advanced towards Ahmadnagar. Husain Nizām Shāh's minister suggested that he should surrender the fort of Kāhān to 'Ādil Shāh and make peace with the latter. Husain Nizām Shāh did not agree, and said that it would be a matter of discredit to him, if he would surrender a fort which his father had conquered with the sword. The allies arrived at Ahmadnagar with one *lakh* of horsemen and two *lakhs* of foot soldiers. Husain Nizām Shāh left Ahmadnagar in charge of his officers, and retired towards Pattan, so that he might get Dāiyā 'Imād-ul-mulk, and Mīrān Mubārik Shāh Fārūqī and 'Ali Barīd to unite with him. It so happened, however, that Khān Jahān, brother of Amīr Barīd, who was in charge of 'Imād-ul-mulk's affairs, not only dissuaded the latter from helping Husain Nizām Shāh, but proceeded himself with five

rulers should meet with a defeat when by an act of fate a cannon ball shot from the army of Nizam ul mulk hit Ram Raj and killed thou and horsemen and foot soldiers to devastate Husain Nizam Shah's territories He was however defeated by Shah Mulla Muhammad Naishapuri whom Husain Nizām Shah sent against him In the meantime the allied sovereigns laid siege to Ahmadnagar but Qutb Shah thinking that it would be unwise that Ādil Shah would have too great a power over Husain Nizam Shah allowed free passage for provisions and emissaries of Husain Nizām Shah to enter the fort through his lines Ādil Shah and Ram Rāj coming to know this demanded an explanation from Qutb Shah who without giving it left in the night and went back to Golkonda Ram Raj and Ādil Shah finding it difficult to maintain their position retired to the town of Ashti and there planned that they should first seize the fort of Parinda and afterwards return and capture Ahmadnagar Husain Nizam Shah then made overtures to Ram Raj for peace Ram Raj agreed on three conditions all of which Husain Nizam Shah found it necessary to accept Husain Nizam Shah made over the keys of Kalian to Ram Rāj in fulfilment of one of the latter's conditions and he sent them to Ali Ādil Shah

In the beginning of 970 A H Husain Nizam Shah and Qutb Sh h met in the neighbourhood of Kalian and proceeded to lay siege to it and were about to capture it when Ram Raj and Ādil Shah arrived in that neighbourhood with a large army Burhan Imdād ul mulk who had succeeded his father and Ali Bar d joined Ādil Sh h Husain Nizam Shah then raised the siege and sent away his heavy luggage and his son and other members of his family towards the fort of Au a and he himself intending to give battle to the enemy encamped at a distance of six *lakhs* from them The next day Husain Nizam Shah advanced to carry on a *jihad* against Ram Rāj and Qutb Shah also marched forward with such men as he had against Ali Ādil Shah and his Musalman allies It so happened that although it was not the rainy season there was heavy rain that day and Husain Nizam Shah's guns etc were rendered useless Ram Raj and Ali Ādil Shah becoming aware of this attacked Qutb Shah's camp and he fled without making a struggle and took up a position behind Husain Nizam Shah's camp Husain Nizam Shah now saw that it was impossible for him to do anything and retired towards his capital He was pursued but he showed such dauntless courage that the pursuers after a time turned back He then came to Ahmadnagar via Ausa Ali Ādil Shah Ram Rāj and their allies marched towards Ahmadnagar when Husain Nizām Shah leaving the capital in charge of his officers retired to Junir The Hindus of Ram Rāj's army destroyed mosques and palaces and committed outrages on the women Ali Ādil Sh h was shocked at this but could not prevent it He however advised Ram Rāj to raise the siege and to go in pursuit of Husain Nizam Shah Ram Rāj agreed and they went after Husain Nizam Shah The latter retired to the hilly country after

him His army was routed, and much booty fell into the hands of the *amirs* of the Deccan Husain Nizām-ul-mulk ruled for thirty years He left two sons Murtadā and Burhān

directing some of his officers to hover round the hostile army, and to carry on guerrilla warfare They did so with much success, and as the rains were approaching, Rām Rāj encamped near the river Son There was heavy rain, and the river was flooded, and about twenty thousand men and three hundred elephants and innumerable cattle were swept away, and drowned On account of this catastrophe Rām Rāj started for his own country and 'Adil Shāh proceeded to Naldurg and repaired the fort Rām Rāj under the protest of being devastated portions of the Bijapur and Golkonda territories, eventually obtained the cession of parts of those territories, before retiring to his country

After this in 972 A.D., Husain Nizām Shāh and 'Alī 'Adil Shāh entered into matrimonial and political alliances, and they also scoured the allies of the other Musalmān sovereigns, except Burhān Jānūd ul mulk, for destruction of Rām Rāj Nizām Shāh and Qutb Shah and 'Adil Shāh and Barid advanced with their armies, and crossed the Krishna, and encamped a distance of six *tarōks* from it Rām Rāj advanced with a formidable army to meet them, and they thinking that it would be impossible to withstand him made overtures for peace Rām Rāj refused to listen to them There was a great battle, in which the Hindus were defeated, mainly owing to the attack by Husain Nizām Shāh's artillery Rām Rāj was taken prisoner, when his *sinhāsan* or throne on which he was riding was thrown down by the bearers when they were charged by some of Husain Nizām Shāh's elephants He was recognised, and taken to Husain Nizām Shāh, who ordered him immediately to be beheaded This battle is known as the battle of Talikota though according to Mr Sewell, see note 2, page 199 of his book, it did not take place the Talikota is a small fortress and town near the Krishna 'The battle took place ten miles from Rāma Rāya's camp south of the river, wherever it might have been' Mr Sewell thinks it probable that it took place near the celebrated fort of Mudkal "The ford crossed by the allies would appear to be that at the bend of the river at Ingaligī, and the decisive battle seems to have been fought in the plain about the little village of Bāyapur to Bhōgāp on the road leading directly from Ingaligī to Mudkal" Col Briggs has pointed out that the battle "has been called the battle of Talikote by Mahomedans because the headquarters of the several sovereigns were near the village The battle was fought on the south bank of the Krishna, near twenty rulers off" (See footnote, page 126, vol III of his History)

This again is a very long note, but I have considered it necessary to insert it so that there might be a correct narrative of the events, as far as that can be ascertained by a reference to Firishtah

AN ACCOUNT OF MURTADA NIZAM UL MULK

By the order and testamentary direction of his father he succeeded the latter. He was benevolent and friendly to the poor.
¹ Khwajah Mirak Hārvi (of Herāt) was his minister in the beginning of

¹ According to Firishtah Murtada's mother Khunza Humayūn (called Khoonza Sooltana by Col Briggs) carried on the government for six years with Mulla Ināyat ul lah as the *peshwa* and in accordance with the advice of Qasim Beg Halim. She raised her three brothers to the highest rank of nobility and sat daily with Mulla Ināyat ul lah to transact public business from behind the *parda*. At this time Ali Ādil Shāh advanced against the Hindus of Bijānagar. Venkatādri the brother of Rām Rāj applied to Khunza Humayūn for help. She led an army into the Bijāpūr territory and compelled Ali Ādil Shah to retire. Peace was however soon made between the two Musalmān princes and they entered into an alliance against Tufal Khan the prime minister of Burhān Imad Shah who had seized his master's dominions and who had not joined them in their invasion of Bijānagar. They plundered the country and on the approach of the rains Tufal Khan propitiated Ali Ādil Shah and the Ādil Shahi and Nizām Shahi armies returned to their respective territories.

In 976 A.H. Ali Ādil Shah invaded the Ahmadnagar territory. Khunza Humayūn sent some *amirs* against the Ādil Shahi army which was under Kishwar Khan but the latter defeated them and they retired to Ahmadnagar. After this some of the courtiers of Murtada Nizām Shah told the latter that on account of Khunza Humayūn a partiality to her brothers and other favourites the army was in a wretched condition. They suggested that she should be seized and after some delay Murtada Nizām agreed. They were preparing to enter the harem when Khunza Humayūn sent for Murtada Nizām and the latter thinking that his mother had discovered the plot made a clean breast of it in order to exculpate himself. She put one of the conspirators under arrest and the others escaped. Some of them went to Bijāpūr and some to Gujarat. Khunza Humayūn gave them assurances of safety and asked them to return.

Then in 977 A.H. she started with her son against Kishwar Khan the Bijāpūr general. In the course of the month Murtada Nizām Shah determined to take the government into his own hands and sent a message to that effect to his mother. She came out on horseback ready armed but she was soon seized and her attendants fled. Murtada Nizām Shah now returned to Ahmadnagar and levying additional forces attacked the fort of Dārūr and seized it in a very dramatic manner after Kishwar Khan had been slain by an arrow which hit him on his breast. Murtada Nizām Shah then invaded Bijāpūr but shortly after that a treaty was concluded between him and Ali Ādil Shah.

his reign, and had the title of Changiz Khān conferred on him. He conquered the country of Berār from ¹Tusfāl Khān, and annexed it to the territories of Murtada Nizām-ul-mulk. After the ²death of Changiz Khān, it so happened, that a relationship of passion (مریغی) was produced between Nizām-ul mulk and the son of a bird-seller. He conferred on him the title of Muṣālib Khān and made ³him his *ratīl*. That wretch having stretched his hands for plunder and ravage, went into people's houses, and stretched his hands over their families and children. He also endeavoured to put to death such of the *amīrs* as he believed to be unlikely to obey.

It was sometime after this, that Khwājah Mirak had the title of Changiz Khān conferred on him, and was appointed as the *ratīl*.

¹ The name is 'Ādil Khān instead of Tusfāl Khān in the text edition.

² Nizām ud din does not mention the circumstances under which the death of Changiz Khān took place. According to Firishtah Shāh Mīrzā Isfahānī, who was *hājib* or chamberlain of Qutb Shāh learned that Nizām Shāh's army would march against Bidar. He first of all offered a large bribe to Changiz Khān so that he might give up the idea of the invasion. Changiz Khān indignantly refused the bribe, upon which Shāh Mirza Isfahānī bribed Sāhib Khān, whom Firishtah describes as a سلطان طام عزیز, and Col. Briggs as a favourite minion of the king, and told him to report to Nizām Shāh that Changiz Khān wanted to make himself the ruler of Berār. Murtada Nizām Shāh at first did not believe the report, but Sāhib Khān persisted in the accusation, and referred Nizām Shāh to Shāh Mīrzā Isfahānī. The Sultān sent for him, and Shāh Mīrzā of course corroborated Sāhib Khān's statement. Murtada Nizām Shāh then gave some credence to the accusation, but to make assurance doubly sure, he told Changiz Khān, that he was tired with the long stay in the camp, and wanted to go back to Ahmadnagar. Changiz Khān told him that he should remain there for sometime longer. This confirmed the Shāh's suspicions and his demeanour towards Changiz Khān changed. The latter perceived this, and for some days, on the pretext of illness, he did not go and wait on Murtada Shāh. This confirmed the latter's belief and he sent a *halīm* to Changiz Khān with a poisoned draught, which he was to represent as a medicine. Changiz Khān at first refused to drink it, but in the end remembering Murtada Shāh's kindnesses to him, drank it off, after writing a petition to the latter.

It will be seen from the above that Sāhib Khān was already a minion of the Sultān, before the death of Changiz Khān.

³ This does not agree with Firishtah's account. According to him, Murtada Nizām Shāh first made Hakim Muhammed Misri his *ratīl*, but after six months dismissed him and appointed Qādī Beg Yazdī to that post. But Firishtah also mentions the outrages committed by Sāhib Khān on the people, and even on the *amīrs*.

his hehests After a time he marched to attack the *amirs* of Berar among whom were Mir Murtada and Khudiwand Khan and others As the latter knew his intention they forestalled him and slew him

Murtada Nizam Shah grieved much and saw no remedy except in madness At this time the derangement of his brain became violent and he secluded himself in ³Bagh-i-Bihisht (the garden of paradise) and never came out of it He also did not allow any one to go near him and it was only rarely that any one was received in audience At all times the *ta'irs* were engaged in the affairs of the state and maintained the stability of the government If a matter of importance had to be dealt with they submitted a written report to him and he wrote a reply to it

When six years had passed in this way ⁴His Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilahi sent Pishrau Khan who was one of the old servants of the threshold to the Deccan so that he might acquaint himself with the state of things in that country and submit a report about them

¹ The manner in which he was killed is described by Firishtah It would appear that he left the court in anger Murtada Nizam Shah sent some men to call him back and they put him to death and represented to Murtada Nizam Shah that he fell when resisting their endeavours to take him back

The meaning of this is not clear It would appear from Firishtah's account that he was in his senses but he became convinced that he could not administer justice to his subjects and so freed himself from all responsibilities and left everything in charge of his minister and himself went into retirement

² According to Firishtah he first retired to an apartment inside the fort of Ahmadnagar which was called Baldad and later to a garden house called Hasht Bihisht Col Briggs says that the garden and the palace in it were still to be seen in Ahmadnagar in his time It was then known as the Bahisht Bagh (vol III page 61)

⁴ Firishtah does not appear to mention the mission of Pishrau Khan but he says that in 984 A H Akbar came to the frontiers of Malwa hunting On receiving information of this Murtada Nizam Shah at once started for Daulatabad in a *palki* with only about one hundred followers The *amirs* submitted to him that it would be unwise to advance with such a small force He waited for sometime till six thousand or seven thousand of his special troops had assembled His generals again represented that it would be better to wait for his artillery He did not agree to this but the scouts brought information at this time that Akbar had gone back to his capital Murtada Nizam Shah then returned to Ahmadnagar and again secluded himself in Hasht Bihisht

When Pishrav Khān arrived at Ahmadnagar, Asad Khān Rūmī, who was at that time the *rakīl* of Murtada Nizām Shāh, and who, communicated with the latter when from time to time he felt somewhat better and was in his right mind, brought him out, and he had an interview with Pishrav Khān. Murtada Nizām Shāh then expressed his sincerity and faithful service to the threshold of His Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī. Pishrav Khān said "His Majesty has ordered me that I should ascertain the cause of your secluding yourself." He replied "There are many men round me, and the revenues of my kingdom are not sufficient for the payment of their expenses. I come out rarely on account of my being ashamed of men." He sent back Pishrav Khān with much tribute and elephants of immense size.

It so happened that ¹Burhān brother of Murtada Nizām-ul-mulk escaped from prison, and rose in revolt. The *amīrs* brought out Murtada, and defeated Burhān. The latter fled, and went as a suppliant to the threshold of His Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī, and received imperial favours. Murtada again secluded himself in that garden. No one went near him. This happened in the year 996 A.H. A period of three years passed in this way. There was war several times between the armies of Nizām-ul-mulk and 'Ādil Khān, and peace was each time made. A Circassian (Kaiji) slave of Shāh Tahmāsp of the name of Salābat Khān acquired an ascendancy in the service of Nizām-ul-mulk, and became his minister plenipotentiary. Mīr Murtada and Khudāwand Khān and the other *jāgīrdār amīrs* of Berāī had enmity with Salābat Khān. They came with a large force, and attacked Ahmadnagar. Salābat Khān fought with them and defeated them. The Berāī *amīrs* then fled, and went for protection to the threshold of the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī, which was the asylum of the world. They obtained reinforcements there, and again came back to Berāī. An account of these events has already been given in its place.

¹ According to Firishtah the revolt of Burhān took place before the death of Shāhib Khān. Burhān escaped from the fort of Junīr, and was defeated by Salābat Khān, and fled to Bijāpūr. He returned again, when some disaffected *amīrs* conspired to place him on the throne, but the plot was discovered by Salābat Khān, and he had again to make his escape. After that he sought an asylum in Akbar's Court.

In his old days Murtada Nizam ul mulk became enamoured of a ¹ prostitute of the name of Fattū. On account of the fact that a Sayid named Mir Bihishti had this woman in his house for some time and he had a son of the name of Isma II by another woman Fattū used to describe Isma II as her brother. Isma II became the *takil* of Nizam Shah and put Salabat Khan in prison. They say that he showed a writing with a ² س from Nizam ul mulk to the effect that Salabat Khan should remain in a fortress (or prison). Salabat Khan sent for a ³ letter and getting into it ⁴ went to the fortress. Although the men in charge of the fort said that Murtada Nizam ul mulk was not in his right senses and did not know anything about the order and loyalty and faithfulness to the sultān required that he should

¹ She is called a *wājibat* فوجبۃ in the MSS and in the lith ed Firishtah calls her *nūbi* نبی ساہ لولی and Col Briggs has Futteli Shah a dancer and he described her apparently as a man and not as a woman (vol III page 64).

One MS has *بُوسمَادَارِ مُرْسَى نظامِ الْمَلَك* بوسما دار مرسي نظام الملك. The other MS omit *بُوسمَادَار* while the lith ed has *بُوسمَاد*. The word *بُوسمَاد* is an abbreviation of *بُوسمَادِي* (correct) and is equivalent to a signature.

³ Both MSS have *loli* but the lith ed has *pili*.

⁴ Firishtah also says that Salabat Khan in a quixotic spirit of loyalty immured himself in the fort of Dandrajpur. He gives a detailed account of the causes of Murtada Nizam Shah's displeasure with him. First of all there was some trouble about some very curious and valuable necklaces which Fattū demanded. Salabat Khan in consultation with the other ministers had two copies of the necklaces made and made them over to her. She found out that the necklaces given to her were copies and complained to Murtada Nizam Shah. Another cause was that Murtada Nizam Shah took it into his head at the suggestion of the women about him that his son Miran Husain wanted to dethrone him and attempted to put him to death. Salabat Khan refused to make the Shahzāda over to him and put the matter off. At this time Ibrāhīm Adil Shāh invaded the Nizam Shah's dominions and demanded that the marriage of his sister with Shahzāda Miran Husain should be celebrated or the bride should be sent back to Bijapur. Salabat Khan refused compliance with the demand unless Sholapur should be first ceded to Nizam Shah. Ibrāhīm Adil Shāh becoming angry at this besieged Iusa Murtada Nizam Shah was enraged with Salabat Khan and after reproaching him said I am tired of your disobedience but I have no power to put you into prison. Salabat Khan said Name a fortress and I shall put myself in chains and go and shut myself up there. Murtada Nizam Shah named the fort of Dandrajpur and Salabat Khan at once went and shut himself up there.

attend to the welfare of his master, he did not accept this argument, and said "I have nothing to do with these contentions I have no alternative except obedience"

When Salābat Khān ceased to be in the way ¹Ismā'īl became the *vakīl mutlaq* (minister with absolute power), and he and the woman Fattū acquired complete power and authority Ismā'īl committed various acts of tyranny and oppression As he had made ² Hasan 'Alī, son of Sultān Husain Sabazwārī his *nāyib*, and had conferred the title of Mirzā Khān on him, the latter when the tyranny and violence (of Ismā'īl) went beyond all bounds, got most of the *amīrs* to join him, and made himself the *vakīl* of Murtada Nizām-ul-mulk When he found the field unoccupied, the ambition to rule got into his head, and he released (Mirān) Husain, the son of Murtada Nizām-ul-mulk, who had nearly attained his majority, and was imprisoned in a fort, and made him the ruler of the country ³ They

¹ Firishtah, however, says that Murtada Nizām Shāh made Qāsim Bēg Hakīm his *vakīl*, and Mirzā Muhammad Taqī Nāzīrī his *vazīr*

² According to Firishtah, however, it was Sultān Husain Sabazwārī himself and not his son who was made regent with the title of Nāzīr Khān, by Murtada Nizām Shāh, because the other minister did not agree to the latter's proposal to effect the destruction of Shāhzāda Mirān Husain

³ Nizām-ud dīn's account of the way in which Murtada Nizām Shāh was killed is correct but incomplete He has omitted all mention of an attempt by Murtada Nizām Shāh to burn his son Mirān Husain to death He told his ministers, Qāsim Bēg Hakīm and Mirzā Muhammad Taqī Nāzīrī that he had great longing to see his son They were very thankful to God for this change in their master's disposition, and sent the Shāhzāda into the fort Murtada at first showed much affection towards the prince, and put him in a chamber near Bāghdād (see page 147, note 3) Then he set fire to the bed clothes, and shut the doors from the outside When Mirān Shāh woke up he ran to the door, and called out for help Fatahī Shāh, it must be said to her credit, opened the door, and sent the prince to the ministers There was not, therefore, very much to choose between the father and the son, but it may be said that the former was, or affected to be mad But evidently there was much method in his madness

It may be mentioned here that Firishtah's account of the events in Murtada Nizām Shāh's reign is that of a contemporary, who took part in some of the events, which he has recorded According to his account, he was employed by Murtada Nizām Shāh to watch Nāzīr Khān, when the latter turned against him, and took up the cause of Shāhzāda Mirān Shāh

threw Murtada Nizam ul mulk into a hot (Turkish) bath and shut all the doors and the poor man died of the heat The rule of Murtada Nizam ul mulk extended to twenty six years and some months

AN ACCOUNT OF HUSAIN NIZAM UL MULK SON OF MURTADA NIZAM UL-MULK WHO WAS CALLED MIRZA HUSAIN

Mirza Khan kept him as a figurehead and himself carried on the government ¹The prince on account of his youth was occupied during the whole of his time in pleasure and dissipation and in cock fights and in wandering about in the *bazar* He roamed about during most of the time in the lanes and *bazaars* in a drunken state in the company of women of the town and committed harsh and offensive acts ²As the strength and power of Mirza Khan went beyond all bounds the old *amirs* of the Deccan became jealous and envious of him and induced the young and inexperienced Husain Nizam ul mulk to get rid of him Accordingly ³a feast was arranged in the house of

¹ The character of Husain Nizam ul mulk as given by Firishtah does not quite agree with that given by Nizam ud din Firishtah also says that he was a young man of dissolute character but he was also of a cruel and savage disposition When he went about in a drunken state in the city he killed men whom he met and who were guilty of no crime whatever with arrows and musket shots and the sword

Before this however according to Firishtah some of his associates informed Husain Shah that Mirza Khan had brought Husain Shah's uncle from the fort of Asir (the lth ed has ^{جہاں} and Col Briggs vol III p 68 Joonere) and was keeping him concealed in his house with the object of placing him on the throne after deposing Husain Shah The latter ordered Mirza Khan to be placed in imprisonment but when the accusation was found to be false he reinstated him and increased his honours Mirza Khan suggested that in order to prevent future accusations of this kind all the surviving male members of the royal family should be put to death and fifteen persons namely his uncles and their male offsprings were put to death in one day

³ The account of this feast in the text agrees severely with that given by Firishtah The name of the man who gave the feast is also Ankas Khan in the lth ed of Firishtah but Col Briggs vol III p 271 Bungush Khan The man who became ill or according to Firishtah feigned to be ill as previously arranged with Mirza Khan was according to Firishtah Aqa Mir Sharwani and the date of the feast was Thursday the 1st Jamādī ul awwal 997 A.H. Col Briggs gives the 10th Jumadī ul awwal 997 A.H. March 15th 1588 A.D. as the date

Ankas Khān who was a foster-brother (a son of the wet-nurse) of Husain Nizām-ul-mulk, and was of the same age as he, and Mirzā Khān was invited to it. He, however, got information of the intention (of his enemies) and did not attend the feast, sending excuses for his absence. It so happened that after the feast Saīyid Murtada Shārwānī, a friend of Mirzā Khān, who was among those who had come to the feast, got up vomiting and cried out and complained that they had given him poison. Mirzā Khān went and saw Saīyid Murtada, and after having arranged matters, went to wait on Husain Nizām-ul-mulk, he told the latter "Saīyid Murtada is a ¹ man highly esteemed, and is living on the bed of death, and air and water (climate or atmosphere) inside the fort are salubrious. He might if you so order, be there for some days" ² After obtaining permission he sent the man to the fort. ³ On the following day, he again waited on Husain Nizām-ul-mulk, and took him to enquire about the health of Saīyid Murtada, and then imprisoned him, (*i.e.*, Husain Nizām-ul-mulk), in an apartment there.

Couplet

Place not thy foot on the path of deceit and fraud
For in the end, in the net of danger thou must be caught

¹ The actual words are "مردی عزیز اے" Firishtah has "یکی اور امراء بزرگ" ², *i.e.*, is one of your great amirs

² The account given by Nizām-ud-din of the way, in which the incarceration of Husain Nizām-ul-mulk was effected, is consistent. That given by Firishtah is somewhat different, and is rather confused. He says that Mirzā Khān reported to Husain Nizām-ul-mulk, that Āqā Mīr Sharwānī should be sent outside the fort, and should be allowed to live in a part of his (*i.e.*, the Sultān's) own palace. Afterwards Mirzā Khān went and reported that Āqā Mīr's condition was serious, and suggested that it would be a great kindness on his part if he would go, and enquire after his health. Husain Nizām-ul-mulk then rode into the fort, with two or three companions, and was at once placed in confinement.

³ The way in which the revolution was affected, as given by Firishtah, agrees mainly with that in the text. Firishtah however says, that two sons of Burhān, namely Ibrāhīm and Ismā'īl, were brought from the fort of Lāhagar, where they had been imprisoned, so that one of them might be selected and placed on the throne, and eventually Ismā'īl, the younger of the two who was only twelve years of age was chosen to be the puppet Sultān.

The doors were then shut and placed in charge of his (Mirza Khan's) men Sayyid Murtada in complete health and strength sat at the gate of the fort and supervised everything Mirza Khan had Ankar Khan also seized and put him into prison He sent Mir Tahir son in law of Amin ul mulk to the fort and brought Isma'il son of Burhan who was the nephew of Murtada Nizam ul mulk out of prison and he was brought to Ahmednagar

When the news of the imprisonment of Husain Nizam ul mulk was bruited about ¹Jamal Khan Gujrati who was the commander of the *silahdars* and the slave Yaqut who had the title of Khudawand Khan united together and having secured the union of the soldiers and other men with themselves came in a crowd to the gate of the fort and commenced to fire cannon Mirza Khan came to the gate and a great fight took place Krishwar Khan the uncle in law (*lhal*) of Mirza Khan and Ali Khan were slain Mirza Khan and Sayyid Murtada and Jamshid Khan and Amin ul mulk and Bhū I Khan and

¹ The account of the way in which Jamal Khan came to support Husain Nizam ul mulk and the latter was murdered by Mirza Khan and his partisans as given in the text agrees with that given by Firuztah according to the latter however Jamal Khan was the leader of the Dakinis and Habshis and Mirza Khan of the foreigners other than the Haldis He also says that Mirza Khan did nothing when Jamal Khan had five or six thousand horsemen and many men on foot including the people of the *bar* but later when twenty five thousand horsemen came to Jamal Khan who was Mahdawi he encouraged the men in the fort by giving each one *Janān* of red gold and sent out hundred and fifty *Gharib adas* seven *Gharibs* and twenty *Dakinis* and one elephant (ॐ) which had the name of Chulām Ali (the meaning is not at all clear) under his Khan Muhammad Sa'id and Krishwar Khan (it is again not clear whether the men were both maternal uncles of Mirza Khan or only one of them or whether Muhammad Sa'id was the uncle's name and Krishwar Khan his title) Col Briggs does not help in this matter as he does not mention that Mirza Khan sent anybody from the fort to fight with Jamal Khan's men Krishwar Khan knew that it was impossible for him to do anything against such terrible odds Still he came out and made brave onset and he and most of the men perished It was after this that Mirza Khan ordered the head of Husain Nizam ul mulk to be cut off and fixed on a lance at the top of a bastion After this some of the Dakinis wanted to go back to their own houses but Jamal Khan strenuously objected and he was selected as their leader and the gate of the fort was set on fire

Khān Khānān and other men then decided to cut off the head of Husam, and to throw it outside the fort, under a mistaken idea, that then doing so would put an end to the disturbance. They also brought Ismā'il the son of Burhān and placed him on the top of a bastion and raised the royal umbrella over his head. They also proclaimed, that "as Husam was unfit to rule, he had met with his deserts, and Ismā'il Nizām-ul-mulk is now your ruler."

Jamāl Khān and the other amīrs seeing Husam's head fought with greater energy and set fire to the gate of the fort. Although Mīrzā Khān knocked on the door of peace, it had no effect. In the end ¹ Mīrzā Khān and his partisans came out of the fort, and took the path of flight. Mīrzā Khān escaped, but Jamshīd Khān and Bhāī Khān and Amin-ul-mulk and Sayyid Murtada and other leaders were seized and put to death. As Mīrzā Khān was going away towards Junīr, some people recognised him, and seizing him brought him back. By the order of Jamāl Khān, he was torn limb from limb and was put in a cannon, and fired off. The hand of destruction was then raised and of the 'Irāqīs and Khurāsānīs and Mā-warā-an-nahris every one that was seized was slain.

Couplets

With my own eyes I saw, that on the path,
A small bird struck on the life of an ant,
But yet its beak had not finished the prey,
Another bird came and devoured it up

The women and children were carried away to captivity, and whole families were destroyed. About four thousand innocent persons, who had no connection whatever with the affairs, were murdered. On the whole wherever a man with a white skin was seen, he was killed.

The period of the rule of Husam Nizām-ul-mulk was about ² two months

¹ The account of the flight of Mīrzā Khān and his partisans and of the massacre which followed, as given in the text, agrees mainly with that given by Fīrishtah. There are some differences, but it is not necessary to mention them.

² Fīrishtah makes it two months and three days ~~to~~ & ten months in the text-edition

AN ACCOUNT OF ¹ ISMĀIL NIZAM UL MULK SON OF BURHAN

When they desisted from the general massacre Jamal Khan raised Isma'il Nizam ul mulk to the seat of power and kept him as a puppet or figurehead and himself carried on the government Isma'il in spite of the fact of his ² youth perpetrated harsh and cruel acts They say that he was passing one day through the *baāz* and his eye fell on a group of Kashmirs As he saw that they had white skins he enquired why they also had not been slain

In short Jamal Khan having acquired complete ascendancy the duty of carrying on the Nizām ul mulki government devolved on him On account of a dispute which cropped up between the Nizām ul mulki and the Adil Shahi governments on the border of the two territories ⁴ he invaded the Adil Shahi country and fought a battle and was victorious and three hundred elephants were taken by him as part of the plunder

¹ According to Firishtah Ibrahim the elder brother of Isma'il was born of a Habshi mother and had a dark complexion and an unprepossessing appearance Ima'l was a son of a daughter of one of the Nawabats of the Kohan (Concan) and possessed both good qualities and looks The fact mentioned by Nizām ud din about his remark about the Kashmirs does not show that he possessed the former According to Firishtah Jamāl Khan was a *Mahdawī* and he initiated Isma'il in the doctrines of that sect After this Salabat Khan who was imprisoned in the fort of Kehrla on the borders of Berar hearing of the murder of Mirān Husain and being aggrieved at the power of the *Mahdawīs* rose in revolt but Jamāl Khan defeated him in the neighbourhood of Pattan and made him retire towards Burhanpur He then marched to meet the Adil Shahi forces and the two armies met near Ashti They confronted each other for fifteen days after which peace was concluded on an agreement that Jamāl Khan should send back the *pūlī* of the mother Mirān Husain Shah with seventy thousand *hāns* as *Valbaha* This is what is mentioned in the 1st ed of Firishtah but Col Briggs says that the agreement was that Chand Beeby the widow of Ally Adil Shah and aunt to the present King of Ahmadnuggur should be sent to the Beejaopoor Camp and the Nizām Shahy Government should pay two hundred and seventy thousand hoons (*Valbaha*) (vol III p - 8)

The word is مُداحنہ in one MS It is مُرداخنہ in the other and in the 1st ed

² The 1st ed has حورہ سال only صورہ سال has been adopted in the text edition

⁴ This invasion and victory took place according to Firishtah at a somewhat later period.

At this time,¹ Burhān, brother of Murtada Nizām-ul-mulk, who had entered the service of His Majesty the Khalifa-i-Hāfi, having heard of the disturbances in the Deccan, came there in the year 997 A.H., in accordance with a *farmān* of the threshold, which was the asylum of all people and with its help and assistance, he came to

¹ According to Firishtah, Akbar, on hearing of the accession of Ismā'il Nizām ul-mulk, sent for Burhān Nizām ul-mulk from Bangash, where he had a fief, and offered to send him to the Deccan with an army so that he might take possession of his ancestral dominions. Burhān said "people would be averse to join me, if I go with a Mughal army, let me go alone to conciliate the people, and bring them over to my side." Akbar agreed to this and gave him *pargana* Hāndia as a *jāqir* and also sent a *farmān* to Rāja 'Alī Khān to help him. Burhān Nizām ul-mulk sent *qaulnāmas* to the *zamindārs* of the country of Ahmadnagar. They expressed their willingness to join him. He then marched with a small force by way of Gōndwāna into Berār, but Jahāngir Khān Habshi, who had agreed to join him, now turned against him, and met him in battle. Burhān Nizām ul-mulk was defeated and retired to Hāndia. After this, he obtained the help of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh, and Rāja 'Alī Khān, and came to Burhānpūr, and began to collect troops. Jamāl Khān then consulted with other *Mahdawīs*, and Sayyid Amjad ul-mulk. Muhibdawī was made commander of the Berār forces to meet Rāja 'Alī Khān and Burhān Nizām-ul-mulk, and Jamāl Khān himself advanced to meet Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh. He met Dilāwar Khān Habshi, the leader of the 'Ādil Shāhī army at Darsang, and defeated him and seized three hundred elephants. Jamāl Khān was still there, when he heard that the *amīrs* of Berār had submitted to Burhān Nizām-ul-mulk. He then with great pomp and splendour advanced to meet the latter. Burhān Nizām-ul-mulk on the advice of 'Ādil Shāh and Rāja 'Alī Khān, ordered the Marhatta horse to hover about Jamāl Khān's camp and to cut off their supply of grain and fodder. Owing to this, many deserted Jamāl Khān and joined Burhān Nizām-ul-mulk. When Jamāl Khān reached the Rōhangir Ghāt, he found that Burhān Nizām ul-mulk's men had blocked it. He attempted to get through by another way, which was very difficult, and his army suffered much from heat and thirst. When they came near a place, where they had hoped to get some water, they found that Burhān Nizām ul-mulk had already occupied it. At last they found a place where there was a little water, and Jamāl Khān and his partisans resolved to fight at once, after quenching their thirst a little. The battle was fought on the 13th of Rajab 999 A.H., and Jamāl Khān was about to gain a victory, when he was struck on the forehead by a bullet from a musket, and killed. His partisans fled, but some of them and Ismā'il Nizām-ul-mulk were seized. Ismā'il was sent to attend his father Burhān. Col. Briggs says he was confined by his father, and deprived of his throne (vol III, page 281)

the country of Berar and with the help of Rāja Ali Khan ruler of Asir and Burhanpur took possession of it. At this time Jamal Khan advanced rapidly with much pride and haughtiness to attack Burhan ul mulk and fought with him and was killed. The country of Ahmadnagar and Berar then came into the possession of Burhan Nizam ul mulk and up to this day which is in the year 1002 A H he occupies the place of his ancestors.

The period of the rule of Imaill was about two years.

**AN ACCOUNT OF THE RULE OF BURHAN NIZAM UL MULK SON
OF HUSAIN SON OF BURHAN WHO IS THE BROTHER
OF MURTADA**

For a long time he was kept in imprisonment by order of his brother. By chance he escaped and went to Bijapur and was in the court of Adil Khan. From there he was summoned by some of the amirs and came to Ahmadnagar. As Murtada was alive and Salahit Khan was the peshwa he was unable to do anything. He then fled to Cujrat and went to Qutb ud din Muhammad Khan Chiznari who was one of the great amirs of his Majesty the Khalifa i Ilahi. After that he was honoured by being allowed to kiss the noble threshold. He was then made an amir of three hundred and a jagir was conferred on him. After some time he was made a commander of a thousand horse and sent to Malwa. An army was then sent with Azam Khan (with orders) that he should free the Deccan from those intemperate and vulgar people and make it over to Burhan who was one of the servants of the threshold. Azam Khan arrived at Ellichpur which was the capital of Berar but nothing was done towards the conquest of the Deccan and he suddenly elected to return instead of standing firm. Burhan being disappointed again went to the threshold which was the asylum of the people. These matters have already been mentioned in their proper places.

After that he was appointed to attack the Afghans in concert with Sadiq Muhammad Khan. When the news of the disturbances

¹ One MS and the lith ed have Adit Khan the other has Adil.

² The actual word in one of the MSS and in the lith ed is حاک کشیده ای درگسته ای in the other it is حاک نوکشیده ای. In the text edition M. H. Davat Hosain has rightly adopted حاک نوکشیده ای

in the Decean again reached the noble ears, His Majesty summoned Burhān from the country of Bangash, and with much attention and great favour sent him (to the Decean) A *farmān* to be obeyed by all the world was then issued to all the *amīrs* of the *shūba* of Mālwa, and to all *zamīndārs* and more specially to Rāja 'Alī Khān, son of Mubārak Khān, the ruler of Asir and Bihānpūr, that they should take such measures that Burhān, who had come for ¹ protection to the threshold, should be placed in the seat of his brother A noble *farmān* was also sent to Nazr Bē Uzbek and his sons who had *jāgīrs* in Mālwa Nazr Bē and his sons joined Burhān Rāja 'Alī Khān, considering the service a means of increase in his position and dignity, advanced (to support Burhān) When Jamāl Khān who had gone to Bijāpūr, and defeated 'Ādil Khān and seized the large number of elephants, heard that Rāja 'Alī Khān was advancing, and intended to bring forward Burhān, he marched rapidly from Bijāpūr and arrived with ² some troops Rāja 'Alī Khān, who had detached most of the useful of Jamāl Khān's men from him, by means of letters and messages, ³ fought a battle Men began to desert from Jamāl Khān's army one by one, and the artillery men leaving the guns, etc., unattended to, fled Jamāl Khān thoroughly amazed at this, exerted himself in spite of the great confusion At this time one of the musketeers, one of whose relations Jamāl Khān had put to death, ⁴ fired at the latter, and he fell dead on the battle-field Rāja 'Alī Khān sent Burhān with great honour and respect to Ahmadnagar This event happened in the month of Rajab 999 A H He (Burhān) is on the throne of government up to this ⁵ date

¹ One MS and the lith ed have the word ک بیان ندرگاه آورده است, the other MS substitutes که النها ندرگاه آورده است

² The word cannot be made out It is مکی and مکی in the MSS, and مکی in the lith ed The correct word کمی is adopted in the text-edition

³ There are some variations in the readings One MS has اندک The other changes بود to بود and then says نکی The lith ed agrees with the first MSS, but substitutes اندکی for اندکی

⁴ I have translated the sentence as it is in the MSS The lith ed has او بھاں حان رسیدہ ناہم در معنی کہ اعتادند

⁵ This is the end of the history of the Nizām Shāhī dynasty in one of the MSS, and in the lith ed, but the other MS takes the history onward to the

SECTION III THE DYNASTY OF ADIL KHĀN

AN ACCOUNT OF THE RULE OF YOSUF ADIL KHĀN

Ādil Khān who was the founder of the dynasty was a Circassian slave whom Khwajah Mahmud Garjistani had sold to Mahmud Shah Bahmanī. Garjistan is a dependency of Gilan. Ādil Khān became possessed of the country of Sholapur as far as the river ³ Krishna in breadth and length from Dibnl to Gulharga and proclaimed

year 104 A.H. which was long after the death of Nūr ud din. As this is clearly an interpolation by some subsequent scribe I have not thought it fit to translate it. It may be mentioned however that it contains the account of the rules of Ibrāhīm son of Burhān of Bahādur son of Ibrāhīm and Husain son of Bahādur according to Firishtah Ibrāhīm succeeded Burhān. Then Ahmad son of Shāh Tōhr was set up but his title was disputed. After that the Mughals stormed Ahmednagar. Chānd Bibi defended it with courage and intrepidity. The Mughals were repulsed but Ber was ceded to them. Then Bahādur Shāh's claim was established and Chānd Bibi became the regent. After three years Ahmednagar was annexed to Akbar's dominion and Bahādur was sent to Gwalior as a prisoner. After that Murtaza Nūrām Shah II was set up as king with Larinda as his capital but the whole of the power was in the hands of Malik Ahmad.

¹ اہ عادل حاں کے اول اسی میں بوسف عادل حاں اسپ دکر

² The words *می حرکس بوڑھی* are taken from the lith. ed. The MSS omit them. Firishtah gives a long and romantic account of the birth of Ādil Khān from which it appears that he was a son of Agla Murād (Amurath II) Sultan of Rūm (Constantinople). His elder brother Muhammad on his accession ordered him to be strangled to death but his mother smuggled him away and he was taken to the town of Sawā where he received a good education. His birth being afterwards divulged he had to leave Sawā and ultimately came to India.

Nūr ud din does not give any account of the events of his reign. Firishtah's account extends over about 13 pages of the lith. ed. and Col. Briggs's translation over about 31 pages. According to Firishtah his rule began in the year 890 A.H. (1489 A.D.) and according to another account in 896 A.H. and he died in 915 A.H. (1510 A.D.) having ruled for twenty years and two months according to the lith. ed. of Firishtah and to twenty one years according to Col. Briggs's translation. So that what little Nūr ud din says is incorrect. Mr. Sewell also says that Ādil Shah proclaimed his independence in 1489 (page 106 of his book) and he died in 1510 A.D. (page 115).

his independence. And in the end he acquired possession of Bijapur also, he ruled for seven years from the beginning of the year 909 to the year 913 A.D.

AN ACCOUNT OF ISMĀ'IL 'ĀDIL KHĀN, SON OF YŪSUF

¹(He) sat in his father's place. He was brave and liberal minded. He seized² Ankur and Sāgar and Nāzīratbād and the territory of Anur and obtained the title of 'Ādil Khān Sawā'i'. As he had a territory equal to one quarter more than that of any of the other ruler of the Deccan he got the title of Sawā'i. He had twelve thousand elephants

¹ According to Firishtah Yusuf 'Ādil Shāh is to be looked upon as the third son of Kamūl Khān Daulat to be the regent of Ismā'il Shah. In the 1st part of the Regent gradually usurped all the power, and it is said that at a conference of his creatures, held on the 1st Safar 917 A.D. (April 29th 1511), that on the 1st Rabi' ul Sawā'i Ismā'il would be deposed and Kamūl Khān should have the *Khatba* read in his own name. The queen mother then had the son assassinated by Yūsuf Tur, the son of father of Ismā'il. After the Kamūl Khān's mother concealed her son's death, and directed her son Saifdar Khan to storm that part of the fort, in which Ismā'il and his family lived. They were panic struck but Dilshad Aghā, aunt of Ismā'il, who had come recently from Persia incited Ismā'il's attendants to oppose Saifdar. Both parties fought bravely, but in the end Saifdar, who had been wounded in the eye by an arrow, was killed by a stone being rolled upon him by Ismā'il, from the terrace on which he stood above him. Both Kamūl Khān and Saifdar Khān being dead, Ismā'il ascended the throne.

² These names are differently written in the MSS., and in the litho ed. The first appears to be اکبر Ankbar, and اکبر اتلی in the MSS., and اکبر Ankur in the litho ed. The second and third are the same in the MSS. and in the litho ed. The fourth is ساگر and سوچال, in the MSS., and سوچال in the litho ed. The first three places are اکبر, ساگر and سوچال, which according to Firishtah had been taken by Amr Barid during the lifetime of and in collusion with Kamūl Khān and were recovered by Mīrzā Jahāngir. Col Briggs (vol. III, p. 46) calls them Etgeer, Sagar and Nooratabad اکبر in the text edition.

³ Sawā'i in Hindūstāni means one and one quarter. I cannot find any reference to the title in Firishtah. It may be that the title had reference to Yūsuf 'Ādil Shāh having come from Sawā'i. See note 2, page 159. The word Sawā'i is not in the heading in the MSS., but is in it in the litho ed. Nizām ud-din does not give any real account of the reign of Ismā'il 'Ādil Shāh. Firishtah's account extends over about thirteen pages of the litho ed. and Col Briggs's translation to about forty pages, but I do not think it necessary to

and well armed and well equipped horsemen most of whom were Mughals in his service and he looked after them with care Every year he sent ships to Hormuz (Ormuz) and summoned men from Iraq and Khurasan They say that one day he was a guest in the house of Imad ul mulk Kaweh Imad ul mulk placed some dishes filled with gems and made a great show of offering them to his guests When Imad ul mulk became a guest of Ismail Adil Khan the latter brought his army fully arrayed before his guest's eyes and said This is all that I have acquired I shall offer to you any one of my servants whom you may ask for He carried on three wars with Nizam ul mulk and was victorious each time He ruled for a period of twenty five years and then passed away

AN ACCOUNT OF ³IBRAHIM ADIL KHAN SON OF ISMAIL KHAN

Through the exertions of the *amirs* he sat in his father's place Mallu Khan who was the elder brother applied to Asad Khan who

refer to any part of these as it is not necessary to elucidate any of the statements made by Nizam ud din

¹ The MSS have دریس می کرد but the lith ed has داسنه دریس می کرد

This anecdote is to be found in Firshah also The horsemen are described there as *lo aspa* i.e having two horses riding one and leading the other

³ One MS inserts حکومت before the name Firshah has a short section giving an account of the history of Mallu Adil Shah It appears that Ismail Adil Shah died on the 16th Safar 941 A H (6th September 1534 A D) while he was besieging Nallonda on the border of the Tilang country Col Briggs calls the fort Kowilconda Mr Sewell does not give the name of the fort but describes it as a fortress belonging to the Qutb Shabs see page 166 Ismail Adil Shah's sons immediately began to contend with each other for the succession but Asad Khan L M knowing that it would be dangerous for them to fall out in a hostile country told them that the time was inauspicious for the accession and that they should return to Gulbarga and after asking for inspiration from the spirit of Sayyid Muhammad Gesu Daraz select a Sultan The princes agreed Asad Khan was himself in favour of Ibrahim's succession but as Mallu was the elder brother and Ismail had directed that he should be the successor Mallu was placed on the throne and Ibrahim was imprisoned in the fortress of Mirich

Mallu was however utterly unworthy to rule He was extremely vicious and dissolute and was deposed after six months both he and his younger brother Allu Khan being blinded by order of their grandmother

was the Amīr-ul-umārā Asa'd Khān raised him to the seat of authority , and he ruled for half a day (یک دنیم دور),¹ which may mean either half a day or a day and half) But Asa'd Khān afterward, repented of what he had done , and went away to² Malkapūr, which was his *jāgī* Mallū Khān was then taken prisoner by Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Khān , and he and his younger brother Ulughī Khān, were blinded by having the pencil drawn across their eyes. They say that he fought nine times with Burhān Nizām-ul-mulk, and was sometimes victorious and was sometimes defeated He ruled for five and twenty years and then passed away

AN ACCOUNT OF 'ALI 'ĀDIL KHĀN, SON OF IBRĀHIM

In accordance with³ the directions of his father, he sat in the latter's place He had two brothers Talmāsp and Ismā'il He,

Nizām-ud-dīn says very little about the events of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh's reign, except that he had nine campaigns against Burhān Nizām-ul-mulk His account is mainly connected with the disputed succession As regards this also, there are some discrepancies between his account and that of Firishtah The man whom he called اسد حاں Asa'd Khān, is called Sa'íd Khān by Firishtah He says nothing about the disputes about the succession having taken place while the rival claimants were in a hostile country, Gōlkonda , and the statement that Mallū Khān ruled for half a day is of course incorrect The younger brother of Mallū Khān, who is called حاں، علughī Khān in the MSS of the *Tabaqat* is called حاں، الـ، Aluf Khān in the lith ed of Firishtah, and Alloo Khan by Col Briggs (vol III, p 77)

Firishtah's account of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh's reign extends to about eight pages of the lith ed and to about thirty-three pages of Col Briggs's translation

¹ In the text-edition یک و نیم دور

² In the text edition بلکانو Balkānu, in place of Malkapūr

³ This is not correct Ibrāhīm, who had contiary to the example of his father and grandfather adopted the *Sunnī* doctrines was displeased with 'Ali, who had shown his preference for the *Shī'a* faith , and kept him confined in the fort of Mirich , and wanted to make his son Talmāsp his successor , but he found that the latter had also become a *Shī'a* and he confined him in another fortress He left the question of his successor to be decided by God Muhammad Kishwai Khān wrote to the Superintendent of Mirich that the death of Ibrāhīm was close at hand , and he (Kishwai Khān) was proceeding to Mirich to support Shāhzāda 'Ali As the partisans of Talmāsp were likely to create a disturbance he should raise the umbrella of rule over the head of

also following¹ the example of his father had the pencil drawn across the eyes of both of them He was a man of (good) morals and prepossessing manners and had the qualities of liberality and patience and generosity Every year he gave five or six *lakhs* of *huns* in charity to *faqirs* and the needy and travellers from foreign lands He brought that most learned man of the age Amir Fath ul lah Shirazi from Persia having sent him a large sum of money (to induce him to come to India) and made him his *takil* A large number of the wise men of the age were members of his court He was a man with the nature of a *dariish* and was a friend of *faqirs* He had a great knowledge of the language of the *sufis* The greater part of his time was spent in the society and company of wise men He was also obsessed with outward appearance and having collected many *amirs* round him kept them arrayed in grand dresses² This had a great effect on his affairs He took possession of the districts of³ Balkala and Baslar and Balkor and his rule extended beyond that of his ancestors He waged war three times with Husain Nizām ul mulk and was sometimes victorious and was sometimes vanquished

He had relations of sincere attachment to the world protecting threshold of His Majesty the *Khalifa i Ilahi* He always made himself mentioned in the sanctified court by sending petitions and highly befitting tribute Hakim Am ul mulk came once and Hakim Ali came a second time on embassy to him from the threshold which was the asylum of all the people He went forward twelve *lakhs*

Ali and send him out of the fort so that they might march together to Bijapur The Superintendent of Mirieh Sikandar Khān who was a strong partisan of Ali agreed to this He was made *sipah salar* (Commander in chief) and his son in law Kamul Khān was made an *amir* Nobles and people flocked to him from all sides and he was raised to the throne

¹ The readings are slightly different The MSS appear to have *و* *و* and the lith ed has *و* *و* The MSS appear to be incorrect I cannot find any mention of the two brothers being blinded in Firishtah

² دو روپیہ rupees in text

³ The meaning of this is not quite clear

⁴ I have not been able to identify these territories In the text edition طوکلا و بناسلور و بالکور

to meet them and performed the ceremony of submission and allegiance. He inserted the great name of His Majesty the Khalifa-llāhī in the public prayers, and the coins of his realm. He was inclined to the Imāmīa religion and abandoned the custom of his ancestors.

He heard by accident that Malik Barid the ruler of Bidar had¹ a very handsome eunuch. He sent letters and demanded the eunuch. Malik Barid evaded (sending him) by pretexts and objections. At last Murtada Nizām-ul-mulk sent an army to attack Barid. The latter shut himself up, and made an appeal for help to 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh. He sent ten thousand horsemen to reinforce Amir Barid's army, and freed the latter from the siege. This time Malik Barid being helpless and having no other alternatives sent the eunuch 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh owing to his great² passion went out to meet the eunuch, and took him to his palace. At night he took him to a private place and attempted to have intercourse with him. The eunuch drew out a dagger from³ (ساق shank of) his sock, and stabbed him with it in his chest, and slew him. This strange affair took place in the year 988 A.H.

The period of his rule was twenty-five years. It is a strange coincidence that⁴ three 'Ādil Khāns in succession each ruled for twenty-five years.

¹ Col. Buggs says (see note, page 142, vol III, of his history) that "The cause of the King's death is most disgusting and offensive, and it is by no means attempted to be palliated by Firishta, when he mentions it. A modern author of the history of Beejapoore, however, has set forth reasons in defence of Ally Adil Shah's conduct, and endeavoured to prove that Firishta has traduced his memory." I have not been able to ascertain the name of the author referred to.

² The word is شهوٰش (lust) in one MS and in the lith ed., and شهوٰش (cupidity, affection) in the other. In the text-edition شهوٰشی

³ The word is ساق in both MSS, حساں in the lith ed and ساق in the text-edition

⁴ This does not appear to be quite correct. Nizām-ud-din of course mentions 25 years as the periods of the reigns of Ismā'il 'Ādil Shāh, Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh and 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh, but according to Firishtah Ismā'il reigned from 915 A.H. to 941 A.H., about twenty six years. Then Mallū reigned for six months, after which Ibrāhīm reigned from 941-965 A.H., which according to Firishtah was a period of twenty-four years and six months, and 'Alī 'Ādil

**AN ACCOUNT OF IBRAHIM ADIL KHĀN (SON OF TAHMASP)
WHO WAS A NEPHEW OF ALI ADIL KHĀN**

¹ Ibrahim Adil Khan was placed on the seat of government at the age of nine years by the exertions of Kamil Khan Kishwar Khan who

Shah from 966 to 987 A H which only gives twenty two years but if the correct date of his death was 988 then he reigned for twenty three years Mr Sewell's table has Isma'il from 1534 A D Mallu or Malu as he calls him from August 1534 to February 1535 Ibrahim from 1535-1557 A D and Ali from 1557 to April 11th 1580 (page 408)

¹ The account of the rise and fall of different ministers or regents agrees generally with that given by Firishtah According to him Kamil Khan at first acted with moderation but after two months he became intoxicated with power and showed some disrespect to Chand Bibi who got Haji Kishwar Khan to effect his destruction Haji Kishwar Khan in his turn tried to grasp the whole power of the state At this time Bahzad ul mulk arnabu of Murtada Nizam Shah advanced with fifteen thousand horsemen to conquer some of the districts of Bijapur lying near the border Haji Kishwar Khan sent an army to meet him and he was signally defeated There were great rejoicings and valuable presents were made to the amirs but later they were directed to return the elephants which had been given to them to the royal *fikhana* This order which was passed without consulting Chand Bibi or Chand Sultan as Firishtah calls her gave much displeasure and a conspiracy was made to effect the destruction of Haji Kishwar Khan and to raise Mirza Khan to power Haji Kishwar Khan hearing of this got Mirza Nur ud din Muhammad who had received many favours from Mustafa Khan treacherously to assassinate him Chand Bibi was highly incensed at this but Haji Kishwar Khan got an order from the King for imprisoning her in the fort of Satara and she was forced out of the harem with much indignity and sent to Satara After this Haji Kishwar Khan became very unpopular and went away to Ahmadnagar but he found that the court there could not protect him so he went away towards Golkonda where he was assassinated soon after by a relative of Mustafa Khan.

After this according to Firishtah Ikhla Khan became the regent and Chand Bibi was brought back from Satara He however being suspicious that Afdal Khan Shrazi and Rasu Pandit who were associated with him in the government would prove hostile to him had them put to death He banished other great amirs and in conjunction with Hamid Khan and Dilawar Khan carried on the government according to his own wishes He then invited Ain ul mulk from his jagir and he and Hamid Khan and Dilawar Khan went out of the city to meet him Ain ul mulk treacherously seized them put fetters on them and brought them back to the city On his arrival near the fort he found the gates closed and being panic struck he went back to his jagir

was one of the great *amīrs* slew Kāmil Khān, and became himself the *valī*. He and Muṣṭafa Khān and the latter's children were then put to death, and the *vakālat* fell to Dilāwar Khān Habshi. He, i.e., Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Khān abolished the Imāmia form of the religion, and established the religion of the *sunnat* and *jama'at*. Dilāwar ran the government with great power and strength for nine years. Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Khān with the help of the other *amīrs* then attacked — leaving Ikhlās Khān, Hamid Khān and Dilāwar Khān behind, who then resumed their authority.

Owing to these disorders, the other rulers of the Deccan, viz., Muhammad Qutb Shāh, who had succeeded his father and Bahzād ul-mulk, with Sayyid Murtada the Amī ul umrā of Berār invaded Bijāpūr, and laid siege to Shāhdurd. They were unable to take it, as it was strenuously defended by the *thānādar* Muhammad Āqā and then advanced to Bijāpūr plundering and ravaging the country through which they passed. Ikhlās Khān and the Habsis attempted to defend Bijāpūr, but being unable to do so, and knowing that their rule was not acceptable to the *amīrs*, represented the fact to Chānd Bibī. She thereupon made Shāh Abul Hasan, son of Shāh Tāhir the *amīr jumla*. The latter reconciled the nobles, and the enemies finding it difficult to seize the city, retired to their own countries, the Nizām Shāhīs going back to Ahmadnagar, and Muhammad Quli Qutb Shāh to Golkonda, but the latter left Amīr Sayyid Zāin-ul Astarābādī on whom he conferred the title of Mustafa Khān, to plunder the country. Upon this Ikhlās Khān sent Dilāwar Khān to attack him, and he defeated him signally, and obtained much plunder. From the hour of his victory, the idea of becoming the regent entered the mind of Dilāwar Khān. He returned towards Bijāpūr, and encamped at the town of Alāpūr. He flattered and deceived Ikhlās Khān and then marching rapidly took possession of the citadel. Ikhlās Khān tried to storm it, but was defeated, and his partisans were killed by the cannon fired from the citadel, and he had to retire in the evening. He then nominated Dalil Khān to besiege the citadel, and he continued the siege for four months, after which he went over to Dilāwar Khān. Ikhlās Khān disdaining to escape was seized in his house, and was blinded and imprisoned.

Dilāwar Khān continued to be the regent till 998 A.H., when Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh succeeded in wresting the power from him. He effected his escape to Ahmadnagar. He was induced by Burhān Nizām Shāh to march towards Bijāpūr. After this Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh invited Dilāwar Khān to come back, and the latter did so after receiving an assurance, that he would not be injured in life and property. He was, however, after his arrival, blinded, and was imprisoned in the fortress of Satāra.

This again is a long note but I have thought it proper to write it in order to clear up the accounts of the changes in the regency.

Dilawar Khan and the latter fled to Burhan Nizam ul mulk at Ahmadnagar. He instigated the latter to march towards Bijapur and attack Adil Khan but he was unable to do anything and went back. Ibrahim Adil Khan then sent qaul (probably an agreement of safe conduct) and summoned Dilawar Khan and made him blind by drawing the penel across his eyes. Up to this day which is in the year 1002 A H and which amounts to a period of fourteen years he (Ibrahim Adil Khan) is ruling his ¹ kingdom.

SECTION IV THE QUTB UL MULKIYA LINE OR DYNASTY

AN ACCOUNT OF SULTAN QULI QUTB UL MULK ² HAMADANI

He is from the tribe of ³ Mir Ali Shahr Āq Quyunli. He was one of the five *ta'irs* of the Bahmani Sultans. As Sultan Mahmud

¹ This is the end of the history of the Adil Shahi dynasty in one MS and in the lith ed but in the other MS there is a short interpolation which says that Ibrahim Adil Shah reigned altogether for forty eight years and a few months and died on the 11th Muharram 1037 A H and that after his death Sultan Muhammad Adil Shah ascended the throne. Firishtah's history of the Adil Shahi dynasty ends somewhat abruptly with the year 1005 A H. Col Briggs in a note on page 188 of vol III of his history says Firishta continued to write his history as late as 1612 sixteen years after this period and probably intended to finish that of Bijapoor last which can alone account for his leaving off so abruptly.

It may be mentioned that Firishtah's account of this reign is very prolix and extends over forty four pages of the lith ed. It is in more high flown language than is usual even with him.

This heading occurs in both MSS but is not to be found in the lith ed.

³ The word اسپ occurs after عمدادی in both MSS but it is not in the lith ed. I do not think it necessary to insert it.

⁴ The name is doubtful. It is سکر ادا in one MS and سکرل in the other. In the lith ed it is صور على على سکر ادا فو سکرل. Firishtah however says that a detailed history of the Qutb Shahi line was written by a man of the name of Shah Khur Shah but he (Firishtah) was unable to get hold of a copy of it. Col Briggs says that he was able some years ago to procure a work entitled the

History of Mahomed Kooley Koott Sheh written about the time that Firishtah lived. From Col Briggs's translation of that work the name of the tribe

showed great favour to his slaves. Sultān Qulī sold himself to him, and became one of his slaves. He took possessions of the country of Gōlkonda and ruled for twenty-four years and passed away.

¹AN ACCOUNT OF JAMSHID QUTB-UL-MULK SON OF SULTĀN QULĪ

After his father, he sat in the latter's place, and ruled for seven years.

appears to be Ak Koovialoo so that the correct name of the tribe may be اک قویالو It appears however from the quotation of Sultān Qulī Qutb's own words in Col Briggs's work, vol III, page 340 *et seq* that the Sultān belonged to the Kurra Koomlo tribe, who were subjugated by the Ak Koovialoo tribe, and he fled in his childhood, with his uncle Ameer Alla Koolly, and came to the Decean. He returned however to Haimadan with his uncle, as he was then too young to remain alone in the country. He came back however later again with his uncle but the uncle went away, and he remained under the special protection of Sultān Mahmūd Bahmani. He defended the latter with great gallantry, when he was attacked in the fort of Ahmādābād Bidai, and after the campaign against Malik Dinār Habshi he was made governor of Talingāna. Later he fought bravely in Mahmūd Shāh's campaign against the rebel Bahādur Gilānī. After the death of Mahmūd Shāh Bahmani on the 24th Dhū-hijja, 912 A.H., May 12th, 1507 A.D., he with the five other Decean chiefs, threw off the small portion of allegiance, which they had up to that time owed to the Bahmani Sultāns. He was killed by Mīr Mahmūd Hanadāni, governor of Gōlkonda, when he was sitting down at prayer, at the instigation of his third son Jamshid Qutb Shāh on the 2nd Jamādi-us-sāni 940 A.H., 4th September, 1543. These latter facts are taken from Col Briggs's account. According to Firishtah he was killed by a Turkī slave in 950 A.H., when he was looking at some jewels. The slave had been instigated by Jamshid Qutb Shāh with the promise of being made a great *amīn*, but he was slain by Jamshid, immediately after he had slain Sultān Qulī Qutb Shāh, so that he might not divulge his complicity in the crime. It is difficult to say exactly how long Qulī Qutb Shāh ruled as an independent prince. According to Mr. Sewell's table (p 410) he reigned for thirty-one years from 1512 to 1543 A.D.

¹ It is difficult to find the correct history of this reign. Nizām-ud-dīn gives no account at all, and the histories given by Firishtah, and Col Briggs differ. The former says Shāh Tāhir was sent by Burhān Nizām-ul-mulk to congratulate Jamshid on his accession. Shāh Tāhir incited him to join Burhān Nizām Shāh to attack Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh. He accordingly invaded the latter's territory, and built a fort in *pargana* Kāknī, and then advanced to attack the fort of Atgar. In the meantime 'Ādil Shāh made peace with Nizām Shāh.

AN ACCOUNT OF IBRAHIM QUTB UL MULK SON OF SULTAN QULI

After his brother Ibrahim became the ruler of Colkonda He was a man of affairs and of wisdom But anger and wrath obsessed him

and Rām Raj and Nizam Shāh went back to Ahmadnagar Adil Shāh then sent Asād Khan Lāri to attack Jam hūd Qutb Shāh Asād Khan Lāri first seized the fort of Kakul and compelled Jamshid Qutb Shāh to raise the siege of Atgar After that Jamshid Qutb Shāh had several campaigns with Asād Khan Lāri in each of which he was defeated and in the last of these in a hand to hand fight with Asād Khan Lāri one side of his face was severed off by a blow of his opponent's sword After that he made peace with Adil Shāh and conquered some parts of Kaelutl Then he was ill for two years and now became very savage and ordered people to be put to death or imprisoned for slight offences A conspiracy was then formed to depose him and place one of his brothers on the throne He received information of this plot and imprisoned his brothers Haider and Ibrahim The former died soon after and the latter went away to Bijānagar Jam hūd died of a high fever in 960 A H

Col Briggs's account which is probably derived from the work he got hold of (see note 1 p. 164) is entirely different except that he agrees in saying that Jamshid Qutb Shah died in 960 A H I do not however consider it necessary to give a summary of his account as it can be referred to by anybody who is interested in the history

¹ Nizām ud dīn gives no account of the reign of Ibrāhīm Qutb Shah He only mentions a few of the traits of his character As far as this goes he agrees with Firishtah who mentions the same traits with some more details for instance Firishtah says that the nails which had been shown to him were the nails of the toes of his victims which were severed by being beaten with sticks (*taziyana*) As regards his servants eating at his table he says that it was a special servants (*naukarān khāsa*) who had this privilege Firishtah also says that he freed Talingāna from highway robbers so that merchants and wealthy people could travel from place to place in safety

As regards the history of his reign Firishtah says that he sought an asylum with Ram Raj during the reign of Jamshid Qutb Shah After the latter's death the ministers placed his son who was an infant of two years of age on the throne but the Dakinis attacked the palace Then the ministers determined to send for Ibrāhīm Qutb ul mulk and to place him on the throne They obtained permission from Ram Raj for bringing him to Golkonda and when he came to the border of Bijānagar Muṣṭafa hastened to receive him and he was made *amīr jumla* or Prime Minister

After this he in concert with Husain Nizam Shah invaded Bijapur in 960 A H and laid siege to Gulbarga But he was afraid of increasing the power of Husain Nizam Shāh and went back to Golkonda and Husain Nizam Shāh

For a very small offence he inflicted strange punishments on the servants of God He ordered that the nails of his victims should be severed from their fingers , and should be brought before him in a vessel Much food was brought, every day, to his table , and it had been so determined that all his servants should eat at his table He indulged in much ceremony in his meals

He reigned for five and thirty years

being unable to carry on the siege alone, retired to Ahmadnagar Afterwards Ādil Shāh and Rām Rāj invaded the Nizām Shāhī territory , and at their request, and somewhat against his will Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh joined them , and they laid siege to Ahmadnagar They were about to take it, when Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh left at midnight , and returned in precipitation to Gōlkonda , and Rām Rāj and ‘Ādil Shāh had also to raise the siege

After that Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh asked for the hand of Husain Nizām Shāh's daughter , and at the latter's request he agreed in concert with him to lay siege to Kahlān There the marriage feast was celebrated and the siege was begun Then ‘Ādil Shāh and Rām Rāj and Tufāl Khān and Amīr Barīd advanced against them, when Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh returned to Gōlkonda, and Husain Nizām Shāh to Ahmadnagar, hotly pursued by ‘Ādil Shāh and Rām Rāj They laid waste both the Ahmadnagar and the Gōlkonda territories , but peace was at last concluded , and Rām Rāj and ‘Ādil Shāh returned to their own territories Afterwards Murtada Nizām Shāh summoned Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh to come and aid him in besieging the fort of Dārūr, belonging to ‘Ādil Shāh , but before he could arrive the fort was taken He however joined Murtada Nizām Shāh in the invasion of Bijāpūr ‘Ādil Shāh now sent to Murtada Nizām Shāh a letter, which Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh had written to him, about acting in concert with him Nizām Shāh became suspicious of Qutb Shāh's fidelity , and Qutb Shāh retiring in all haste to Gōlkonda, Nizām Shāh looted his camp , and pursued his army, and took much booty and slew large numbers of his men ‘Abd-ul-qādir, the eldest son of Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh then represented to his father, that if he received permission to do so, he would at once attack the Nizām Shāhī army and defeat it Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh became suspicious of his son's motives , and imprisoned him in a fort, and afterwards caused his death, by giving him a poisoned drink Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh died in the year 989 A.H. He had ruled for thirty-two years

Col Briggs's account (vol III, p 390) is slightly different He has a separate section for Soobhan Kooly Kooth Shah, the infant son of Jamsheed, who, he says, was seven years of age, when he was elevated to the throne Then as regards Ibrahim Kootb Shah, he says that in the latter part of his reign he conquered some territories in Orissa According to Col Briggs, Ibrahim Kootb Shah died on the 21st Rubbee-oos Sany 988 A.H., 2nd June, 1580 Mr Sewell (p 410) has 1581

AN ACCOUNT OF MUHAMMAD QUTB UL MUZHABA SON OF IBRAHIM

Muhammad Qutb succeeded his father. He became the lover of a prostitute of the name of Bhagwati and having laid the foundation of a city called it Bhagwagar. It had one thousand horsemen as the retainers of that woman and they always attended at her stirrups. He is ruling the country up to the present day which is in the year 1002 A.D. and in the 38th year of the Hidhera i.e. for a period of nine years.

³ Nizam ul Ijn does not give any account of the events of the reign and merely refers to a scandalous matter of a more or less personal nature. According to Firishtah Muhammed Qutb Shah was the eldest and best of the three surviving sons of Jam hīl Qutb Shah. He succeeded the latter in his 15th year. He married a daughter of Shah Mirza Ismail.

He entered into a treaty with Sultan Shah and invaded the Bijapur territory and besieged Shah Darg. But being unable to take it went to Bijapur and had no go to it. This were however unable to take it also and Muhammed Qutb Shah was about to retire to C. Kora I when the commander of the Nizam Shahi army becoming aware of it said unto his general that he should go hence if towards Ahmadnagar leaving up to the Ahli Shāh country through which he would pass and Muhammed Qutb Shahi should proceed to besiege Hasanabād Gulbarga. They accordingly did so. But when Muhammed Qutb Shahi arrived near Hasanabād Gulbarga he left seven hundred horsemen and many elephants under Muqābāl Khan to carry on the siege and himself hastened back to his capital. Muqābāl Khan had won the country round Hasanabād Gulbarga. But Dilavar Khan was sent with a large army from Bijapur and he defeated Muqābāl Khan who returned in great haste to the borders of Tilang.

After this Firishtah refers to Bhagwati on he also refers to the building of the new city but he says that it was necessary to do so because of the want of food became extremely unhealthy. He afterwards changed the name of the new city of Haular Hidhera.

Muhammed Qutb Shahi resolved after this to conquer Dang by which Firishtah means the country lying between Tilang and Bang or Bengal & Orissa. He conquered a great part of the country and the ruler of it who was called Balā & Balanilar fled in great distress to the furthest part of the country.

The above is the history down to 101 A.D. It is not necessary to go any further especially as Firishtah says nothing further about the history but indulges in a description of certain matters connected with the Sultan.

One MS calls her a رطب ناری the other simply رطب while the third has only ناری In the text written in the name is مسک عدی ناری

SECTION V ABOUT THE SULTANS OF GUJRĀT

From the beginning of the year 783 to the year 970 A.H., when (Gujrāt) came into the possession of the officers of His Majesty the Khalifa -i-Ilāhī, which is a period of 187 years fifteen persons ruled over the country (These are the) particulars (of them)

Sultān Muhammād, son of Sultān Muzaffār, two months and a few days,

Sultān Muzaffār ¹ Shāh three years and eight months and twenty days

Sultān ² Ahmad thirty-two years and six months and twenty days

Sultān Muhammād son of Ahmad, seven years and four months.

Sultān Qutb-ud-dīn Ahmad Shāh, seven years and six ³ months and thirteen days

Dāūd Shāh, seven days

Sultān Mahmūd Shāh, fifty-five years and eleven months and ⁴ two days

Sultān Muzaffār son of Mahmūd fourteen years and nine months

Sultān Sikandar, two months and sixteen days

Sultān Mahmūd, four months

Sultān Bahādur, eleven years and eleven months,

Sultān Muhammād Shāh one and half month

Sultān Mahmūd, son of ⁵ Latif Khān, eighteen years and a few days

¹ The word Shāh is in one MS and in the lith ed but not in the other MS. The period is 3 years 8 months and 20 days in one MS but is 3 years and 8 months and 8 days in the lith ed. It may be either 8 or 20 days in the other MS.

² One MS inserts *عَلِيٌّ* after the name

³ The words *وَالْمُكْرَمُ*, which occur in both MSS are omitted from the lith ed. I have inserted them

⁴ The words *وَدُور* which occur in one MS and in the lith ed are not to be found in the other MS

⁵ He is called Latif Khān in both MSS, but Latif Shāh in the lith. ed. The period is 18 years in both MSS and 16 years in the lith ed. I have adopted the reading in the MSS.

Sultan Ahmad three years and a few months and
Sultan Muzaffar son of Mahmud sixteen years and some
months

(AN ACCOUNT OF) AZAM HUMAYUN ZAFAR KHAN

It is written in books of history that when the (accounts of the) tyranny of Nizam Mufarrakh who bore the title of Ishti Khan and who had the government of Gujrat in his hands under Sultan Muhammad son of Sultan Iltuz Shah spread over the regions of the world and the oppressed who had suffered from his tyranny and the victims of his cruelty arrived in the capital city of Dehli from the country of Gujrat with their complaints and narrated tales of his tyranny and oppression before Sultan Muhammad Shah and spoke the truth of his violence and misborduration the Sultan after much consideration and great deliberation conferred the sif of Gujrat on Azam Humayun Zafar Khan son of Wajih ul mulk who was one of the great amirs after bestowing many royal favours on him On the 3rd Rabi ul awwal in the year 783 A H he conferred on him a (royal) umbrella and a red pavilion which are specially reserved for *badshahs* and granted him permission to go to Gujrat Zafar Khan started from the city the same day and encamped at the royal reservoir (*haud-i-khas*) On the 4th of the month Sultan Muhammad hastened to Zafar Khan's camp and made his ears heavy with the pearls of advice and after again conferring on him a special robe of honour retired to the city

They say that when the *ra'is* wrote the order of his appointment they under the orders of the Sultan left the place where the

¹ One MS has Shah after Mahmud but neither the other MS nor the lith ed has it

Firishtah does not give him the title of Ishti Khan but calls him Farhat ul mulk otherwise called Nizam Mufarrakh Firishtah does not speak much of his tyranny but he says that he had the intention of hostility (to the emperor) and therefore treated the *amindars* and the infidels of the country well and in order to flatter them gave currency to the customs of heathenism and idolatry Therefore the learned and erudite men of Gujrat sent the letter in which they spoke of Nizam Mufarrakh's misdeeds and prayed the Sultan to take necessary steps for remedying them

titles (of the new Governor) should have been written, blank, and he (*i.e.*, the Sultān) wrote the titles with his own hand and they were as follows¹ “My brother Majlis ‘Alī (the noble courtier), the honoured Khān learned just generous, energetic, the most fortunate of the faith and religion the defender of Islām and Musalmāns, the binder of the *sallanat* the supporter of the faith,

¹ It is rather difficult to understand these lofty titles and to find equivalents for the high flown epithets Firishtah who in many places copies the Tabaqāt almost *verbatim* gives them as تواریخ محسنس علی حاکم عادل زادل مساعد سعید الامان والدویں طہبیو الاسلام و الہ امین عصدد الامانات دمین الملک فامع الکفرة و المشرکین فالع الفخرة و الامان دین و ملک سماء المعالی سهم فلک الاعالی صادر دور وعا تمدن قلعه کنگورگیر آصف تدبیر صائب امور ناظم مصالح ۷۴۰ھ - دی الہیامن و السعادات صاحب الرای و الکفایات ناسر العدل و الامان دستور صاحبقران الع فتلق احمد +

The antecedents of Zafar Khān are rather curious. It appears from Bayley's History of Gujarāt, p. 68, *et seq.* that Firōz, who was a great hunter, went out in pursuit of deer one day, and became separated from his attendants. He came to a village which was one of the dependencies of Thānūsai. Outside the village he found a party of land-holders seated and dismounting from his horse, asked one of them to pull off his boots. This man was a master of the science of interpreting signs and appearances. He found on the sole of the Sultān's foot, marks of royalty and the signs of imperial power. The chief men of the village were two brothers Sādhū and Sadhāran. For their caste and genealogy see pp. 67-68. They entertained the guest, and gave their sister, who "was peerless in beauty and loveliness" in *mukāh* to the Sultān. They shortly afterwards became Musalmāns and Sadhāran received the title of Wajih-ul-Mulk. He was the father of Zafar Khān. The Sultān was a disciple of Qutb-ul-aqtāb Hadrat Makhdūm-i-Jahānīān. Sādhū and Sadhāran and Zafar Khān also became his disciples. Zafar Khān did some service to the saint, and the latter in return gave him the country of Gujarāt. When he went back to his family, and told them what had happened they said "You are well-stricken in years and if the country of Gujarāt falls to thee, what life wilt thou have left to enjoy it?" He went back to the saint, and made offerings of perfumes, etc. The saint accepted them, and taking a handful of dates, from a plate which was before him, said "Thy seed like unto these in number shall reign over Gujarāt." Some say there were twelve, some say thirteen dates and other say eleven.

When Firōz Khān became the Sultān, he appointed Zafar Khān and his brother Shams Khān to the high position of *shaiābdār*. Owing to this they have been described as *kalāls* or distillers.

the exterminator of *Lufr* and heresy the destroyer of the false and the rebellious the Pole star of the sky of spirituality the star of the high heaven the breaker of the ranks in the day of battle a fort conquering Rustam the conqueror of kingdoms an *Asaf* in power the regulator of affairs the director of the rule of people the master of success and good fortune the man of wisdom and success the distributor of justice and beneficence the *ta'ir* of the lord of conjunction *Ulugh Qutlugh* Azam Humayun Zafar Khan

In short (he) travelled towards Gujrat by successive marches On the way news came to him that a son had been born to Tatar Khan his son who was the *ta'ir* of Sultan Muhammad Shah and he had received the name of Ahmad Khan Zafar Khan was greatly delighted on hearing this joyful news He arranged a grand entertainment and conferred honours and robes on many of the soldiers When he arrived in the neighbourhood of Nagor the men of Kanbayat came to petition against Nizam Mufarrah praying for justice Zafar Khan gave them hopes and advanced towards Nahrawala When he arrived there which is commonly known as Pattan he ¹wrote and sent a letter to Malik Nizam Mufarrah (in which he said) that it had been mentioned in the august presence of Muhammad Shah that Malik Nizam Mufarrah had spent the revenue of a number of years of the *Khalsa* lands of the Sultan for his own needs and purposes and had not remitted one *dinar* to the treasury It had likewise (been reported) that he had stretched out his hands for tyranny and oppression and had greatly harassed the common people living in these places so that men had repeatedly come to Dehl with supplications and complaints (He went on to say) that as the reins of binding and loosening of all state affairs of the neighbourhood had been placed in his hands the better way would be that whatever might still be left of the revenue of the *Khalsa* lands for those years should be sent with all promptitude before he went himself and after comforting and cheering the oppressed he should himself proceed to the metropolis of Dehl

¹ Firishtah does not say that Zafar Khan wrote to Nizam Mufarrah after arriving at Naharwala Pattan

Mahk Nizām Mufarrah sent a ¹ reply to this effect—“ You have come a long way, you should remain where you are and should not take the trouble (to advance further) I shall go there and render an account but on this condition that you will not make me over to custodians ” When this reply came and the fact of his rebellion and violence became certain, Vzam Humāyūn Zafar Khān began to arrange his army After a few days news came that Malik Nizām Mufarrah had turned towards that country with a large force, and was advancing by successive marches Vzam Humāyūn salled out of the city of Pattan with his well-equipped army, with the intention to give battle A great battle was fought on the 7th of Safar in the year 794 in the village of ² Kāntha which is twelve *karōhs* from Pattan Malik Nizām Mufarrah went about searching for Zafar Khān accompanied by a select body of troops, and he ran about in all directions, like an ordinance of heaven (?) At this time a man belonging to Zafar Khān's army having vanquished him (apparently in single combat) inflicted on him a severe wound, and he fell off from his horse on to the ground The man immediately ³ cut off his head, and brought it to Zafar Khān

⁴ Couplet

When Death into his blood plunged his hand,
Fate his clear seeing eyes did close
When the key of victory is not in one's hand,
He cannot with his arm, the door of victory break

On seeing what had happened, defeat fell on the army of Nizām Mufarrah Large numbers of men were slain, and much booty fell into the hands (of the victorious army) Zafar Khān went in pursuit

¹ Firishtah also says that the tenor of the reply was what it is described in the text

² The place is called کانھو Kānha and Kāntha in the MS and Kānbha in the lith ed It is کانھو Kāntha in the lith ed of Firishtah, but Col Briggs calls it Jitpuī Bayley calls it Kambhu کانھو in the text edition

³ Firishtah's account of the engagement is different It is figurative and vague He says that بعد اس عمل الاٹ حرب و صرب آفتاب دصرب و مسروپی ار اونق نہ اے اوند ڈاہر حان ٹاون دمودہ نظام مغارج نقصہ تھس بھروالہ گریہت It does not mention what happened to Nizām Mufarrah after he had fled

⁴ The first couplet is not in the lith ed, but it is in both the MSS

for some distance and then returned to the neighbourhood of Pattan and sent his agents to all the *parganas*. In the year 795 A H he advanced with the object of punishing the rebels who had raised the dust of disturbance in the neighbourhood of ¹Kanbayat. He cleansed that country from the weeds and thorns of the insurgents. He laid the ointment of his kindness and favour on the hearts which had been wounded by the dagger of the tyranny of Nizam Mufarrakh. He then advanced towards Asawal. He remained there for some days and having pleased the common people and all the inhabitants earned their gratitude and came back to the neighbourhood of Pattan.

In the year 796 A H news came that Sultan Muhammad Shah son of Sultan Iruz had accepted the summons of the just God in the metropoltan city of D hli and the affairs of the empire had fallen into confusion and most of the *zamindars* had taken up an attitude of insurrection more specially ³ the Raja of Idar who had placed his foot outside the circle of obedience and fealty Zafar Khan equipped an army and advanced by rapid marches with a large force and elephants of the size of mountains to punish the Raja As he came with great quickness and proceeded to lay siege ⁴ the Raja had no time whatever to arrange for his defence He was therefore compelled to shut himself up and the victorious troops having overrun the country of Idar stretched their hands for plunder and rapine They raised to the ground every temple which they found In a very short time there was such scarcity and famine in the fort that the ⁵ Raja of Idar sent his *takils* in great humility

¹ One MS has *جَزِيزٌ* but the other and the lith. ed. have *عَلَاقٌ*

Firishtah says with reference to Asawal اسواں کا واقع انہوں نے احمد شاہ کے حکم سے اسی مکان پر احمد آباد کا بنانے کا اعلان کیا۔ اسی وجہ سے احمد آباد کا نام اسی مکان پر اسی وجہ سے احمد آباد کا نام دیا گیا۔

³ According to Fishtah he had formerly borne allegiance to the rulers of Gujarat but had now laid the foundation of sham lessness and had with drawing his head from the yoke of dependence

⁴ Firishtah say that there were several severe battles and Zafar Khan was victorious each time.

5 According to Firishtah the Raja sent his eldest son with some others to sue for quarter.

and piteousness, and prayed for forgiveness of his offences Zafar Khān took such tributes from him as he wanted, and advanced towards Sōmnāth

At this time intelligence came that ¹ Malik Naṣū Rāja celebrated as 'Ādil Khān, the ruler of Asīr, had stretched his foot of pride beyond the blanket of his status, and had harassed some of the villages of Nadarbār A'zam Humāyūn, knowing that the protection of his own territory was more incumbent on him than the capture of the temple of Sōmnāth advanced towards Nadarbār by rapid marches 'Ādil Khān hearing this news returned to his own country Zafar Khān also returned to his headquarters at Pattan, after showing kindness to the inhabitants of the country

In the year 797 A H, he again mustered his troops, and determined to invade ² Jai and Tar which are situated to the west of Pattan, and after overrunning some places and getting tributes from the headman of that locality, advanced from there, with the purpose of destroying the temple of Sōmnāth On the way he made the Rājpūts food for his merciless sword, and wherever a temple appeared before his eyes, he raised and destroyed it

When he arrived at Sōmnāth he burnt the temple down and broke up the idol He slew the kāfirs, and plundered the city He planned the erection of a Jāma' masjid, and having appointed the right men as directed by the shara', and leaving a thāna (military post) there, retraced his steps towards Pattan

In the year 799, news came to A'zam Humāyūn that the Rājpūts of ³ Mandalgarh had acquired such power, that the Musalmāns there were abandoning their country and leaving their homes, on account of the injuries caused to them Zafar Khān collected the

¹ Firishtah describes him as the ancestor of the Farūqī the rulers of Burhānpur

² The names are written as حربت in one MS but the حربت may be a mistake for حربت which is required having been omitted by mistake In the other MS and in the lith ed the names are حروتت Firishtah calls the place حربت and the ruler of it حربت ای In the text edition it is حروتت

³ It is Mandalgarh in the MSS and Karnāl in the lith ed Karnāl or Garnāl or Girnār is the same as جنگل حربت Jūnāgarh Firishtah also has جنگل حربت

army of Gujrat and by successive rapid marches traversed the forests and deserts of that country. The Raja of the place being proud of the strength of his fortification occupied himself in defending it. The victorious troops surrounded the hill and the fort like the centre of a circle and placed *manjaniq* (battering ram or catapults) on all sides and every day a number of Rajputs were slain. But as the fort was so strong that they were unable to accomplish their object by the help of the catapults Zafar Khan ordered that *sabats* (covered ways) should be planned and completed with all speed. But in spite of these the fort could not be taken. In the end after the siege had lasted for a year and some months the Rajputs in great humility asked for quarter and men and women came with bared heads and prayed for safety. They agreed to pay tributes and promised that it should be sent every year to Pattan without any demand being made for it. They also agreed that henceforward they would not cause any kind of injury to the Musalmans.

A zam Humayun owing to his innate kindness and natural generosity accepted their excuses and gave them quarter. He took tribute from them and having fixed the amounts of the annual tribute and having assured himself about the safety of that territory he hastened to perform a pilgrimage to the holy tomb of the Shaikh of the path of the Faith ¹ Khwajah Mu in ud din Hasan Sanjari. He pillaged and plundered the towns in that country and left no trace of cultivation and habitation. After finishing this invasion he moved to the country known as Dandwana and having plundered

Dilwara and Jalwara took a large number of prisoners and much booty. ² He returned to Pattan on the 17th of Ramadan in the year 800 A.H. As these campaigns had extended over three years A zam Humayun issued an order that all his troops and soldiery

¹ Of Ajmer

² Dilwāra دلواڑا in one MS and Dilwara and Jalwāra جلوڑا in the other and Dandwana in the lith ed. Firishtah has Dilwāra and Jalwāra. He does not mention Dandwana at all.

³ Firishtah says that it appears from the *Tārikh-i-Alfi* that at this time Zafar Khan had the *Khuqqa* read in his own name and assumed the title of Muzaffar Shah.

should be exempted from all service and work of all kinds for the period of one year

Towards the end of the year 800 A.H., Tātār Khān, Zafar Khān's son, who held the office of *vazīr* of Sultān Muhammād bin Firūz fled from Dehlī owing to the ¹ dominance and violence of Mallū Khān, and came to Gujrat to his father as has been mentioned in the section about Dehlī. In short Tātār Khān came in a state of great humility with a prayer to his father that he should be allowed to take the latter's army with him, and have his revenge over ² Mallū Khān. A'zam Humāyūn Zafar Khān was thinking of collecting troops. But as Mīrzā Pīr Muhammād Khān, grandson of His Majesty, the Lord of the auspicious conjunction, Amīr Taimūr Gūrgān had taken possession of Multān and had seized Sārang Khān, A'zam Humāyūn deferred the carrying out of this determination and the accomplishment of this deed, inasmuch as he had learned by his acumen that Mīrzā Pīr Muhammād was the vanguard of His Majesty, the Lord of the auspicious conjunction. It so happened that after a short time, in the year 801 A.H., news came that Amīr Taimūr had arrived in the neighbourhood of Dehlī with a large army. Zafar Khān comforted his son, and postponed the march to Dehlī for a suitable opportunity.

At this time they (*i.e.*, Zafar Khān and Tātār Khān) advanced together towards Īdar. They arrived by rapid marches and besieged the fort. They sent detachments every day in different directions, and left no stone unturned in plundering and ravaging the country. The Rāja of Īdar in great humility and weakness sent emissaries, and agreed to pay tribute. As the empire of Dehlī was at this time full of disturbances and rebellion, Zafar Khān remained satisfied

¹ Firishtah briefly describes the conflicts between Mallū or Iqbāl Khān and Tātār Khān

² He is called اقبال خان in one MS., دلو اقبال خان in the other, while the lith ed has only دلو خان. Firishtah does not say that Tātār Khān prayed for the help of his father's army to revenge himself on Mallū or Iqbāl Khān, but he incited his father, Muzaffar Shāh, to march to Dehlī, with the object of making himself the *bādshāh*. Muzaffar Shāh agreed, and began to collect troops, but the news came of the advance of Mīrzā Pīr Muhammād Khān, grandson of Amīr Taimūr, and upset all their plans.

with the engagement to pay tribute and returned to Pattan in Ramadan of that year. About this time an immense number of people fleeing from Dehli from the visitation of Amir Timur arrived in Pattan. Azam Humayun took pity on their condition according to their different predicaments and showed each one of them such kindness as his condition merited. After sometime Sultan Malimud son of Sultan Muhammad son of Sultan Fiaz Shah also fled from the Lord of the happy conjunction and came to Gujrat. Zafar Khan did not accord to him the treatment and respect that was due to him and he becoming hopeless and heart broken went away towards Malwa as is mentioned in the proper place.

In the year 803 A.H. Azam Humayun disbursed a year's pay to his soldiers and with a large force advanced to conquer Idar. When his victorious army surrounded the fort on all sides and fought battles in succession for some days the Raja evacuated the fort one night and fled towards Bijanagar. Early the next morning Zafar Khan entered the fort offered thanks to God demolished the temples left a *thana* (military post) in the fort and divided the country of Idar among his nobles. After the accomplishment of the necessary work in that country he returned to Pattan. In the year 804 A.H. (they) sent (the news) to Zafar Khan that the Hindus and *Kafirs* had collected round the temple of Somnath and were exerting themselves to the utmost in reviving their ancient customs. Azam Humayun turned his attention in that direction and sent an army in advance of himself. When the inhabitants of Somnath received information of this they advanced to meet him by way of the sea and began a battle. Azam Humayun arrived there on wings of speed and routed and destroyed them. Those who escaped the sword fled and took shelter in the citadel of the port of Dip. After a few days the gates of the citadel were opened and the garrison were made food for the sword. He had the chief

¹ The reading is obscure the MSS have هدوہ و کاران and هدوہ و کاران سبوده و کاران. The word appears to be incorrect if it was سبوده then the meaning would be some Hindus and infidels سبوده in the lith ed is of course incorrect. Firishtah in the corresponding passage has کاران سومنداب i.e. the *Kafirs* of Somnath. He also says that they had over powered the military post left there by Azam Humayun.

men of that body thrown under the feet of elephants. He demolished the temples, and laid the foundation of *Jāmī* mosque. He appointed *gādis* and *muftīs* and other officers directed by the *shāfi'* and leaving a military post returned to Pattan, his capital.

In the year 806 A.H. Tātār Khān informed his father A'zam Humāyūn, that Mallū Khān had seized Dehlī, and in spite of the fact that Sultān Mahmūd had rested content with Qanouj, he would not leave him in that condition. He went on to say 'If an army be sent with this slave (*i.e.* he himself) he would advance to Dehlī west the city from his possession, and having revenged himself again restore his dominion to Sultān Mahmūd.' A'zam Humāyūn said in reply "At present there is no one among the descendants of Fīlūz Shāh who is capable of carrying on the duties of the empire. Mallū Iqbāl Khān is at present in possession of Dehlī, and the learned in the doctrines of the religion do not approve of dissensions and warfare leading to bloodshed among the followers of Islām." Tātār Khān was not satisfied with these words and said I have such power now that I can attain to the empire of Dehlī. Kingship and empire are not the inheritance of any one and recited the following couplet.

Couplet

None can a kingdom and throne acquire,
That does not seize the sword with both his hands

When A'zam Humāyūn saw that he (Tātār Khān) was bent on this idea, he relinquished the work of the empire and made over to him all the army and the paraphernalia of sovereignty.

¹AN ACCOUNT OF THE ACCESSION OF TĀTĀR KHĀN, SON OF A'ZAM HUMĀYŪN ZAFAR KHĀN

When Zafar Khān ² voluntarily gave up the duties of the sovereignty, Tātār Khān arranged on the 1st of Jamādī-ul-ākhīr 806 A.H.

¹ The heading is given differently in the MSS and in the lith ed. It is what I have in the text in one MS. In the other MS, it is the same, but the word حلوس (accession) is omitted. In the lith ed it is مکہ. Firishtah has no separate heading.

² According to Firishtah Zafar Khān who had assumed the title of Muzaffar Shāh had acquired such power by the conquest of Idai and Sōmnāth,

a grand entertainment in the town of Asaval and sat on the throne of empire. He raised the umbrella over his head and assumed the title of Sultan Muhammad Shah. He conferred robes of honour on the amirs and the chiefs and leaders of the country. He distributed the gold that had been scattered as thanq-offering on the umbrella of sovereignty among wise and meritorious men. He conferred the office of *ra'is* on Shams Khan Dindar who was the younger brother of Azam Humayun. He ordered that in the heading (*Tughra*) of the *farsim* the following words should be written : " *Al Muaffaq wal Haqiq bi troid ur Lilmah istikhra ul duniya wa'd din Ibul Qasim Muhammed Shah bin Mu'azzaf Shah*"

After arranging the affairs of the country he collected a large army and on the 1st of Sha'ban of the aforesaid year he moved out of the town of Asaval with the object of conquering Dhill. He was informed while on the march that the Raja of Nadot

— — —

that he formed the idea of seizing Dhill and making his son Tatar Khan the emperor with the title of *Uthman ud-daula wa-l-din Sultan Muhammed Shah*. With this object they were marching along when at Sanaur Muhammad Shah suddenly died.

Mishkat goes on to say that the real facts are that Tatar Khan rebelled against his father who had become old and weak at Asaval and kept him imprisoned in the fort there. He made his uncle Shams Khan the *vali-i-salfanat* and gave himself the title of *Na'ir ud-din Muhammed Shah* and then having collected troops advanced to conquer Dhill. Sultan Murazzar sent one of his trusted men and insisted on his brother's arranging for his release and for the assassination of Muhammad Shah. Shams Khan attempted to dissuade him, having no other alternative killed Muhammad Shah by giving him poison. Bayley (p. g. 81 &c.) says It is commonly believed among the best informed of the people of Cisjordania that Tatar Khan conspired with certain discontented men his friends outwardly but enemies in reality and placed his father in confinement. He then seated himself on the throne with the title of Muhammad Shah and won over all the officials and army. Afterwards he waged war against the infidels of Nadot and subdued them. Then he directed his course towards Dhill but drank the draught of death and went to the city of non existence. The cause of his death was this. In his ambition for the things of this life he threw aside the respect due to a father a respect which is a lasting blessing to him who pays it and God Almighty then sowed the seed of vengeance in the heart of his father. Whereupon some of those who were in attendance upon Tatar Khan but who were personally inclined to Zafar Khan gave him poison.

had placed his feet of pride outside the bounds of obedience and allegiance He turned his bridle of might from the road, advanced full gallop into the country of Nādōt, and sacked and ravaged villages and towns He then halted in the town of ¹ Samūr At this time which was the spring tide of his greatness he suddenly passed away owing to excessive drinking

Couplet

To the dust was cast that flower of greatness, that the
garden of empire,

With a hundred thousand caresses had in its bosom
nourished

The period of his reign was two years and two months and some days When the dreadful news reached A'zam Humayūn in the country of Bahūj he grieved ² sorely He arrived very quickly at the camp, and sent Muhammad Shāh's body to Pattan and had his title reeognised in the *fāmān* as *Khudā-i-gān Shahid* (the martyred Lord) He showed favour to Shams Khān Dandānī, and transferring Malik Jalāl Kōkhāi, made over to him the government and defence of the territory of Nāgor Then as there was no help for it he, with a heart broken into a hundred pieces and dazed and stunned mind, occupied himself with the affairs of state He laid aside the royal umbrella and the throne, and did not assume any of the insignia of greatness At last, however, acceding to the prayer of the nobles, and of the pillars of state he again sat on the throne of empire in the year 810 A.H. It has, however, come to (my) notice in various histories that Shams Khān Dandānī gave poison to Muhammad Shāh in his wine

AN ACCOUNT OF THE REIGN OF ZAFAR KHĀN WHO HAD THE
TITLE OF MUZAFFAR SHĀH

When the period of disturbance as regards the imperial power in the country of Gujrāt, which had extended over a period of three

¹ The name is سینور in the MSS and in the lith ed , and also in the lith ed of Firishtah , but Col Briggs calls the place Suntpoor The invasion of Nādot and the name of the place where the death took place are not mentioned by Bayley According to him, Muhammad Shāh died on the march to Dehlī سینور Sainūr in the text-edition

² One MS and the lith ed have ادھر شہید، but the other MS omits the word عظیم

years and four months was ended Azam Humayun Zafar Khan in accordance with the prayer of the nobles and the suggestion of the great and the wise sat on the jewelled throne in the manner of Sultans in the town of ¹ Bīrpūr at the moment which was selected by the astrologers who knew all the stars and assumed the title of Sultan Muzaffar Shah. He was described in the *Khutba* and *farman* as *Almalīq balla al mannat Shams ud dunia ud din Abul Mujahid Mu'azzaf Shah*. The gold that was showered in thanks offering over his umbrella was distributed among meritorious persons. He conferred robes of honour on nobles and men possessing the knowledge of God and the heads of various groups. He then advanced by successive marches to the country of Malwa. When he arrived in the neighbourhood of Dhar Sultan Hushang advanced to give battle but as he had not the strength to withstand the onset of Muzaffar Shah's (army) ² he fled and took shelter in the fort of Dhar (but) in the end he came out and saw the Sultan. It had however come to the knowledge of Muzaffar Shah that Sultan ³ Hushang had given poison to his father Dilawar Khān. As there

¹ The name is Bīrpūr in the MSS and in Bayley. In the 11th ed it is بُرپُور Bīrpūr. It does not appear to be mentioned in the 11th ed of Firishtah or in Col Briggs.

Firishtah however says that a great battle was fought between the armies of Gujarat and Malwa of which the Rustams and heroes of the world have spoken with the tongue of praise but the army of Malwa being defeated Sultan Hushang was taken prisoner. Col Briggs also says that Sultan Hushang was taken prisoner after a severe action. According to Bayley (page 84) the brave warriors of Muzaffar Shah soon scattered his ranks as a whirlwind scatters clouds and he was obliged to fly into the fortress of Dhur.

² Bayley quotes the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* as given in Muhammadan Historians vol IV p 36 which agrees mainly with the text and then says that Firishtah's version (which is probably impartial) is one of Not proven. I have examined the passages about the death of Dilawar Khān in Firishtah in both the Gujarat and Malwa sections but I do not find anything that justifies the statement that Firishtah's version or verdict is one of not proven. In the section about Gujarat Firishtah says حدوں دلاؤر حاں والی مالوہ دوب سدھ دودھو سکت سا؟ In the same مقام او گرد دو سہرب ناوب کہ هوسنگ نطبع ملک ددر را رعو ادا سکب In the section about Malwa he says حدوں حسر اور دند کہ نسلا مظفر گھروانی حسن حسر وسند کہ ال حاں ددر حدوں دلاؤر حاں عزی را فوامنٹه حطام ددری ره رادا حدوں ددر را وسند کہ ال حاں ددر حدوں دلاؤر حاں عزی را فوامنٹه حطام ددری ره رادا حدوں ددر را

had been affection and fraternal feeling between Dilāwar Khān and Muzaffar Shāh, (when they were both) in the service of Sultan Muhammad Fūrūz Shāh Muzaffar Shāh put Sultān Hūshang and some of his adherents into prison, and installed his brother ¹ Nasrat Khān in the government of Mālwa

Intelligence came at this time, that Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī had come out of Jaunpūr with the idea of seizing Dēhlī. On hearing this Muzaffar Shāh started towards Dēhlī. When Sultān Ibrāhīm knew that Sultan Muzaffar was coming with the intention of giving battle he turned back from the way and returned to Jaunpūr as the pen has narrated in the section about Jaunpūr. Sultan Muzaffar on hearing this returned from the way and came back to Gujrat.

He took ² Sultan Hūshang with him in a state of captivity (But) after a time the *rāsiyats* and soldiers of Mālwa (aggrieved)

مطہل موشک نام پہا
So far as I know Firishtah nowhere adjudicates on the rumour in the one place, or on what he had seen in certain books, in the other

¹ He had been previously called Shams Khān Dandāni Bayley appears to me to be unnecessarily puzzled about the identity of Nasrat Khān. According to the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Zafar Khān had only one brother, who was called Shams Khān, till the time when he was left as the governor of Mālwa, but at that time he was called Nasrat Khān without any explanation of the change in his name. Firishtah says the same. Col Briggs (vol IV, p 10) identifies the two names as belonging to one person, where he says "Shams Khan, entitled Noosrat Khan". Bayley spells the name Dandāni as Dindāni and says in a note on p 95, called "Dindāni from *dandān* teeth". It appears from the text that the man had this name, because some of his front teeth had grown long and projected. If Dandāni is derived from Dandān, I do not see why it should be spelt Dindāni.

² Firishtah says that Muzaffar Shāh made over Sultan Hūshang to the custody of his grandson Ahmad Shāh, with the order to keep him imprisoned in a fort. Sultan Hūshang wrote a very humble supplication which Ahmad Shāh showed to his grandfather with a suggestion that Hūshang might be released. As at this time there was a disturbance in Mālwa, Sultan Hūshang was released and after a time the territory of Mālwa with the insignia of royalty was given to him and he was sent with Ahmad Shāh so that the latter might reinstate him in the government. Bayley's version is slightly different. According to him, Alp Khān sent his petition direct to Sultan Muzaffar and told him that Musa Khān who had been his lieutenant at Mandū had recovered a portion of Mālwah, but if he was released and sent there he would remain his obedient servant all his life. Sultan Muzaffar then sent him with Ahmad Khan and a large army to expel Mūsa Khān from Mandū. Mūsa Khān fled and Sultan Hūshang was then installed in Mandū (p 85).

at the harsh treatment (accorded to them) by Nasrat Shah rebelled against the latter. The ¹ *Khurajadar* rescued him from Dhar and sent him to Gujurat. Such of his adherents as were left behind were treated with harshness and suffered hardship. The people of Malwa for fear of offending Sultan Muzaffar made Musa Khan who was a relation of Sultan Hushang their leader and they selected the fort of Mandu for their residence. Sultan Muzaffar on receiving this news released Sultan Hushang from imprisonment and sent Shahzada Ahmad Khan son of Muhammad Shah that he might recover possession of Malwa and deliver it over to him. Shahzada Ahmad Khan arrived at Dhar and taking possession of the country made it over to Sultan Hushang and returned by way of Dahir to Gujurat as the pen forming letters black and fragrant as musk has narrated this clearly and explicitly in the section about Malwa.

In short in the year 812 intelligence came to Sultan Muzaffar Shah that the ² Rajputs of Kudinal or one of the dependencies of Kaeh had raised the dust of rebellion. Immediately on hearing this news he detached a large force for their punishment. It is said that he sent Khudawand Khan to attend on Shaikh Muhammad Qasim Budhu (asking the latter) to pray that the army of Islam might return with victory and triumph. His reverence the Shaikh on examining the muster roll of the men who had been sent as

¹ I do not know the exact meaning of *Khurajadar* which is in both MSS and in the lith ed. He might have been some kind of a palace official. Neither Bayley nor Firishtah gives any help for although the former refers to the Tabaqat-i-Akbari in this connection neither says anything as to the way in which Nasrat Khan retired from Dhar. *Khurajadar* in the text edition

The name may be جہاد or جہاد in one MS and جہاد in the other and in the 1st ed. The place is not mentioned by Firishtah or Bayley.

² The name of the place is کھنڈ کھنڈ Kot in one MS and in the lith ed. and کھنڈ کھنڈ Kunthakot in the other MS. I cannot find any mention of the expedition in Firishtah or in Col Briggs. It is mentioned in Bayley's History which is based on the Mirat-i-Iskandari but he places it in 810 A.H. the same year as the expedition to Malwa and he calls the place Kamal Kot which is very likely the correct name but he adds a note that the Tarikh-i-Alfi calls the place Kanth kot and he says that Khudawand Khan was sent in command of the expedition (p. 86).

members of the army, drew his pen across certain names. It so happened that when the army returned under the wing of triumph and victory, every person across whose names the Shaikh had drawn his pen was found to have attained to martyrdom.

In the year ¹813 A.H., Sultan Muzaffar became ill in the city of Nahrawala Pattan. He placed Shahzada Ahmad Khan on the throne of the empire in the presence of the nobles and chief men of the country, and conferred on him the title of Nasru-din Ahmad Shah. According to his orders the *Kutubha* was read in the prince's name on the pulpits of Islam. Three years and eight months and sixteen days had elapsed on that day since ² the commencement of his rule. Five months and thirteen days after the accession of Sultan Ahmad Shah, he redeemed the pledge of life, and in the month of Safar 814 A.H., he passed from the old caravan-sarai of the world, to the happy land of a future life. He is buried in the country of Pattan, and he has been styled *Khudā-i-gān Kabīr*.

¹ Bayley (pp. 86, 87) says that according to the *Mirāt-i-Ahmadi*, Sultan Muzaffar reigned for eighteen years, eight months and fourteen days. He also quotes the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* about the period of his reign and the date of his death, and also quotes the *Tārikh-i-Alfi*, in explanation of the statement made in the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, though an explanation was scarcely necessary. He also quotes a story from the *Tārikh-i-Bahādur Shāhī* according to which Ahmad Khan imprisoned Sultan Muzaffar and gave poison to him, after obtaining an opinion from some learned men, that a son would be justified in killing a man who had killed his father. Sultan Muzaffar asked him why he was in such a hurry. Ahmad Khan answered him in words of the Kurān, "All men have their times appointed, and when the hour is come, they cannot delay or advance it a moment." Bayley after considering the facts given in the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* and the *Tārikh-i-Alfi*, says that although the story told by the *Tārikh-i-Bahādur Shāhī* is not absolutely irreconcileable with them, they are at least *prima facie* in conflict with it, and at any rate seem to dispose of the alleged motive of the crime. This is correct, if the haste to grasp the sovereignty be considered to be the motive, but not correct if the desire was to avenge his father's death.

Firishtah says nothing about these things. He says that Sultan Muzaffar became ill at the end of Ṣafar 814 A.H., and died on the 8th of Rabi'-ul-ākhar, i.e., after a month and a few days, and he appointed Ahmad Khan to be his successor, as he considered him to be abler than his own surviving son. He was 71 years of age at the time of his death.

² Since his second accession, after the death of Muhammad Shah.

**AN ACCOUNT OF SULTAN AHMAD SHAH SON OF SULTAN MUHAMMAD
SON OF SULTAN MUZAFFIAN**

When Sultan Ahmad Shah reclined on the pillow on the throne of empire and the seat of greatness he conferred honours on the nobles and the chief men of the kingdom the great men of the city and the chiefs of various groups and gave a share of his gifts to all sections of the people He kept the officers and writers charged with matters connected with the revenue in their former positions and made great exertions in the matter of increasing the cultivation and in the building up of the country and the administration of justice

When the news of the accession of Sultan Ahmad Shah reached ¹ Firuz Khan son of Sultan Muzaffar Shah in the town of Baroda he owing to his envy and jealousy raised the standard of revolt and hostility He conferred the position of *ta'ir* on Jivan Das Khattri Amir Mahmud Barki who was the governor of Kanbayat also joined Firuz Khan Other amirs who were wicked by nature considering Firuz Khan to be a source of profit and success for themselves united with him They took Firuz Khan to Kanbayat and in that town Harbat Khan son of Sultan Muzaffar had an interview with him After a few days Sadat Khan and Sher Khan sons of Sultan Muzaffar came and united with them Firuz Khan gained strength and power from the union of his brothers and advanced towards the town of Bahroj From that place they wrote a letter to Sultan Hushang Ghuri and requested him that he should help them with his spirit and courage and agreed to pay him a certain number of

¹ According to Bayley (p 88) it was Modud the son of Firuz Khan who was governor of Barodah who raised the rebellion Firishtah like Ni 'am ud din says that it was Firuz Khan himself Bayley says in a note that the Tabaqat and Firishtah have Firuz but the Muntakhab ut Tawarikh has Mu'ad ud din and this confirms the Mirat-i-Sikandari Among the rebels adherents Firishtah has حاکم الامال و ملک سر و ملک کرم حسرو و حسرو و ساداس کبیری Col Briggs has two names Jeevandas and Vinakdas Kauhtry while Bayley has Jiwani Das and Payag Das The name is حسرو داس کبیری in the MSS and in the lith ed

² Firishtah calls him Amir Mahmud Turki Barki seems to be incorrect though it is found in several places further on but Turk is also found in a few places

lakhs of *tankās* at each stage, as contribution to his expenses. They also sent to every *zamīndār* that was in the country of Gujrāt, a horse and a robe of honour, to induce him to join them.

When this news reached Ahmad Shāh, he collected his troops, and advanced rapidly towards Bahroj. When he arrived there, he in order to extinguish the flames of the disturbance sent an emissary to the *amīrs* with the following message:

Couplet

"Whom God had exalted, fate will not see abased,

Who to Him is dear, the world will not see him lowered."

As *Khudā-i-gān Kabīr* (the great Lord), Muzaffar Shāh took me by the hand, and placed me on the throne of empire, and the foundation of the high mansion, and the strong palace of my empire has been strengthened by the allegiance of the *amīrs* and the well-known men of the country, and of all sections of the people, it is right and proper that you should not place your foot outside the line of loyalty and obedience, for the result of rebellion is destruction. Each one should be contented with the fiefs, which *Khudā-i-gān Kabīr* Muzaffar Shāh allotted to him, and should hope for other favours." When the emissary delivered this message, the *amīrs* consulted among themselves, and sent Haibat Khān who was the uncle of Ahmad Shāh, with him. As Ahmad Shāh lavished great favours on Haibat Khān, Firūz Khān and the other Khāns, becoming assured of safety and favour, hastened to attend on him. The latter cheered each one of them with fresh favours and tried to draw their hearts towards him. He confirmed their old *jāgīrs*, and after arranging the affairs of that part of the country in the best possible way, arranged to return towards Pattan. At this time news was brought to him that Sultān Hūshang was advancing in that direction from Dhār, with the object of helping Firūz Khān.

Sultān Ahmad immediately on hearing this news left the fort of Bahroj, and advanced by successive marches to the village of¹ Wantaj. At that place² Bhikan Ādam Khān Afghān who during

¹ The name is حُنْتَجْ, and حُنْتَجْ in the two MSS., and حُنْتَجْ in the lith ed. I have not been able to find the name in Firishtah, in Bayley or in the Rās Mālā.

² According to the Mirāt-i Sikandarī (Bayley, page 88), the rebels headed by Mōdūd (or Firūz Khān) "defeated Bikan and Ādam Afghān, the king's men."

the reign of Sultan Muzaffar Shah was the feudatory of Baroda and it present on account of his hostility (to Sultan Ahmad) was wandering about came and attended on Ahmad Shah and was received with favour by the latter. As he had now completely settled the matter connected with Firuz Khan so with perfect calmness physical and mental turned to the conflict and warfare with Sultan Hushang and sent Imad ul mulk in advance of himself to engage him. Hushang in shame and humiliation returned to his own country. Imad ul mulk pursued him for several stages and seizing the *amindars* who had joined him brought them with himself to attend on the Sultan.

When Sultan Ahmad Shah at the time of his return arrived at the town of Aswal and the air (climate) of that place appeared to be congenial to him he after consulting the omens and taking the advice of the asylum of all truth Shaikh Ahmad Kanhu may his tomb be sanctified laid on the ground the first brick for building the great city of Ahmadabad which has no equal among the cities of Hindustan on the bank of the Sabarmati in the month of Dhilqa dah 813 A.H. He laid the foundation of ¹a fort and a *Jama* mosque and many markets and he built 360 *puras* outside the fortifications each of which contained a mosque and a bazaar and was surrounded by a wall. If during the time when Ahmadabad was in a most flourishing condition some one had said that there was no other city in the whole world which was so grand and which was so beautifully arranged and decorated he would not have been guilty of any exaggeration.

Bayley (p. 88) says in a note the Tah-i-Akbari makes these the name of one man but the probabilities are in favour of the text. Bikan Afghan escaped and rejoined the Sultan. According to the context of the Tabaqat the name appears to be that of one man.

In the 11th ed. of Firishtah Adam Bhankar is said to have been ordered to fight the rebels and to have been defeated by them but this is not mentioned by Col. Briggs.

¹ *zals*,² two forts in the text edition appears to be a mistake.

Firūz Khān and Haibat Khān again revolted in the year 840 A.H., at the instigation of ¹Malik Badr 'Alā', who was a very near relation of Muzaffar Shāh, and again took the path of violence and rebellion and leaving the central part of the kingdom, took shelter in the hills of Īdā. Sultān Ahmad Shāh on hearing this news advanced to destroy them, and when he arrived in the town of Wantaj, he sent Fath Khān, son of Sultān Muazzaf in advance of himself (But) he also at the instigation of ²Saiyid Ibrāhīm Nizām the feudatory of the town of Mahiāsa joined his brothers Sultān Ahmad on hearing this advanced towards Mahiāsa. Malik Badr 'Alā and Saiyid Ibrāhīm entitled Rukn Khān had a ditch dug around the fort of Mahiāsa, and began to make the necessary arrangements for defending it. Firūz Khān and Haibat Khān summoned Raīmal the Rāja of Īdā, to help them, and they brought him to a place called Ankhōr, which is five *karōhs* from the town of Mahiāsa.

When Sultān Ahmad arrived in the vicinity of the town, he first of all sent a body of learned men to Badr 'Alā and Rukn Khān, that they might remove the veil of neglect from before their eyes, and might reveal to them what was right. When the emissaries did not receive such a reply as they had wished for, they came back. The Sultān out of his great mercy sent some other men and by their mouths sent the following messages "I am giving you assurances of safety, you may go wherever you like" Malik Badr 'Alā and Rukn Khān sent the following reply "If Nizām-ul-mulk, who is the

¹ Col Briggs calls him Mullik Dear, but he does not say that he instigated the revolt. It is not clear how he was related to Muzaffar Shāh. He is described as puzzle-headed in the *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī*. Bayley (p. 93, footnote †) speculates about his relationship with Muzaffar Shāh but cannot say anything definite about it.

² See note 1 above.

³ Firishtah calls him Saiyid Ibrāhīm, who bore the title of Rukn Khān, and was the *jāgīrdār* of Mahrāsa. Col Briggs (vol IV, p. 15) says as regards the name of the place, that Firishtah always spells it مُرَاسَة, and so he has also called it Mahrāsa, but the correct name is Mowrasa. The name is spelled مُرَاسَة in the MSS. of the *Tabaqāt*, but the lith ed. has مُورَسَة. Bayley has Mōrāsah. As regards the double name Ibrāhīm Nizām it appears from Bayley, p. 93, that it really means Ibrāhīm the son of Nizām. He was the *jāgīndār* of Morāsah under Sultān Ahmad, but was induced to join the rebels.

naib ta ir and Malik Ahmad Aziz who is the *Iarguwar* (superintendent) and *naib takildar* (the deputy *takil* in attendance) and Malik Sa'id ul mulk and Sufi Khwajah are sent to us to take us with them we would be assured of our safety and come and attend on you Sultan Ahmad gave orders that the noblemen named should go to the gate of the fort but they should be very careful of the deceit and treachery of Badr Ula and they should not go into the fort The above named *amirs* then proceeded to the gate of the fort of Mahrasa Malik Badr Ula and Rukn Khan kept a body of men in ambuscade and themselves received the noblemen with courtesy and respect They then separated Malik Nizam ul mulk and Malik Sa'id ul mulk from the other *amirs* and engaged them in talk and conversation At this time the men who were in ambush came out and seized Malik Nizam ul mulk and Malik Sa'id ul mulk and carried them into the fort Nizam ul mulk said in a loud voice Go and tell the Sultan that he should not allow any delay in seizing the fort Whatever fate was allotted to us has overtaken us Malik Badr Ula put chains round the feet of both of them and kept them guarded in a dark dungeon The real reason for such conduct on their part was this that Malik Badr Ula knew that as long as these *amirs* should remain in confinement no injury of any kind would reach the fort

When Sultan Ahmad heard what had happened he gave orders that batteries should be allotted to the different commanders and the fort should be attacked from every side On the 5th Jamadi ul awwal in the year 814 A.H. (1411 A.D.) the Sultan (in person) attacked the gate of the fort The brave *amirs* seeing this jumped into the ditch and clambered to the fort and in the twinkling of an eye they mounted on the wall and commenced to take measures for liberating Malik Nizam ul mulk As the moment of the death of those two beloved noblemen had not yet come they were both brought out and the rebels were completely routed and destroyed Malik Badr Ula and Rukn Khan who were the leaders of the traitors and chiefs of the rebels were executed ¹ Firuz Khan and the Raja

¹ There was apparently two Firuz Khans (1) Firuz Khan son of Sultan Mu'azz and (2) Firuz Khan son of Shams Khan The former led the revolt against Ahmad Shah and fought with him Finally however the Raja of Idar

of Īdar on hearing of the victory fled and took shelter in the hills of Īdar

After some days, Rānmal, the Rāja of Īdar, wishing to redress and remedy what had happened behaved treacherously towards Firūz Khān, and having seized his treasures and elephants sent them for the service of Sultān Ahmad. He also commenced with great humility and submissiveness to send tribute. The Sultān then returned to Ahmadābād under the wings of triumph and victory. Firūz Khān fled with his brothers, and went to the country of Nāgōr. On the day on which Rāna Mūkul fought with Firūz Khān, the son of Shams Khān Dandānī, Firūz Khān the Shāhzāda attained martyrdom.

In the year 816, ¹ Mahk Ahmad Saikējī, Mahk Shāh Mahk and Malik Ahmad son of Shēr Mahk, Bhikan Ādam Khān Afghān and Malik ‘Isa Sālāī again wakened up the disturbance which had fallen asleep, and they united some of the turbulent zamīndārs with them, and overran a part of the country, and every wretched man that was there came and joined them. About this time the Rāja of ² Mandal, the Rāja of Nādōt and Badhūl

behaved treacherously towards him, and he fled to the other Firūz Khān, who had succeeded his father at Nāgōr. Here he was killed according to the Tabaqāt in the course of the fight between the other Firūz Khān and Rāna Mūkul Nizām-ud-dīn calls him Shāhzāda, to distinguish him from his namesake, when mentioning his death. According to Firishtah he went to Nāgōr, and was killed by the hākim of that place, i.e., either by his namesake, or by some officer of his. As regards Firūz Khān No 2, it will be remembered, that his father Shams Khān, after being expelled from Dhār, went to Nāgōr, and became the ruler there. This Firūz Khān was alive long after the death of the other which took place apparently in 815, for it appears that as late as 820 A.H., he sent a message to Sultān Ahmad, to exculpate himself from all complicity with Sultān Hūshang and his partisans.

Col Briggs is inclined to think that there was only Feroze Khan, and he was the son of his uncle Shums Khan. See footnote 2, page 19 of vol IV of his work. According to Bayley it was Mōdūd who fled to Nāgōr, and was killed in a battle between Rāna Mokal, Rāja of Chitōr and Shams Khān Dindani.

¹ According to Firishtah, Sultān Ahmad invaded Jalwāra in 816 A.H. and it was during his absence that Malik Ahmad Sark(g)jangī and Shāh Malik, son of Shaikh Malik and Ādam Bhankar raised the revolt. Col Briggs (p 17) has Kutchy instead of Sark(g)jangī and he calls Ādam Bhankar of the lith ed ‘Adam of Bhukkur’. Bayley (p 95) calls ‘Usmān Ahmad Saikhejī سرکھی Sarkanjī in the text edition.

² Probably Mandalgarh

sent petitions to Sultan Hushang and incited and tempted him to come and conquer Gujrat Owing to his foolishness he put in trust on the help of these rebels and advanced towards Gujrat Sultan Ahmad saw that the dust of disturbance had risen from both sides sent his own brother Laṭif ¹Khan son of Muhammad Shah with Malik Nizam ul mulk the *naib ta’ir* to punish Mahk Shah Malik and the other amirs He himself with a well equipped army advanced to crush Sultan Hushang When he arrived at Bandhū which is in the neighbourhood of Champānī he sent Malik Imad ul mulk Samarqandi with a large force in advance of himself When Sultan Hushang heard that a slave of Sultan Ahmad was coming to give him battle he considered his grandeur higher than that and returned to his own country Imad ul mulk seized a number of the men who were the prime movers and the cause of the disturbance and brought them before the Sultan It can however be well understood by intelligent men who know the meties of things that Sultan Hushang was only seeking a pretext for a retreat It was quite possible for him to send one of his slaves to meet Imad ul mulk and he might also have advanced in person when Sultan Ahmad advanced to reinforce his own army

About the time when the news of the retreat of Sultan Hushang came fast moving couriers brought the news that Shahzada Shah Malik and the other amirs finding that they had not the strength to meet (the Sultan’s army) had fled without waiting to fight Shahzada Laṭif Khan took up a position after pursuing them for some distance Shah Malik in consultation with the other disturbers of the peace who had combined with him made a sudden attack in the darkness of the night on the Shahzada’s camp but as the soldiers were all present and alert they could not effect anything They left a large number dead and fled and took shelter with the *zamindar* of Karnal The Sultan on receiving this news performed the rites of thanking God and made the people of Ahmadabad happy by his gifts and favours

¹ According to Bayley (p 96) Prince Laṭif Khan had orders to bring Kanha to account and the latter was driven into the country of Sorath

Bandhu is called Pandū in Bayley p 96 and its situation is described as in *pa gana* Sanoul ten miles from the hill of Champanī

As the Rāja of ¹Kaināl had given shelter in his territory to Shāh Mahk and the other rebels, the Sultān, in the year 817 A.H. determined on punishing him and teaching him a lesson. When he arrived at Kaināl, which is celebrated as Jīmagarh, the Rāja came out, and engaged him in a battle, but in the end he fled and retired into the citadel of Kaināl, and most of his best men fell, and departed to the city of eternity at the time of the flight. Sultān Ahmad besieged the fort, and sent detachments every day for plundering and ravaging the country of ²Sōrath. After a few days in the month of Rajab of that year, he seized the fort by an attack in great force. The Rāja, with the others who were concerned in creating disturbance, fled to the top of the hill of Karnāl. Then in great humility and weakness, they came down, and begged for quarter and again began to pay tribute according to the old custom. Sultān Ahmad left Shāh Abūl Khan and Sayyid Qāsim in order to collect the tribute, and returned to Ahmadābād, his capital.

In the year 821, news came that Naṣū, son of 'Ādil Khan the ruler of Asī and Burhānpūr, feeling very proud of his power and greatness had overrun some parts of Sultānpūr and Nadarbār. Immediately on hearing this, (Sultān Ahmad) marched rapidly towards Nadarbār. At the same time he sent a detachment to seize the fort of ⁴Tambōl,

¹ According to Firishtah Sultān Ahmad invaded Karnāl or Gārnāl or Girnāl because he had heard a great deal in praise of the place, and because the Rāja had never submitted to any Musalmān prince. When he was returning from Karnāl, he demolished a temple at a place called Sayyidpūr, (it is curious that the place should have such a name) which was adorned with various gems and pictures. It appears however from a quotation from a Muhammadan historian, apparently Firishtah, in Forbes's *Rās Mālā*, vol I, page 329 (1856), that the name of the place where the temple was situated was Somāpooi.

Firishtah also says that Sultān Ahmad sent Mahk Tuhfa, on whom he conferred the title of Tāj-ul-mulk on a *jehāl* all over Gujāt, and the latter slew many, and laid the burden of the *riziya* and *lhrāz* on others, and converted many to Islām. In 819 Sultān Ahmad himself went on a similar expedition.

Firishtah mentions one Hadrat Khan Wali of Dehlī coming to Gujrāt, but it does not appear who he was.

² سورہ in the text edition

³ Firishtah calls them two brothers, Sayyid Abul Khair and Sayyid Abul Qāsim.

⁴ According to Col. Briggs (p 19), "Tumbole, a small hill fort in the district of Buglana. The district from its local position naturally belongs to Kandeish, but it had from a very early period rajas independent of that province."

which is situated on the boundary of the Deccan. When he arrived at Nidarbar¹ Adil Khan fled to Asir. The forces that had been sent to the fort of Tambol took possession of it by giving assurances of safety to the commandant. As it was the rainy season and the *charua* (beasts of burden?) suffered great hardship in the open plains Sultan Ahmad Shah wanted to return to Ahmedabad but very swift couriers brought the news that the Rajas of Idar and Champaner and Mandal and Nadot had sent repeated representations to Sultan Hushang and had brought him into Gujerat and that he had arrived at the town of Mahrasa.

At this time a man riding a camel who had come from the country of Nagor in the course of nine days arrived at Nidarbar and brought a petition from Tirkhan son of Shams Khan Dandani the purport of which was that Sultan Hushang was coming to conquer Gujerat and as he had come to know from the letters of Jahan Khan that this *fakir* (*i.e.* he himself) was not honest and pure in his intentions towards Sultan Ahmad he had written to the *fakir* that the *amindars* of Gujerat had sent repeated petitions to him and had begged him to invade Gujerat and he was accordingly starting for that country. It would be right and proper that he also should make himself ready quickly and should come (in which case) after the conquest of Gujerat the country of Nahrwala would be conferred on him. As His Majesty is his lord and master he has thought it right and proper that he should send him notice of this.

Sultan Ahmad in spite of the rains marched rapidly and crossing the Narbuda encamped on the bank of the Mahendri and when in the course of a week he arrived in the vicinity of the town of Mahrasa Sultan Hushang's spies took the news to him and he sent for and reproached the *amindars* and after scratching the back of his head returned to his own country. As Sultan Ahmad had come with only a small retinue he halted there for a few days for collecting his troops. At this time news came that owing to the disturbances the Raja of Sorath had again neglected to pay his tribute and

¹ It was Nasir son of Adil Khan a few lines above but it is Adil Khan here. The correct name however is Nasir son of Adil Khan (see p 196). See note 1 pp 193 194

ī, son of 'Ādil Khān the ruler of Asī, had in concert with Ghaznīn ī, son of Sultān Hūshang, besieged the fort of ¹Tālnīr and had fraud and deceit taken possession of it, and with the advice andurrence of the Rāja of Nādōt had invaded the country of Sultān- and had retired after plundering and ravaging it Sultān Ahmad ediatly on hearing this nominated Mahmūd Khān with a large

As regards Tālnīr or Thālnīr it appears from a note in page 101 of Bayley s ī that "Thālnīr had been assigned to Iftikhār ul-mulk (who was Nasīr ī's younger brother), by their father, Malik Rāja, the first of the Fārūkī īs of Khāndēsh, and with it certain territories, as his inheritance Nasīr ī, who seems to have been restless, ambitious, and unscrupulous, seized fort from Iftikhār ul-mulk" Fūshtah says it was taken by force, but Tabaqāt Akbarī says by stratagem, any way, he got it, and was assisted in so, by Ghaznīn Khān, who was his wife's nephew * * * * After their object at first was merely to seize Thālnīr, and the attack ultānpūr an after-thought, or whether this was designed from the beginning, the fact was that the two confederates renewed their attempt on provinces, and, aided by the Rāja of Nādōt (Tabaqāt Akbarī), for a carried all before them On the whole it seems likely that the attack ultān Hūshang, the rising in Sōrath, and the second adventure of Nasīr ī in Sultānpūr, were concerted movements and intended to be simultaneous, if it had not been for Sultān Ahmad's prompt march to meet Sultān ang, and the precipitate flight of that irresolute and treacherous prince, Ahmad would have had a very serious task on his hand This is also confirmed by the Cambridge History of India, pp 296, where however Malik Rāja is called Raja Ahmad, and Iftikhār ul mulk is l Hasan Malik Rāja divided his dominion giving the eastern portion to , and the western to Hasan Nasīr founded the city of Burhānpūr in 1400 and captured the strong fort of Asī from a Hindū chieftain while Hasan lished himself at Thālner In 1417 Nasīr with the help of Hūshang, who had led his sister, captured Thālner, and imprisoned Hasan Then Sultān ad sent an army which compelled Nasīr to retire to Asī, where he was ged Peace was made, Nasīr swearing fealty to Ahmad and the latter nusing Nasīr's title of Khān Hasan retired to Gujarāt, where he and escendant found a home and intermarried with the royal house From the treaty between Sultān Ahmad and Nasīr, an estrangement took between Khāndēsh and Mālwa Nasīr resented Hūshang's failure to ort him adequately against Sultān Ahmad In 1429 in spite of the former ty between his family and the Bahmanīs, he gave his daughter in marriage lā-ud dīn Ahmad, son of Ahmad Shāh, the 9th Bahmani King, but this engendered strife, and Khāndēsh after a disastrous war with the Bahmanīs, at length driven into the arms of Gujarāt

force to proceed to the country of Sorath and he went there and recovered tribute from the *zāmīndars*. The Sultan also sent Malik Mahmud Barki and Mukhlis ul mulk to go and punish Naṣir the son of Ādil Khan and to teach him a lesson. Malik Mahmud and Mukhlis ul mulk in the first instance raided Nadot and a part of that country. The Raja being too weak to withstand them paid the tribute which had been agreed upon. Then when they arrived in the vicinity of Sultanpūr Chazmn Khan retired to his own country. Naṣir Khan son of Ādil Khan retired to the fort of Talmir and prepared to defend himself there. After the siege had been protracted for a length of time he prayed for the pardon of his offences through the intervention of Malik Mahmud Barki. Sultan Ahmad drew the pen of forgiveness across his offences and conferred distinction on him by giving him a robe of honour and the title of Naṣir Khan.

As Sultan Hushang had repeatedly invaded Gujrāt and had soiled and tarnished the brightness of Sultan Ahmad's heart which was the seat of peace and happiness with the dust of pain the latter in the month Safar of the afore mentioned year advanced to conquer the kingdom of Malwa. On the way the representatives of the Raja of Idar and Champanir and Nadot and other *zāmīndars* came and did homage to him and prayed for the pardon of their (master's) offences. They also engaged that they would remit double the annual tribute. Sultan Ahmad shut his eyes to the offences of these men and accepted their excuses. As the Raja of Mandal continued in his pride and rebellion and did not try to discontinue his offences Sultan Ahmad left Malik Nizam ul mulk to be the regent of the kingdom during his absence and left the work of punishing the Raja in his charge and in spite of the weather and the narrowness of the road himself advanced into Malwa. When by successive marches he arrived in the neighbourhood of the village of ¹Kahadah Sultan Hushang selected some broken land near it and strengthened his position by having the river of Kahadah on one side and having cut down large trees made a *kharband* (a sort of *zariba* made of trunks and branches of trees) in front of him. Sultan Ahmad stood mounted

¹ The name looks like Kahawa كاهوا in the 11th ed. of Firishtah but Col Briggs has Kahada. According to Bayley (p. 103) Kahadah is the name of the river on which Ujan is situated.

on an extensive plain. He directed that ¹ Amīr Mahmūd Barkī should command the right wing, and Malik Farīd ‘Imād-ul-mulk the left, while Nasīr-ud-dīn ‘Add-ud-daula would be in the centre. It so happened that while seated on his horse he examined the battlefield, his attention fell on the circle fixed for Farīd, and seated there on his horse, he sent a servant to summon him, so that he might confer his father's title, which was ‘Imād-ul-mulk, on him. The messenger came back (and said) that the Mahk had rubbed oil on his body, and he would arrive after a moment. The Sultān said “This is the day of battle. Farīd will find sorrow and shame on account of this delay”, and without waiting any longer advanced to the battlefield.

When the two *bādshāhs* stood in front of each other, and the two armies met in great excitement and elation, an elephant belonging to Sultān Ahmad's army rushed on Sultān Hūshang's troops, and caused much havoc and scattered the horsemen in all directions. Ghaznīn Khān, son of Sultān Hūshang, coming within bow shot, shot many arrows on the forehead of the animal and wounded and killed it. From all sides warriors thirsting for battle rushed and fell on Sultān Ahmad's army, and there was great distress among the men of Gujrāt. At this time Malik Farīd mounted on his horse and followed by his men came towards the battlefield, but although he tried, ² he could not find his way into it. At last a man told him, “I know a path by which you can get behind the enemy's army, and can launch an attack on it”. Malik Farīd knowing the finding

¹ Amīr Mahmūd appears here to be called in one MS. as تُرکی Turk and not as in previous passages بُرکی Barkī. Firishtah all along calls him Amīr Mahmūd Turk. Bayley, however, on page 102 calls him Malik Mahmūd Bargī. As regards Farīd, although he has been called Malik Farīd ‘Imād ul mulk, he was the son of ‘Imād-ul-mulk, but that title had not yet been conferred on him, and the Sultān wanted to confer it on him there and then, as appears from the next sentence.

² According to the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī (Bayley, p. 103) Farīd “came to the side of a river, where there was a difficult ford”. After a little while a man pointed out a way to him which led to the rear of Sultān Hoshang's army.

The battle is mentioned in the Cambridge History of India, page 298, as a fiercely contested one, but the name of the place where it took place is not mentioned and no details are given.

of the pathway to be a piece of unhoped for good fortune advanced along it At this time when the two armies were contending with each other the detachment of Mahi Farid appeared before Sultan Hushang's army and he at once and without hesitation fell on it and there was a great battle Although Sultan Hushang was personally bold and courageous yet not being victorious in the battle he took the road of flight and fled galloping to the fort of Mandu Much booty fell into the hands of Sultan Ahmad and his soldiers and they went in pursuit till within one *karoh* of Mandu Sultan Ahmad also sent detachments in different directions so that they plundered and ravaged the country and cut down trees both those that bore fruit and others that did not in the vicinity of Mandu As the rainy season had now arrived they turned back and returned to Gujrat They trampled down (the crops etc) in the countries of Champanir and Nadot which lay on their way After arriving at Ahmadabad Sultan Ahmad held many entertainments and festivities in the course of some months and everyone who had exerted himself even a little was distinguished by favours and kindnesses and had title conferred on him

At the beginning of Dhūqādah in the year 821 A.D (the Sultan) determined to punish ³ the Raja of Champanir and advancing by successive marches besieged the hill of Champanir which is three *karohs* in height and seven *karohs* in circumference He shut up all entrances and exits and waited for the blowing of the breezes of victory and conquest After some days the Raja in great humility and distress sent a *takil* and submitted that This slave (i.e. he

¹ سطاع و سوراء سطاع و سوراء in the lith ed but سطاع و سوراء in the MS I think the former is the better reading

The readings are doubtful One MS and the lith ed have سطاع و سوراء The other has اما سورور حان دیگر سوره The former reading is probably correct The latter certainly is not سورور حان سوره in the text ed tion

³ He is called Tirbang Das in the *Mirat-i-Sikandari* Bayley page 104 Tirbang is a variant of *Tribhangi* lit broken in three a name given to Krishna as indicating the posture in which he is shown as standing in the ordinary pictures

⁴ This is absurd but I cannot get the correct altitude of the hill anywhere Probably the path to the fort was three *karohs* in length

himself) has all along been a slave of that threshold, and has always caused himself to be written down as a ¹ dependant of Alīmād Shāh If owing to his innate generosity he would accept the excuses for the offences of this humble one, the latter would send all his expenses for one year into the treasury, and would pay the annual tribute" As Sultān Ahmad had at this time another achievement in his mind, he accepted the Rājā's excuses and took the tribute

In the beginning of Safar of 822 A.H. (1419 A.D.) he advanced towards the town of ²Sōnkāra and having plundered and ravaged a part of the country round it, he encamped on the 22nd Safar nearer the town, and ordered the erection of a *Jāma'* Mosque there, and appointed the necessary officers directed by the *Shāfi'* He marched from that place on the 11th Rabi'-ul-āwwal of that year and encamped at ³Mānkī, and ordered that a strong fort should be built there as a military post On the 12th Rabi'-ul-āwwal, he started towards Mandū, and having punished the ⁴ inhabitants and infidels of the hill of Kāntū, he proceeded along the way by rapid marches On the way Maulānā Mūsa and ⁵'Alī Hāmid came as emissaries from Sultān

¹ The word is سُلْطَانِيَّهُ دَاس or سُلْطَانِيَّهُ دَاس in the MSS and in the lith ed I suppose it means a dependant or protégé, or is it only a variant of his name Tīrbang Dās

² The name is سونگر or سونکھر in the MSS, and Sōngar in the lith ed Bayley (p 104) calls it Sōnkerah Bahādurpūr Fīrishtah's account differs from that in the text He says at the end of that year (821 A.H.) Ahmad Shāh caused the fort of Sōnkāra (or Sōngarh) to be repanned and built a mosque there, and then marching towards Andauṇ (Idar?), and gave orders for plundering and ravaging Mālwa Col Briggs's (p 22) account is similar, but he does not mention the building of the mosque, and he says that Ahmud Shah proceeded in person to Idur, and then sent a detachment into Malwa to lay waste that country The place is called Songarh in the Cambridge History of India, page 298, and is said in a note to be at 20°, 11" North and 73°, 36" East

³ The name is مانکی or مانکی in the MSS and in the lith ed According to Bayley (p 105) the name of the village is Māknī and it is a dependency of Sōnkerah It is not mentioned by Fīrishtah In the text-edition it is مانکی Mānkī

⁴ They are called the infidels of the hill of Kanthur in Bayley, and are referred to in the Cambridge History of India, page 298, as the "infidels, of the Sātpūras"

⁵ The name is علی حامد ادار Ali Hāmid in one MS, and علی جامد ادار Ali Jamādār in the other It is علی حامد ادار Ali Jāmdār in the lith ed Fīrishtah

Hushang and prayed through the intervention of Malik Nizam ud mulk the *naib i a'ir* and Malik Mahmud Turk and Makh Hisam ud din with great submission and humility that it was not right that a *bādshah* professing the Islamic faith should cause injury to the Muslims and the helpless people of Malwa. The Sultan noble spirited and generous of heart accepted their prayers and wrote an affectionate letter to Sultan Hushang. He then turned back and encamped in the neighbourhood of Champanur on the 17th Rabi uth thamu. He levelled to the ground wherever there was an idol temple and then went back to Ahmadabad.

¹ In the year 823 A.H. he moved out with the intention of building some forts. First of all he laid the foundations of a strong fort in Jinur on the bank of the Mahindri. After that he built a line of fortifications round the town of Dhumod and tried to increase its population and cultivation. After that when he arrived in the town of Kartha he ordered that the old fort which had been

does not give the name but describes them as the ambassadors of Sultan Hushang. According to the *Mirat-i-Sikandari* Bayley page 10, the correct name is Ali Jamdar and *Jamdar* means treasurer.

¹ One MS. has ~~the~~ 20th but the other and the lith ed have ~~the~~ 7th. Firishtah does not mention the building of these forts but I find the following in *Ras Mala* vol I page 318. The passage is within inverted commas but the work from which it is quoted is not mentioned. Having also founded forts in such places he left garrisons in them among which may be mentioned the fort at the town of Jinoor in the Pergunnah of Bareah and that of Shupoor. After this he established the market town of Dahmod among the mountains where he erected a fortification. At this the fort of Kariah (Kaira or Kuree²) built in A.D. 1304 by order of Alp Khan who governed the country for Allah ood deen Khulji was repaired and named Sultanabad. It would be seen that the statements made in the quotation agree closely with those in the text. There are differences in the spelling of the names of the places where the forts were built in the MSS. and in the lith ed. but I do not consider it necessary to mention them. In the *Mirat-i-Sikandari* Bayley page 10 the first fort is said to have been built at Janur in the *pargana* of Bara Sanval. After that the Sultan built the town of Dhamood in the hills and he erected a fort there. He repaired the fort at Kariah which was founded in the time of Sultan Ala ud din by Alp Khan Sanjar in "04 A.H. (1304 A.D.) but had fallen into decay and he gave it the name of Sultanabad.

erected in the year ¹ 704 A.H. by Alp Khān Sanjar, the Deputy of Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī should be entirely re-built, and having endeavoured to increase the cultivation and the population of the district, gave it the name of Sultānābād. He again marched in the direction of Chāmpānī at the end of the year 824 A.H. 1421 A.D. He besieged it and extorted tribute, and on the 19th of Safar, 825 he advanced towards Sonkhera. He arrived there on the 22nd Safar, and laid the foundation of another *Jāma' masjid*.

At this time, news came that sometime ago ² Sultān Hūshang had left Mālwa, and had gone away elsewhere, and had completely

¹ The dates vary in the MSS. and in the 1th ed., but as the year of the Christian era in the passage quoted in the preceding note is 1301 A.D. 704 appears to be the correct A.H. year.

² As to Sultān Hūshang's disappearance Firishtah's account is, that as he knew that the fort of Mandū was so strong that Sultān Ahmad would not be able to capture it, and he wanted to achieve afeat that people would remember for a long time, he left it in charge of one of his chief officers, and went out himself with six thousand selected horsemen and left it by the Nāgōr gate, while Sultān Ahmad was encamped in front of the Sūrangpūn gate with the object of capturing some fine *mast* elephants in Jājnagar, and coming back with them. According to Firishtah Sultān Ahmad did not know anything about Sultān Hūshang's departure, or his return, till he heard joy drums beaten, and saw flags hung out from the turrets of the fort of Mandū after he had returned. Apparently the siege was not at all a close one. Firishtah also gives another version from the *Tārīkh-i-Alfi*. According to this, Sultān Hūshang assumed the dress of a horse merchant, and went to Jājnagar in order to procure elephants. Ahmad Shāh of Gujrāt, having heard that he had left his kingdom, and that his officers had divided it among themselves invaded Mālwa. In the first place he reduced the fort of Mahēswari and then marched to Mandū. I do not consider it necessary to give this version at greater length but I may point out that it agrees generally with the text.

The names of the *jāgirs*, and of the *amirs* on whom they were conferred, are not mentioned in the quotation from the *Tabaqat-i-Akbarī*, but the collection of the *lharif* revenue is. According to Bayley, page 106, Sultān Hoshang is said to have gone to Jājnagar elephant hunting, and the people in the fort of Mahēsar having no hope of relief surrendered the keys to Sultān Ahmad.

Bayley discusses at some little length, in a note on page 106, the reason and motives of Sultān Ahmad's attack on Mandū. He thinks that Sultān Ahmad is not likely to have been induced to attack Mandū, a Musalmān country, merely by the absence of Hoshang, with whom he was at peace. He comes to the conclusion that Sultān Ahmad might have been led to believe that Sultān

disappeared. The *amirs* and the chiefs of the different sections of the people had taken possession of the country and had divided it among themselves. On hearing this news the Sultan marched towards Mandu and advancing by successive marches he laid siege to ¹ Mahisra. The *thanadar* prayed for quarter and entered the service of Ahmad Shah. The latter encamped on the 12th Rabī ul akhir at the foot of the fort of Mandu and sent many detachments to ravage the country. Then when the rains season approached he marched from the fort towards Ujjain. He divided the country among his *amirs* giving Dīpulpur Banharā in fief to Mālik Mukhlīs ul mulk and Kantha to Mālik Iarid Imad ul mulk and Malindpur which is now celebrated as Muhammadpur to Mālik Iftikhar ul mulk. The *amirs* sent their officers to the *parganas* and realised the instalment of the *kharif* (rains season crops) revenue.

Sultan Hushang returned at this time from his journey to ² Jajnagar where he had gone to buy elephants a detailed account of this matter is given in the section about Malwa and entered the fort of Mandu. After the end of the rains Sultan Ahmad went from Hoshang had by some means come to an untimely end and he himself was as much entitled to the vacant throne as anyone else.

In the Cambridge History of India page 298 Sultan Hushang's expedition is called his famous (?) raid into Orissa. I do not think it was a famous raid in any way. It is clear from the account of the expedition given in Kirishta that merchants frequently took their goods to Jajnagar from Malwa and the neighbouring country for the merchants of that country apparently knew what colour of horses the Ray had a partiality for and what merchandise his subjects were likely to buy. It was a whimsical raid certainly to be undertaken by the ruler of a country which was exposed to attacks by a powerful neighbour.

¹ The name is گھر in one MS and in the 10th ed but گھر in the other MS. Kirishta calls it the fort of چنپار. In the quotation from the Tarikh-i-Alfi it is called Maheswar. It is called Chola Mahesar in Bayley page 106. In the text edition it is چنپار Mahir.

² چنپار in the text edition

³ Col Briggs (p. 17) says that Jajnuggur is a city situated on the Mahanuda river which empties itself into the sea in the province of Orissa. The forests of which have always been famous for wild elephants. There is no city of the name of Jajnagar at present in Orissa there is a town called Japur but it is not on the Mahanadi. Probably the name of Jajnagar was given to the province of Orissa. According to Rīza u s Salatin (190) p. 15 Northern Orissa was known as Jajnagar.

Ujjān to Mandū on the 20th Ramadān, and sat down in front of the Dehlī gate. He distributed the batteries and laid siege to the ¹ hill. He sent a *farmān* to Ahmadābād, to summon ² Malik Ahmad Avāz so that he might bring with him treasure and some appliances. The Malik came on the 12th of Shawwāl, and waited on the Sultān. The latter conferred a robe of honour on him, and made over to him the duty of working the Tārāpūi battery. As on the return of Hūshang, Sultān Ahmad's troops, which had taken possession of the country of Mālwa, and were engaged in managing the *parganas* had again collected together, Sultān Ahmad thought it advisable that he should take up a position in the centre of the country and should send the *amīrs* to the towns and *parganas*. According to this decision he marched away from the foot of the fort, and advanced to Sārangpūr. Sultān Hūshang also betook himself to Sārangpūr by a different route. When the Gujrāt army arrived in the neighbourhood of Sārangpūr, Sultān Hūshang sent an emissary, and behaving with great humility and submissiveness agreed to pay tribute. When Sultān Ahmad saw the humility and the weakness of the emissary he became ³ sure of his safety, and neglected to dig the ditch and to erect the *zarība* round his camp.

The same night, which was the 12th Muharram in the year 826 A.H., Sultān Hūshang made a night attack on the camp. As the men were negligent a large number was slain, among them ⁴ Sāmat Rāy, Rāja of the country of Dandwāna, who was killed with five

¹ It is كُوه, hill, in the MSS and in the lith ed. Probably the entire hill on which Mandū was built was besieged.

² He is called Muqarrab in the *Tārīkh-i Alfi*. He brought battering rams and engines with him, and he was detached to secure the passage by the Tārāpūr gate, which according to a note by Col Briggs (p 24) was the southern entrance.

³ According to Firishtah the emissaries spoke with such flattery and urgency that Ahmad Shāh neglected not only to dig the ditch and make the thorn fence, but kept no night sentries.

⁴ He does not appear to be mentioned by Firishtah. Sāmat Rāy may be a corrupt form of Sāmanta Rāy. He is called Sāmant Rājpūt Giāsiah of the district of Dundāh who held the advanced post, in Bayley, page 108. The night attack is not mentioned in the Cambridge History of India, but may be one of the "desultory and inconclusive hostilities" mentioned on page 298. In the text-edition the name is سامت راجه ولايہ، دندھا.

hundred Rajpûts around him. When ¹ Sultan Ahmad woke up he did not find a single person in his pavilion. There were two post horses there. He mounted ² Malik Juna his *rikabdar* (stirrup holder) on one and himself mounted the other. Coming out of his suite of tents he saw the whole camp being destroyed and not knowing what to do went away towards the open country. After a little time he sent Malik Juna back to the camp so that he might make enquiry. When Malik Juna again got into the camp he found that Malik Muqarrab Ahmad Azaz and Malik Farid had got their men together and were going towards the royal pavilion. They asked him news of the Sultan. Malik Juna after ascertaining the real state of things took the other two with him and went and waited on the Sultan. As the Sultan was naked (*i.e.* probably he had only some kind of night dress on him) Malik Muqarrab taking off his own arms put them on him. He also asked for leave to attack the enemy. The Sultan ordered 'Wait a little while so that the light of the morning may appear'. Malik Juna was again sent to the camp so that he might make further enquiry and ascertain where Sultan Hushang was and how he was occupied.

Malik Junâ returned and said that Sultan Hushang's troops were busy plundering the camp and he himself was standing with a few others with all the royal horses and elephants collected round them. Sultan Ahmad advanced with the thousand horsemen who had come with Malik Muqarrab and Malik Farid at the approach of the dawn which indeed was a dawn of good fortune to effect the destruction of Hushang. When the two forces met face to face the Sultan with his followers attacked the enemy and doing all that was demanded of him in the way of activity and bravery inflicted wounds on Hushang and also received a wound himself. Sultan Hushang also in spite of the wound exerted himself with great bravery. About this time the ³ *filbans* attached to the Gujrati army recognised Sultan

¹ He is said to have been awoken by Malik Munir in Bayley page 108 but we hear nothing more of this man.

The name of the *rikabdar* is transliterated as Malik Jaunan in Bayley page 108

³ According to Firishtah they were seated on their elephants which had been seized by Sultan Hushang.

Ahmad , and drove Sultān Hūshang before them , and although the latter tried to maintain his position, he was unable to do so, and in the end had to flee towards Sārangpūr The tables were turned now, and the men who had been engaged in looting the Gujrāt camp, became food for the sword , and all the elephants and horses and camels and war material that had been seized were recovered , and ¹ seven famous elephants, out of those brought from Jājnagar, which Sultān Hūshang had acquired with such great hardship and trouble were obtained as booty Sultān Ahmad then with victory and triumph betook himself to his pavilion, and bound up his wound He then arranged a great public audience and did everything to please and encourage the *amīrs* and the heads of groups, and the brave warriors On the next day, he sent Iftikhār-ul-mulk and Malik Safdar Khān Sultānī, with a well-equipped detachment into the adjoining country, that they might guard the animals belonging to the camp which had been sent out to collect fodder It so happened that a detachment of the enemy's army had come out of their camp to attack and harass the men who were collecting fodder The two bodies met and attacked each other, and did everything to slay and be slain In the end, Sultān Hūshang's detachment fled and retired to Sārang-pūr and Malik Iftikhār-ul-mulk and Safdar Khān Sultānī returned crowned with success and victory, and received favours from the Sultān

Sultān Ahmad for reasons of state now started for Gujrāt on the 24th of Rabī'-ul-ākhīr of that year Sultān Hūshang immediately sallied out of the fort of Sārangpūr, and started in pursuit Sultān Ahmad turned back, and stood his ground , and the flames of battle blazed up between the two armies Sultān Ahmad exerted himself with great gallantry After much fighting and great struggle, Sultān Hūshang turned his back on the field of battle, and fled, and entered the fort On this occasion also some of the Jājnagar elephants fell into the hands of the Gujrāt army Sultān Ahmad halted that day at that place, and on the next day he again advanced in the direction of Ahmadābād He arrived there on the 4th Jamādī-ul-

¹ One MS has *س* ل, chain, after سه, seven , but the other and the lith ed do not have it Ordinarily an elephant is described as بک رجیمہر مل I suppose مل al ل also means an elephant

alhir of that year and held great festive assemblies¹ and conferred distinctions on the *amirs* and the soldiers in the form of reward and robes of honour and increase of emoluments and as during this expedition the troops had lost much of their accoutrement he directed that they should not move for three years. The Sultan took up his residence in Ahmadabad and spent most of his time in inquiring into the cases of seekers of justice and regulating the administration of the kingdom and increasing the cultivation.

While he was so engrossed the *ta'irs* represented to him that - Punja son of Ranmal the Raja of Idar had shortened his hind (*i.e.* had delayed) in remitting the tribute during the time when the Sultan was engaged in waging war in Malwa and having sent petitions to Sultan Hushang had tried to combine with him. Accordingly in the year 829 A.H. Sultan Ahmad sent a well equipped army to attack Punja. When the army arrived in the country of Idar and began to plunder and ravage it Punja met it with hostility and placed the shield of resistance before himself. When the struggle was protracted the Sultan advanced into Idar in person and planning the building of the city of Ahmudnagar on the bank of the river² Hitmati at a distance of ten *karo* from Idar laid the foundation

¹ There are different readings here. The reading in one MS which I have accepted is امرو و سماعیل را ناسام و امرو و بادی علیہ امسار مسند و حون the other MS has در س بوس سماعیل سماعیل سدہ بودند امرو و سماعیل را که سماعیل سدہ بودند حالع و اماعیل کلی داد The reading in the lith ed is manifestly incorrect it has امرو و سماعیل را که سماعیل ساعان سدہ بودند

The name is written in the MSS as روپنچا ولد رونچا and in the 1st ed as روپنچا بن راو مالا He is called Row Poonja in Ras Mala vol I page 349 It is difficult to ascertain the derivation or correct Sanskrit form of Punja. It may be Pujya the worshipped the honourable Ranmal appears to be Rana Malla a 1 athlete in war.

² The name of the river is Sabarmati in the MSS in the 1st ed of Firishtah and in the text edition but it is Hatnati in the 1st ed Col Briggs (vol IV p 6) says Ferishta writes Hatnatty it should evidently be Saburnatty the same river that flows to Ahmadabad. In the map before me Ahmednagar is not on the Sabarmati but on a stream which flows into it some distance to the south near a place which is called Cairah in the map So I have retained Hatnati.

of a fort there He made very great exertions in completing the building of it He sent out detachments from Ahmadnagar, in different directions, all round Īdar, so that they might burn *tar o khushk* or wet and dry, i.e., growing crops, houses, etc., and slay all that fell into their hands Pūnjā, although he saw all this, was determined to carry on the war He sometimes appeared suddenly from a distance before a detachment which went to escort the men who went for fodder, and in the meantime, whenever he accidentally got a chance, he launched an attack

In the end, when he found that he could effect nothing, and could not endure any longer the onslaughts of Ahmad Shāh's armies, he sent representatives, and with sincerity offered to pay a large tribute But as he had (before this) several times broken his engagements, the Sultān did not accept his offer He advanced in person against Īdar, and on the first day he seized three forts Pūnjā fled and took shelter in the hills of ¹Visālnagar The next day the Sultān sacked the city of Īdar and returned to Ahmadnagar As the construction of Ahmadnagar was now completed, the Sultān in the following year, namely 830 A H, again turned the bridle of his spirit to the conquest of the territory of Īdar, and sent his troops in all directions, so that they might plunder and ravage the country, and he himself also gave his attention to the work Pūnjā in a state of great humility and distress sent emissaries and knocked at the door of peace, and agreed to pay a heavy tribute As the Sultān had now formed a kingly determination to destroy him completely, he showed no favour to the words of the emissaries Pūnjā, now utterly despondent, hovered moth-like round his territory, and wherever he could, made an onslaught On a Thursday ² in the month of Jamādi-ul-ākhīr in the year 831 A H, he came upon a detachment, which had gone to the jungle to escort a body of men who had gone to bring grass After exerting himself a great deal against them, he fled, but when

¹ It is Bijānagar in the MSS and in the lith ed, but the correct name appears to me to be Visālnagar, but I find that the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī also calls it Bijānagar The reading in the MSS is followed in the text edition

² So in the MSS and in the lith ed, but Firishtah who has copied the sentence from the text *verbatim* has ~~پنج~~, 5th, instead of ~~پنج~~, Thursday, and this is apparently correct

he was galloping away an elephant which had become separated from the detachment came into his view He immediately turned round and wounding the animal with his spear drove it before him As some brave men pursued him he betook himself into some uneven ground where there were caverns and ravines and by an accident his horse shied at the elephant and¹ threw him into a cavern Ahmad Shah's soldiers came up and turned the elephant back but they did not know that Punja had been thrown by his horse About this time a poor man entered the cavern in order to collect fire wood He saw a well dressed man lying dead and from his appearance concluded that it must be the corpse of a great man He cut off his head and waited with it upon the Sultan and many people recognised it to be the head of Punja They say that a man at that time saluted the head and showed great respect towards it When people asked him the reason of this he said I served him for a long time Sultan Ahmad was pleased with the man's good manners and rewarded him

Couplet

Neglect not good manners and their results great
For in the end they will your fortune make

The next day the Sultan advanced to Idar and sending troops gave them orders to devastate Idar and Visalnagar ² Har Ray the son of Punja having through the intervention of ³ Khan Jahan Sultan begged for the pardon of his offences and engaged to pay an annual tribute of three *lakhs* of silver *tankas* Sultan Ahmad on account of his great generosity and humanity drew the pen of

¹ One MS and the lith ed have سوی but the other MS has اندھا
I have accepted the latter reading for it does not appear that the dead horse was found near Punja's corpse The circumstances under which Punja was killed are given somewhat differently by Firishtah Col Briggs does not say anything about the manner of his death According to Ras Mala vol I p 349 Punja fell under his horse and was killed

² So in the MS and in the lith ed Firishtah (lith ed) has براو Pau Col Briggs does not give his name while the Ras Mala has Naron Das Bayley (p 112) calls him Bir Rai but says he is called Har Rao in some MSS He is called Hari Rai in the Cambridge History of India page 98 and is said to have been reduced to vassalage by Sultan Ahmad in 148

³ One MS has Khan Jahan Sultan and this is followed

forgiveness across his offences, and took him into the circle of his loyal adherents. He conferred the title of Safdar-ul-mulk on Mahîk Hasâi and left him with a large body of troops in charge of the military post of Ahmadnagar. He then trampled over and plundered the country of ¹ Kilwârâ, and went to Ahmadabad. He made the citizens fortunate with rewards and favours. After some days, Mahîk Muqâirâl gave letters, addressed to Hâi Rây, to some of his personal adherents, for the payment of their wages. When these men arrived at Idâr Hâi Rây made delays in the payment of the money and passed the time making evasions. He then got the news that the Sultân had come out of the city, and was engaged in collecting troops. In great fear he fled and took shelter in an out-of-the-way place. When this news reached the Sultân he ² advanced on the wings of speed on the 4th Safar, 832 A.H., and on the 6th Safar, he took up his residence in the fort, and after performing the rites of offering thanks to God, planned the erection of a *jâma' masjid*, and leaving a large force there went to Ahmadnagar.

³ In 833 A.H., when ⁴ Râja Kânâhâ, the Râja of Jhâlâwârî, knew that Sultân Ahmad had nearly finished the matter of Idâr, and that

¹ So in the MSS and in the lith ed Fîrishtah (lith ed) has گوراڑ, Kankwâra. Col Briggs has Gilwara and Râs Mâlâ has Gudwârâ.

² Instead of the peaceful march to, and entry into Idâr, described in the text, Fîrishtah says يکی ار علّام معتبر آید متوح سائے نسلک در آمد, and Râs Mâlâ, vol I, p 350, follows him and says "he carried by storm one of the principal forts in that province, wherein he built a magnificent mosque".

³ Bayley says (page 114), that for some reason, the Mirât-i-Sikandarî gives only a brief summary of the latter years of Sultân Alîmâd's reign, and he has supplied the deficiency by extracts from the Tabakât-i-Akbâri. As regards the war between Sultân Ahmad of Gujârât and Sultân Ahmad Bahmanî no additional information can be obtained from the Mirât-i-Sikandarî.

⁴ So in the MSS and in the lith ed. In the lith ed of Fîrishtah he is changed to two Râjas راجه کانہا و راجه حالوارة Râja Kânâhâ and Râja of Jâlwârah, but Col Briggs (vol IV, p 26) has Kanha Ray, the Raja of Jhalode. According to the Mirât-i-Sikandarî his proper name was Kânâhâ Satarsâl, Râja of Jhâlâwârî. He had joined the rebellion of 1413 and had therefore good reason for being afraid of Sultân Ahmad's displeasure towards him. The rebellion of Kânâhâ is also mentioned in the Cambridge History of India, page 296, where it is said that it called "Ahmad into Kâthiâwârî".

as soon as he would be free he would attack other *zamindars* he considered that it would be most advantageous for him to leave his own country and he accordingly fled. The force which was deputed to punish him went in pursuit of him into the territory of Asir and Burhānpur. Nasir Khan the ruler of Asir on account of the fact that Kanha had presented ¹ two worn out elephants as tribute to him and exchanging the rights for benefits conferred for injuries gave him a place (*i.e.* an asylum) in his kingdom. After some days Kanha went to Gulbarga ² and brought a force from Sultan Ahmad Bahmāni to assist and help him after which he plundered and ravaged parts of Nādarbar.

When this news reached Sultan Ahmad he appointed his eldest son Shahzadā Muhammād Khan to inquire into and redress this matter and sent great *sardars* such as Sayyid Abul Khair and ⁴ Sayyid Qasim son of Sayyid Ālam and Mālik Muqarrab Ahmad Āyaz and Mālik Iftikhar ul mulk with him. Shahzadā Muhammād Khan fought a battle with the Dakīn troops and gained the victory and a large number of the Dakīnis were slain and others were taken prisoners. The remainder who escaped the sword fled to Daulatabad. When this intelligence reached Sultan Ahmad Bahmāni he sent his eldest son Sultan Alā ud dīn and his second son Khan Jahan to carry on the war with Shalizāda Muhammād. He also entrusted the

¹ One MS has دو سل لکاں ملکوئی the other has دو سل لکاں The 11th ed has دو سل لکاں معلوی Col Briggs says (vol IV pp 76-77) Kanha presented two elephants which he had succeeded in bringing with him when he escaped from a detachment which was sent in pursuit of him Bayley (p 116) in his translation of the Tabakat has two large elephants but says in a note some MSS have one

The sentence in the text حسین نوبت سعین عدل ساحدہ is obscure and cryptic. Firishtah is more intelligible. He says و اونا گزار مرانی سامانی دکن حسین نوبت سلطان گھرواب سعین عدل ساحدہ and he (*i.e.* Nasir Khan) relying on the strength (*he felt*) from the fact of his relationship with the badshahs of the Dakīn exchanged the rights which the Sultan of Gujrāt had on him for benefits he had conferred for injuries

² Firishtah says specially that it was a small detachment

⁴ The names are somewhat different in the 11th ed of Firishtah. Sayyid Qasim is called Sayyid Abul Qasim. Sayyid Ālam is not mentioned as the father of Sayyid Qasim but as a separate chief

affairs of the army to the judgment of Qadī Khān, who was one of the great *amīrs* of the Deccan. Sultān ‘Alā-ud-dīn, in consultation with Qadī Khān, arrived by successive marches at Daulatābād, and took up his residence there. At this station, Naṣūn Khān, the ruler of Asīr and Burhānpūr, and Kānhā Rāja of Jhälāwāī also joined the camp of Sultān ‘Alā-ud-dīn, and he was much strengthened by them. Muhammad Khān also advanced towards Daulatābād with the intention of giving battle. When the two armies approached each other closely, Muhammad Khān arrayed his ranks, and the fire of ¹ battle flamed up from both sides. At this juncture Malik Muqariab Ahmad Āyāz and Qadr Khān, both of whom were commanders, fought hand to hand. Qadr Khān fell from the back of his horse on the dust of destruction. Malik Iftikhār-ul-mulk seized a large elephant as booty. Sultān ‘Alā-ud-dīn fled and took shelter in the fort of Daulatābād. Naṣūn Khān, the ruler of Asīr, also fled, and went to the hills of ² Kaland, which are situated in the country of Asīr. Muhammad Khān carried out the customs of offering thanks to God, and as he knew that it would be impossible to capture the fort of Daulatābād, he returned from there, and having trampled down a part of the territory of Asīr and Burhānpūr, took up his quarters in the town of Nadarbār. From that place he notified the true state of things to his father Sultān Ahmad, who wrote in reply that he should continue for a few days longer at Nadarbār, in order to arrange and regulate the affairs of that quarter.

In the year 834 A.H. ³ Qutb, the officer-in-charge of the island of Mahāim, and other sufferers (*mehnat zadhā*) sent a petition to

¹ This battle is said, in the Cambridge History of India, page 299, to have taken place at Mānikpūnjab about 38 miles N.-W. of Daulatābād.

² One MS. has **گولکنڈہ**, Golkund, which is clearly a mistake. The other has **کلندہ**, Kaland. The lith. ed. has **کالید**, Kalid. The lith. ed. of Firishtah has Kaland. Col. Briggs simplifies matters by saying (vol. II, p. 28) "took refuge in the hills of Kandeish."

³ He is called Qutb without any addition, in the MSS. and in the lith. ed., and in the lith. ed. of Firishtah. Col. Briggs, however, calls him Kootb Khan. Firishtah's account, however, differs from that in the text inasmuch as he says that it was after the death of Qutb, that Ahmad Shāh Bahmanī, who was always thinking of retaliating for his previous defeat, sent the *Malik-ut tujjār*, and the latter took possession of the island. In the *Tārikh-i-Alfi* Qutb is called Rāī.

Sultān Abmad that Mālik¹ Hasan who had the title of Mālik ut tujjar and was one of the *amirs* of Sultān Ahmad Bahmanī had come from the country of the Deccan and had seized the island of Mabaīm and neigbouring country with great violence and ferocity and had ravaged a Musalman country and had carried Musalmans away in bondage Sultān Ahmad sent Shāhzāda Zafar Khan to destroy Mālik ut tujjar and he appointed some great *amirs* who had previously done (great) deeds to serve under him He also wrote to Muḥlis ul mulk the *lotual* of Dib (Diu) that he should get the ships belonging to the different ports and should proceed to attend on Zafar Khan Mālik Muḥlis ul mulk fitted out seven hundred ships large and small from the town of Pattan and² the Port of Dib and the district of³ Kambayat He came and waited upon Zafar Khan in the neigbourhood of the country of Mahaīm It was decided in consultation with the *amirs*⁵ that the ships shoud be sent to the country of Thana and be shoud himself remain with Zafar Khan

When they arrived near Thana Zafar Khan sent Iftikhar ul mulk and Mālik Suhrab Sultānī in advance to surround that country At the same time the ships filled with armed men arrived by sea and closed the approach (by sea) When Zafar Khan began to conquer that district the governor of Thana salled out of the fort and fought with bravery He was however unable to withstand the onslaughts of the Gujrāt army and fled The Shabzāda with the advice of the *amirs* left a body of troops there and advanced on Mahaīm Mālik

Qutb and Bayley th nks that He was the Ra of Mahaīm whose daughter Prince Fath Khan is said in the sequel to have married He was probably one of the petty local princes It is said in Ras Mala page 350 vol I that he was a tributary Hindoo prince with the title of Raee who afterwards gave a daughter to the harem of the son of Shah Ahmed

¹ For an account of him see the history of the reign of Ahmad Shah Bahmanī p 49 onwards

According to Firūzītah and Col Briggs and Ras Mala (vol I p 35) there were only seventeen ships

² One MS has بندار گوگا Bandar Ghogah instead of Ban Jar Dip but Bayley p 117 has both Diu and the port of Ghogah

⁴ کمبیت Kanbayat in the text-edition

⁵ Col Briggs's translation is slightly different It is that the ships with part of the army should go to Tanna and the remainder should go by land

ut-tujjāī had cut down large trees, and had built a barricade with the branches along the shore of Mahāim. When the Gujāt army came up, Maḥk-ut-tujjār came outside the barricade and fought with gallantry. From the approach of the light of dawn to the setting of the sun, the brave men of the two armies showed no deficiency in courage and hardihood. But in the end, Maḥk-ut-tujjār fled and got within the barricade. When the ships arrived, and the Gujāt army had the command both by sea and land, Maḥk-ut-tujjār sent a petition to Sultān Ahmad Bahmanī and prayed for help. The Sultān sent ten thousand horsemen, and ¹ sixty and odd *mast* elephants with two of his sons from Daulatābād, and sent his *vazīr* Khān Jahān with them, so that they might act according to his advice and counsel. When the Deccan army arrived near Mahāim, Maḥk-ut-tujjār being assured of the safety of the island and of the barricades of trees, had the honour of waiting on the two Shāhzādas. After much discussion, it was decided, that they should in the first instance endeavour to recover possession of the district of Thāna, and they started in the direction of that place.

Shāhzāda Zafar Khān also made necessary preparations, and started to reinforce the men at Thāna. After the two armies had met (near Thāna), they fought with each other from morning till sun-set, and in the end, defeat fell on the Deccan army. Maḥk-ut-tujjār fled to ² Jālna, and his troops, for fear of their lives, abandoned the island of Mahāim. Zafar Khān crowned with success and victory landed there, and sent out ships, and seized some of the officers of Maḥk-ut-tujjār, who had fled by way of the sea. He despatched some boats after ³ filling them with various kinds of rich fabrics and

¹ Both MSS have وَحْدَةٍ مُّؤْمِنَةٍ, sixty and odd. The lith ed has
sixty Bayley, p 117, has sixty odd, but Firishtah has وَحْدَةٍ مُّؤْمِنَةٍ sixty and odd, Col Briggs (vol IV, p 29) has sixty

² The MSS, the lith ed have حَالَهُ Bayley, p 118, has Jālnah. Firishtah has حَاكِيَهُ, (which does not differ very much from حَالَهُ) but Col Briggs (vol IV, p 30) says, he fled to Chakun.

³ The passage is somewhat obscure. The MSS and the lith ed have اَرْفَعَسَام اَوْسَام وَتَنَجَّهَاتٍ نَارٌ وَبَادْ كَرْكَدَى سِرْكَرْجَانٌ Firishtah has وَرَرْ سِرْجَانٌ, Col Briggs has "Some beautiful gold and silver-embroidered muslins". Rās Mālā has the words as Col Briggs, and puts them

tankas as offerings to Sultan Ahmad. He took possession of the entire district of Malavai and divided it among the *amirs* and the heads of different groups of people.

When all these facts reached the ear of Sultan Ahmad Bahmanî he was extremely dejected and equipped his army in order to revenge himself and marched against the country of Biglana which is near the port of Surat. Shahzada Muhammad Khan who was in the country of Nadarbir and Sultanpur sent a representation to his father to the effect that he had been deprived of the honour of serving His Majesty for a period of four years and some months and on account of this long residence of his in a distant land the retainers of the *amirs* and *khanas* had gone away to their own countries and a large force had not been left there. He also said that he had heard that Sultan Ahmad Bahmanî had marched into the country of Biglana and intended to advance in the direction of Nadarbir.

When this representation reached the Sultan he postponed the siege of Champnâl to some other time and advanced towards Nandot and after plundering and ravaging that country advanced by successive marches and encamped in the vicinity of the town of Nadarbir. Shahzada Muhammad Khan and the *amirs* who were with him had the honour of offering their services and each one of them received a special favour in accordance with his rank and position. The scribe brought the news at that station in the year 835 A.H. that Sultan Ahmad Bahmanî on receiving the information of the arrival of the Sultan (Ahmad Gujrati) had left a detachment on the boundary of his kingdom and had gone back to Gulbarga. The Sultan was pleased and delighted on hearing this news and turned back towards Ahmedabad. He had crossed the Tipti after successive marches when

between inverted commas which show that they have been taken from Col Briggs's History. The difficulty in the passage lies in the words سکھاںی which I am inclined to take later as *tankas* but which Bayley has translated as precious stones. The word does not occur in Firishtah so he can be left out of account. As between *tankas* and precious stones I have never seen the latter called سکھاںی. They are always called حواہر Firishtah says گول may mean gold and red *tankas*.

¹ دلائی instead of دلائی in the text edition.

² پالی Palni in the text edition.

news arrived that Sultān Ahmad Bahmānī had again besieged the fort of ¹ Tambōl, and Mālik Sa‘ādat Sultānī was leaving nothing undone in bravely defending it. Immediately on receipt of this news, he turned back, and advanced on wings of speed towards Tambōl. When Sultān Ahmad Bahmānī became aware of this fact, he cheered and encouraged a body of pāiks, with robes of honour and great rewards, and told them, “Reinforcements are coming to the garrison. If to-night ² you will play a great game, so that the hand of my hope should reach the skirts of success, I shall give you such rewards, that you will never again be in want.” When a part of the night had passed, the pāiks went to the foot of the fort, and slowly and silently under the shelter of the rocks, climbed to the top of the rampart and dropped into the fort. They wanted to open the gates, but Mālik Sa‘ādat Sultānī, being on the alert, fell upon them, and slew most of them. Those who escaped the sword threw themselves from the ramparts and perished. Mālik Sa‘ādat Sultānī did not consider this sufficient, but opening the gate, he made a sudden attack on a battery which was in front of it. The men in the battery, who were asleep, were most of them wounded.

At this time the Sultān of Gujrāt approached near, and Sultān Ahmad Bahmānī leaving the foot of the fort, advanced to meet him. He summoned his amīrs and the commanders of his army and told them, “The armies of Gujrāt have several times defeated the armies of the Deccan, and they have also taken possession of Mahāim. If this time also, I show inactivity and am defeated, I shall lose the Decean altogether.” He then arrayed the ranks of his army, and took up a position on the battlefield. Sultān Ahmad Gujrātī also came, and met him with his armies arranged for battle, and there was a

¹ Called Batnol in the Cambridge History of India, page 299

² The words are somewhat obscure. The MSS. have يَوْمَه يَوْمَه، and the lith. ed. has يَوْمَه يَوْمَه. The lith. ed. of Firishtah in the corresponding passage also has يَوْمَه يَوْمَه. Col Briggs (vol. IV, p. 31) calls the pāiks “Naigs”, but he does not translate the Shah’s words to them. Bayley has pāiks, and he says immediate action is necessary, but it is not clear what meaning he has given to the words in question. I have adopted يَوْمَه يَوْمَه, while the text edition has يَوْمَه يَوْمَه.

terrible conflict ¹ Daud Khan who was one of the great amirs of the Deccan having challenged the Gujrati amir was taken prisoner by Abd ul mulk. The two amirs fought together and showed great gallantry. When evening came both sounded the drum of return and turned back to their respective encamping grounds. As large numbers of the Dikhi army had been slain Sultan Ahmad Bahmani in great distress took the path of flight.

The next day Sultan Ahmad entered the fort of Tambol and showed great favour to Malik Sa'adat Sultan and leaving a detachment to reinforce him started towards ² Talnir and having rebuilt the fort there ³ plundered and ravaged the towns and villages. He conferred the title of Mu'in ul mulk on Malik Taj ud din and ⁴ directed that he should remain there. He then returned to Ahmadabad by Sultanpur and Nadarbar. After a few days he brought the daughter of the Ray of Mahum into the bond of wedlock with Shahzada Fath Khan.

(It appears in my mind) that in the Tarikh-i-Bahmani the story of the siege of the fort of Tambol has been narrated in a different way from what my double tongued pen has described in the section about the Dikhi. (It may be said here) in brief that as the period of the siege was protracted to two years Sultan Ahmad Shah Gujrati

¹ The name is Daud in the MSS and in the lith ed and also in Bayley's translation but Firishtah says that it was اور حاصل از لر کیان who challenged the Gujrati amir and Col Briggs calls him Ajfir Khan a young Deccany nobleman (see J.B. p. 33).

طالبہ instead of طالبہ in the text edition

² The MSS have بlad و دعاب را ناچ و ناراج کرد but the lith ed has دعاب ان بلاد را ناراج کردد. Firishtah who copies the Tabaqat frequently word for word has in the corresponding passage مدد و اعماں و ناراج سوچا. This last version appears to me to be the best but I have retained the words of the MSS بlad دعاب را without conjunction in the text edition.

³ The reading in the MSS and in the lith ed which is مکن الدس را appears to me to be incomplete. I would insert some or is like داده and معن کرد کہ معن between and فرمود کہ فرمود کہ

⁴ The word is & قصید and قصید in the two MSS and قصید in the lith ed. Firishtah has & قصید in the corresponding passage and this is followed in the text edition.

in the way of kindness and friendship, sent an ambassador to wait upon Sultān Ahmad Bahmanī and made a request through him, that this fort might be left in his possession. Sultān Ahmad Bahmanī did not accept this proposal. In the end, Sultān Ahmad Gujārātī marched straight from the boundaries of his kingdom and invaded the Deccan, in order to have his revenge, and commenced to plunder and ravage it, and Sultān Ahmad Bahmanī had no further opportunity for besieging it. It appears to my mind, that the author of the *Tārikh-i-Bahmanī* has not narrated the facts in a plain, straightforward manner, and what is narrated in the history of Gujārāt is nearer the truth.

In the month of Rajab in the year 836 A.H. (1432 A.D.), the Sultān advanced to conquer the countries of ¹ Mewār and Nāgōr, and when he arrived in the town of ² Harpūr, he sent his troops and plundered and ravaged the towns and villages, and he levelled to the dust any temple that came anywhere into his view. After some days, he encamped in the town of Dūngarpūr, and ³ Ganēsā, the Rāja of the place fled, but later feeling ashamed and repentant, came and waited on the Sultān, and becoming enlisted in the band of his defendants, paid a suitable tribute. Sultān Ahmad Shāh then trampled down and ravaged the country of Kilwāia, and then invaded Dilwāia, and having rased to the daik ground the palaces and other structures of ⁴ Rānā Mūkul, the Rāja of Dilwāia, which had lifted up their

¹ In the translation of this part of the *Tabakāt*, given in Bayley, p 120, the name of Kōlīwārah is inserted after Mewār and Nāgōr. Firishtah in the lith ed has میور و ناگور، and Col Briggs also has towards Nagoor and Mewat. Mēwāt seems to be a mistake for Mēwār. Rās Mālā says, he marched into Rajpootana.

² The MSS have بارپور and هرپور Harpūr, the lith ed has سرور سرور Sabzpur, and Bayley, p 120, has Sidhpur. Firishtah does not mention the place, and at once takes Sultān Ahmad to Dūngarpūr.

³ The name is راجا in the MSS, and کنیسای in the lith ed. Bayley has Ganēsā. Firishtah does not mention any name, but says the Sultān extorted tribute from the *zamīndārs* of the place. Col Briggs has Raja, and Rās Mālā has Rāwul کدیا in the text edition.

⁴ With reference to Rānā Mūkul the lith ed of Firishtah has ولایت کیلوارہ، و دلروارہ کے نعلیٰ موانا موکل داشت. Col Briggs paraphrases Kilwāia and Dilwāra as the country of the Kohes and Bheels. Rās Mālā has "the country of the Bheels".

heads to the sky (with pride) demolished the temples and destroyed the idols. He also had some turbulent men who had fallen into his hands executed ¹ by throwing them under the feet of elephants. He left Malik Mir Sultan in those places for the purpose of collecting *khiraj* (tribute) and turned to the country of the Rathors. The Rathor chiefs offered him allegiance and paid tribute and behaved with loyalty. ³ Firuz Khan the son of Shams Khan Dundani and the nephew of Sultan Muzaffar who was the ruler of Nagor came and waited upon the Sultan and brought some *lakhs* of *tankas* as tribute. ⁴ Sultan Ahmad gave back the tribute and leaving a body of troops in certain *mahals* of Mawas in the way of a military outpost returned to Ahmadabad. As on every occasion when the Sultan returned from journeys and wars he held grand festive assemblies and conferred distinctions on each of the *amirs* and other soldiers who had performed commendable services by the grant of rewards and favours and increase in their stipends and promotions in their ranks and also granted kingly favours on all the inhabitants of the country of Gujrat both great and small and Shaikhs and deserving persons on this occasion also he arranged a similar festive assembly and conferred new favours on every deserving person.

In the year 839 A.H. news came from the country of Malwa that Mahmud Khan the son of Malik Maghith who had been the *ta-i-rof* of Sultan Hushang had murdered Ghazni Khan the Shuhzada who had after the death of Sultan Hushang succeeded him by giving poison to him and having raised the standard of his own rule had taken the name

¹ I do not exactly understand the words which I have translated by throwing them etc. They are سر ملاں گرداند in the MSS and دی سر ملاں گرداند in the 1st ed. Firishtah has no corresponding passage.

و حرب بولاب و نعمہ و نار نیاد و لامی دم و اور عا رایاں نای و حراج گروں
Instead of Rathor chiefs Firishtah in the 1st ed has میاں و نعمہ و نار نیاد و لامی دم و اور عا رایاں نای و حراج گروں
Col Briggs (vol IV p 39) has the rays of Kota Boondi and Nowlaya and Ras Mala (p 301) has the Rows of Kotah Boond and Nudoolave.

³ This is also mentioned by Firishtah and also by Col Briggs but neither of them says anything about the leaving of the military outpost in certain Mahals of Mawas.

⁴ The Cambridge History of India page 299 mentions the question of an indemnity from Firuz Khan but does not say that it was given back to him.

of Sultān Mahmūd At the same time, Masa'ūd Khān, the Shāhzāda of Mālwa, fled from his own country, and came (to Sultān Ahmad) for protection The Sultān advanced with a well-equipped army, and ¹ took possession of the greater part of the country of Mālwa, and intended to place Shāhzāda Masa'ūd Khān on the throne of his great ancestors At this time, by a strange mischance, a great pestilence made its appearance in Sultān Ahmad's army, so that people had no time for placing the dead into shrouds, and for burying them In the course of two days some thousands of people died, and the Sultān himself having been attacked, had against his wishes to return to Gujrat He gave hopes of being able to help Masa'ūd Khān in the course of the next year The particulars of this brief statement have been narrated in greater detail in the section about Mālwa

Fate did not give a further lease of life to Sultān Ahmad, and he passed away on the ² 4th of Rabī'-ul-ākhir in the year 846 A.H. (4th July 1443 A.D.) He was born in the metropolitan city of Dehlī on the night of Friday the 19th of Dhī-hijjah in the year 793 A.H., and this has been referred to on a preceding page.³ They say that from the time of his attaining to majority, till the time of his death, he had never omitted to perform the prescribed religious duties. He

¹ Firishtah narrates the different operations of the campaign, and it appears from what he says that Sultān Ahmad was not so successful as Nirām-ud-din wants to make out. In fact according to Firishtah, Sultān Mahmūd (the usurper) was well able to withstand the Gujāt forces, as well as those raised by 'Umar Khān, a son of Sultān Hūshang. It appears from Firishtah that there was famine in the Gujrāt camp before the plague broke out, while Sultān Mahmūd was well provided with food and ammunition. As to the plague (وباء), Firishtah says that it rarely occurs in India (بساں نہ ملتا). Col. Briggs has a note about this (p. 34, vol. IV), the meaning of which is not quite clear to me. The Cambridge History of India, page 299, calls Mahmūd Khaljī a cousin of Ghaznī Khān.

² The Cambridge History of India, page 300, gives August 16th, 1442, as the date of his death.

³ There are some differences in the readings. One MS has after طریقہ دھر ہو نادشلا سسندیدہ اطوار و مائیں بطاعت نود، ارو و صاد سسند the sentence from نادشلا to نود. The 11th ed. has after گست محفون نویں نادشلا دسندیدہ و نک کردار نود گویند نادشلا دسندیدہ و نک کردار نود. I have adopted the reading of the first MS.

was a *badshah* of agreeable manners just and god fearing He attained to sovereignty in his 22nd year and he ruled his kingdom for 32 years and six months and twenty days He was buried in the centre of Ahmadabad After his death he has been mentioned in letters and *farmanas* as *Akhdaigan Maghfur* (the pardoned Lord)

AN ACCOUNT OF GHIYAS UD DUNIYA WAD DIN MUHAMMAD SHAH, SON OF AHMAD SHAH

When ¹ two or three days mourning was over the *amirs* and the *rajas* and the great men of the city and the well known men of the kingdom placed Shahzada Muhammad Khan on the throne of the empire on the 7th of Rabi ul akhir in the year 846 A.H. (7th July 1443 A.D.) and gave him the title of Ghiyas ud dunya wad din Muhammad Shah The ceremonies of offering presents and thank offerings were carried out The gold that was showered over the royal umbrella was distributed among the meritorious people The Sultan conferred distinctions on the *amirs* and the great men of the kingdom by conferring titles and high appointments on them From the time of his accession the kingdom gained a new grandeur and greater splendour He opened his hands with such liberality that the common people gave him the name of Muhammad Shah ² *Zarbalhsh* i.e. the giver of gold On the 20th Ramidan in the year 849 A.H. Muhammad Shah had a son born to him and the prince

¹ In the text edition ~~one~~ ~~and~~ three days only is adopted

² The Mirat-i-Sikandari (Bayley page 1-5) gives 845 A.H. as the year of the accession of Muhammad Shah but his *com* (see Thomas' Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi page 33) gives the name and title as it is given in the text and the date of the accession as the 3rd Rabi ul akhir 846 The Mirat-i-Sikandari (Bayley p 19) gives him credit for his liberality but says he gave himself up to pleasure and ease but the capacity of his understanding did not attain to the lofty heights of the concerns of the state

³ There is a very great difference between the accounts of this reign as given by Nizam ud din and by Fir htah respectively According to the latter it was in the year of the accession and not after three years that Muhammad Shah invaded Idar and espoused the Ray's daughter According to Bayley (p 19) the version in the Tabakat-i probably correct The Cambridge History of India page 300 says Muhammad Shah was surnamed *Larim* or the Generous This is scarcely correct He was popularly called *Zarbalhsh* and after his death he was called *Akhdaigan Karim*

received the name of Mahmūd Khān The Sultān gave grand entertainments, and conferred rewards and favours on the *amīns* and the great men of the kingdom

After the time of the entertainments was over, in the same year he advanced to the country of Īdar, in order to devastate it, and he did not omit a single *minutia* in the practices of plunder and rapine. ¹ Rāy Harī, son of Pūnjā, Rāja of Īdar, came forward in great distress, and brought his daughter in the shape of tribute. That lady owing to her great beauty kept Muhammad Shāh bound to her by her personal charm. After some days she prayed that the fort of Īdar might be bestowed on her father. The Sultān gave the fort of Īdar to Har Rāy and advanced towards the country of ² Bākur, and Ganēsā, the Rāja of Dūngarpūr, fled and concealed himself in the caverns in the ³ hilly country. When he saw that the country was suffering from the ravages of calamities, he came out, and through the intervention of ⁴ Malik Mīr Sultānī, who had the title of Khān Jahān did homage to the Sultān, and having paid tribute kept his kingdom in safety. From that place Sultān Muhammad Shāh returned to Ahmadābād. ⁵ He advanced in the year 853 A H, (1449 A D), to

¹ The Cambridge History of India here calls the son of Pūnjā, Raja Bir, though on page 298 it had called him Harī Rāi. Earlier, Har Rāy (*vide p. 211*)

² It is written as بَكُور in the MSS., and is so printed in the lith ed. Firishtah does not mention the place. Bayley (p. 130) has Bāgar. According to the Cambridge History of India, page 300, "Muhammad next attacked at Bāgor, Rānā Kūmbha of Mewār, who fled and took refuge with the Rāwal of Dūngarpur, the chief of his house, but afterwards appeared before the invader, and purchased peace with a heavy indemnity." This does not agree with the text, according to which it was Ganēsā of Dūngarpūr, (and not Kūmbhā of Mēwār) who paid the tribute. In the text-edition the name of the King is كیانی

³ One MS. inserts ملک و کوہستان

⁴ ملک سر in the text-edition

⁵ I have already noted that there is considerable difference between the accounts of this reign as given by Nizām ud-dīn and by Firishtah. According to the latter the expedition to Chāmpānīr took place in 954 A H and not in 953 A H. The Rāja of Chāmpānīr is called کانگداس, Kangdās in the lith ed. of Firishtah and Gangadas by Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 35). The Cambridge History of India, page 301, calls him Gangādās, but the name can only be transliterated as Kankdās, Kangdās, or Gangdās and not as Gangādās. He is said after the

conquer the fort of Champaur and when by successive marches he arrived in its neighbourhood Ray Kank Das the Raji sallied out of the fort with his men and fought bravely but in the end he fled and re entered the fort Sultan Muhammad blockaded the fort from all sides and employed all his energy in capturing it Ray Kank Das sought the intervention of Sultan Mahmud Khalji and asking him to his aid agreed to pay a *lakh* of *tankas* at every stage as a contribution towards his expenses Sultan Mahmud Khalji being tempted by the money advanced to help and support him When he arrived in the town of Dabud Sultan Muhammad rising from the foot of the fort

battle to have been driven into the hill fortresses of Pavagarh (?) Pavangar the fort of the wind Then as regards the invasion of Sultan Mahmud Khalji Frishtah says that as soon as Sultan Muhammad heard of it he set fire to his surplus tents and other equipage because many of the beasts of burden in his camp had perished on account of hard work and there was also a certain amount of faint heartedness and commenced to retire And although his amirs incited him to carry on the war he did not agree and retired with precipitation towards Ahmadabad Then when the Sultan of Malwa again advanced with a hundred thousand men to conquer Gujrat Sultan Muhammad could not be induced by his amirs to fight against him and in fact wanted to flee to Dip Then the amirs went to his wife and asked her whether she wanted that her husband should live or that Gujrat should be lost to the dynasty The queen had to agree and the amirs gave him poison in his food and he was killed on the 7th of Muharram A H 8 o 1st February 141

His reign according to Frishtah extended to eight years and nine months and fourteen days Col Briggs (vol IV p 36) reduces the period of his reign by ten days and says in a note that according to the Moontukhiboot Towareekh he died on the 10th Muharram A H 8 o 1st February 141

Bayley (p 13) says that the Sultan advised the advice of a *balal* or grain dealer and the latter advised him to place his treasures and family on board ships and amuse himself with fishing The Sultan accepted this advice and commenced secretly to make his preparations but Said Ala ullah one of the great nobles came to know of this and advised the *balal* why he gave such advice The man replied that as the Sultan did not ask the advice of the amirs but of a man like him he gave him such advice as he considered best Then Said Ala ullah told the King's son what his father intended to do and advised him what he would do if he was in his father's place The prince said he would fight for his kingdom and if necessary die on the battlefield Then poison was given to Sultan Muhammad (pp 133 134)

The Cambridge History of India page 301 says nothing about poison being given to the Sultan and says he died on the 10th February 141

retired towards Ahmadābad He halted in the village of ¹ Kothiāh, and busied himself with the mustering of troops, and the collection of materials of war and of the arms and weapons of offence Sultān Mahmūd Khaljī also stopped at the place where he had arrived, and did not advance any further

In the month of Muḥarram 855 A.H., Sultān Muḥammad Shāh accepted the summons of the just God After his death in formal matters people have written of him as *Khudāngān Karīm* (the merciful Lord) The period of his rule was seven years and nine months and four days

² AN ACCOUNT OF THE REIGN OF SULTĀN QUTB-UD-DIN AHMAD SHĀH, SON OF MUHAMMAD SHĀH, SON OF AHMAD SHĀH, SON OF MUHAMMAD SHĀH, SON OF MUZAFFAR SHĀH

The *amīns* and the great men carried out the rites of mourning for three days, and then on the 4th day, which was the ³ 11th of Muḥarram in the year 855 A.H., they placed the eldest son of Sultān Muḥammad Shāh, who was in his twentieth year, on the throne of empire, and they gave him the title of Sultan Qutb-ud-din Ahmad Shāh His name is Ahmad but he is celebrated by his title At the time of his accession, they carried out the rite of *Nīzāhā*, wave offering, and they distributed the gold to the deserving men of the country of Gujrāt, and made them happy and contented He made the *amīns* and the great men of the kingdom happy by royal gifts, and titles and high appointments

¹ The place is called Godhra in the Cambridge History of India, page 301, and it is said there, that Muḥammad in spite of his illness advanced as far as Godhra to meet Sultan Mahmūd Khaljī and the latter on hearing this retired to Mandū

² The headings in the MSS., and in the 1st ed., all give the whole genealogy فاطمہ سلطان ساہان و طب الدین س مہمود سانی فریشتہ کراچی

³ Firishtah does not mention the date of the accession, but Col. Briggs (vol. IV p. 37) says indirectly that he was born on the 8th of Jumad-oos Sany, 855 A.H., and he ascended the throne in the 49th year of his age As a matter of fact he was born on the 12th Jamādi-ul-ākhir, 835 A.H. and ascended the throne in his 20th year

It so happened that when Sultan Muhammad Shah died and Sultan Quṭb ud din took his place Sultan Mahmud Khalji who had come to aid the Ray of Chāmpānur¹ and was still on the boundary of Gujrat thinking that (the conquest of the country) would be within his power advanced into the country with great rapidity On the day on which he arrived in the neighbourhood of Baroda a mast elephant belonging to his army entered the village of Barnama The *zunnardars* (Brahmans) of Barnāma killed the elephant and the driver The Sultan was amazed at the boldness of the *raiyats* and ordered that in revenge the town of Barnama should be destroyed

As it was yet the beginning of the reign of Quṭb ud din and Sultan Mahmud had invaded the country with great strength and violence² Sultan Quṭb ud din consulted with a *baqal* (grain dealer) who held a position of great proximity (to his person) in his service The *baqal* said The best course would be that the Sultan should withdraw into the country of Sorath When Sultan Mahmud should go back to his own country after leaving an army in Gujrat the Sultan would be able to drive away those troops with ease Sultan Quṭb ud din made inquiries of the truth of this and wanted to act accordingly The *amirs* however did not allow him to do so but took him along to carry on the war When they gained the victory

¹ Contrary to what is stated in the text the Cambridge History of India page 301 say Sultan Mahmud Khalji advanced from Mandu with an army of one hundred thousand horse and five hundred elephants

One MS and the lith ed have بودا Baroda while the other MS has بودا Baroda I have adopted Baroda which is the name by which the place is known though I have heard that Barodra is the correct ancient name

² The story of the *baqal* is mentioned by Firishtah in much the same language as in the text Col Briggs gives a slightly different version in which he says that the Sultan was advised by some of his courtiers to retreat to Sorat (in a note Western Guzerat called also Kattywar) and allow the king of Malwa to occupy for the present the eastern provinces etc It will be remembered (see note page 200) that in the *Mirat-i-Sikandari* a *baqal* is said to have given somewhat similar advice to Sultan Muhammad the father of Sultan Quṭb ud din The *Mirat-i-Sikandari* does not say that Sultan Quṭb ud din sought the advice of the *baqal* but apparently a *baqal* was consulted either by the father or by the son

they were angry with the *baqāl* and questioned him. He said, "If the Sultan had the wish to fight, he would have consulted you. As he wanted to flee he asked me."

In short Sultan Qutb-ud-din met Sultan Mahmūd in the village of ¹ Kaparbanj which is twenty *laiōhs* from Ahmadābād. At this place ² Malik 'Alā'-ud-din Shihāb, who was the *thānādār* of Sultānpur, and who had been compelled to join Sultan Mahmūd, fled from him, and waited on Sultan Qutb-ud-din. He was honoured by having seven robes of honour conferred on him in the course of a day, and received the title of 'Alā'-ul-mulk. As there was now a distance of three *laiōhs* between the two armies, Sultan Mahmūd wrote this couplet and sent it to Sultan Qutb-ud-din.

— — — — —

¹ The name is كپر بنج and کپر بچ in the MSS. and کپر بچ in the lith ed. The correct name appears to be کپر بچ Kaparbanj. The Cambridge History of India, page 301 calls it Kapadvanj كپاربنج in the text edition.

² Bayley (p. 135) quoting from the *Tūrīkh-i-Balādīn Shāhī* says that 'Alā-ud-din "shut the gate of the fort (of Sultānpur) in his face and opened fire both with guns and musketry. Mahmūd Khilji besieged the place for seven days. After that through the mediation of Mubārik Khān, son of Ahmad Shāh and uncle of Kutb ud-din, who had gone to Sultan Mahmūd at Mandū during the previous reign, and had joined his court", he surrendered the fort, and joined Sultan Mahmūd Khilji's service. When asked to swear allegiance to the latter, he swore it in an evasive language. The Cambridge History of India, page 301, calls the fort Nadarbān (or Nandurbān and not Sultānpur), and says that 'Alā-ud-din Suhrāb made no attempt to hold it, but surrendered it at once, and sought his own safety by swearing allegiance to the invader, and entering his service. It goes on to say that after this, Sultan Mahmūd Khalji marched on Broach, and summoned Marjān the governor to surrender it. Marjān refused, and Muhammād was about to besiege the town when, by the advice of 'Alā-ud-din Shihāb, he decided, instead to attack the capital at once, and marched to Baroda, where he was joined by Gangādās of Chāmpāner and other chiefs. Crossing the Māhi river he advanced to Kapadvanj, where 'Alā-ud-din deserted him and joined his old master. Nothing of this appears in the *Tabaqāt* or in *Firishtah*. The *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī* has a long account of Kutb ud-din's going to a *faqīh* or saint to intercede for him. At last we come to the fact that 'Alā-ud-din returned to his old master, and was received with favour. He told Kutb ud-din that Sultan Mahmūd was advancing by Kaparbanj, and advised him to proceed thither (p. 143).

Couplet

¹ I hear you play the ball without a *chaugan* in your house
If you wish to challenge come this is the ball and this the field

Sultan Qutb ud din ordered Sadr Jahan to write a reply to the couplet Sadr Jahan wrote in reply

Couplet

If a *chaugan* I take in my hand thy head like a ball shall I hurl
But I am ashamed to torment my prisoner in this way

In this couplet there is a hint to the fact that Sultan Hushang who was the master and patron of Sultan Mahmud had been captured and had been kept as a prisoner by Sultan Muzaffar Shah who had however afterwards treated him with favour and had given back to him the kingdom of Malwa as the pen has conveyed this meaning in the account of the reign of Muzaffar Shah After this after some days on the night of the 3rd Safar Sultan Mahmud mounted with the intention of making a surprise night attack ³ but being defeated went away to Malwa as has been described in detail in the section about Malwa On the way the Kohls and Bhils greatly harassed (Sultan Mahmud's army) Sultan Qutb ud din returned to Ahmadabad his capital crowned with victory and triumph

After a time the *ta'irs* said that ⁴ Firuz Khan son of Shams Khan Dandani who was the ruler of Nagor had died His brother Mujahid Khan took possession of Nagor and Shams Khan his son for fear of his ⁵ uncle had fled and sought the protection of Rana Kumbha son

¹ There are some verbal differences in the couplet as given in the MSS and in the lith ed and in the lith ed of Firishtah I have adopted the version which appeared to me to be the best

Firishtah has *مُرْسَلٌ* towards the end of Safar and the Cambridge History of India page 301 says that the abortive night attack was made on the night of the 1st April 1401

³ Firishtah and the Cambridge History of India page 301 give somewhat detailed account of the abortive night attack and the battle which took place on the following morning

⁴ Firuz Khan died in 860 A.H. 143 A.D.

⁵ Both MSS and the lith ed have *مُرْسَلٌ* brother which is of course incorrect Firishtah has *مُرْسَلٌ* *مُرْسَلٌ* in the text edition

of Rānā Mūkul Rānā Kūmbhā determined that he would recover Nāgōī from the possession of Mujāhid Khān, and make it over to Shams Khān, but on the condition that the latter would demolish three of the turrets of the citadel of Nāgōī His reason for this was that before this Rānā Mūkul had fled in great distress and disgrace from Firūz Khān, and in that battle thrice thousand Rājpūts had been slain, and if now his son demolished three of the bastions of the fort, the people of the world would say that, although Rānā Mūkul had fled, yet he having acquired power over the fort had had his revenge Shams Khān, who was helpless, accepted this condition in his great distress After some days Rānā Kūmbhā having collected troops marched against Nāgōī and Mujāhid Khān being unable to meet him, went and begged for help from Sultān Mahmūd Khaljī Shams Khān then went and took possession of the fort of Nāgōī Rānā Kūmbhā sent him a message, that he should now carry out his promise Shams Khān summoned the *amīns* and the heads of the clans and brought up the matter for discussion Some of them said that it was a matter of pity that Firūz Khān had not begotten a daughter, so that she might have saved the honour of the family Shams Khān replied in a spirit of shame and self depreciation and anger and said that it was not possible that any part of the fort should be demolished, till many heads should have been cut off Rānā Kūmbhā on hearing this news went back to his own country, and having collected a large army again advanced on Nāgōī Shams Khān having repaired the ruined parts of the fort, left all his army and the heads of the clans in it, and himself went on wings of speed to Ahmadābād to seek for help Sultān Quṭb-ud-dīn Ahmad Shāh conferred many favours on him, and married his daughter in the *nikāh* form After the marriage festivities were finished, he sent ¹ Rāy Rām Chand Nāik, and Malik Gadāī and some other *amīns* to reinforce the men of Nāgōī, and kept Shams Khān in attendance on himself till the day, when it was reported to him, that Rānā Kūmbhā had fought with the men of Nāgōī, and had slain a large number of them, and had devastated wherever there was any cultivation and people outside the fort

¹ رائے امین چند نایک in the text-edition

On hearing this news the spirit of anger and daring of Sultan Quṭb ud din was excited and he advanced against the fort of ¹ Kum bhalmir in the year 860 A.H. When he arrived in the vicinity of the fort of Ābu Gita Deorah the Rāja of the fort came out and did homage and represented that Rana Kumbha had taken the fort from him by force and had left his own *thanadar* there. Sultan Quṭb ud din appointed Malik Sha būn Sultāni who had the title of Imad ul mulk in charge of the fort of Ābu and himself advanced towards his original destination. Malik Imad ul mulk who was inexperienced immediately commenced a battle and had a large number of his men slain. When this news reached the Sultan he declared that he would at the time of his return capture the fort of Ābu and make it over to Gita Deorah. He sent a messenger to summon Imad ul mulk and himself advanced to seize the fort of Sirobi. When he arrived in its neighbourhood the Rāja engaged him in a battle and was defeated.

From that place the Sultan invaded the country of Rana Kumbha and sent troops in all directions so that they might ravage the country and destroy the temples. When he arrived at the fort of Kumbhalmir Rana Kumbha sallied out of the fort set the fire of warfare ablaze and having had a large number of his followers slain

¹ Called Kumbhalgarh in the Cambridge History of India page 30. Bayley page 149 calls it Kombh lmur and says in a note quoting Tod's Rajasthan Chapter VIII that it was one of the 32 fortresses erected by Rana Kumbha. In Ras Mala (vol I p 3) it is called Komulmer and it is said to be the greatest of the 32 fortresses attributed to Koombho. Altogether there are 84 fortresses erected for the defence of Mewar. The correct name of Rana Koombho appears according to an inscription in a temple which stands at the village called Raipoor about five miles from the town of Sadee or Saduree in Mewar to have been Rana Shree Koombh Kurn or according to correct transcription Rana Sr Kumbhakarna (note on page 353).

The Cambridge History of India make no mention of the incident which took place at the fort of Abu. Firishtah does but he says nothing about the Rāja rendering homage to the Sultan. The name of the Rāja of Ābu is given in the MSS as કુમબ લાલ and in the 16th ed as કુમબ લાલ. In the Mirat-i-Sikandar (Bayley page 149) he is called Khatia Deorah Rajah of Sirohi. This can scarcely be correct as the Rāja of Sirohi appears to have fought with Qutb ud din and to have been defeated by him.

again returned into the fort. He, however, sent out parties every day, and fought battles and each time defeat fell on him. In the end, Kūmbhā came forward in distress and humility, and offered suitable tribute. The Sultan then returned to Ahmadābād.

¹ At the end of the year, Sultan Mahmūd Khaljī sent ² Tāj Khān who was one of his great *amirs*, to the boundary of Gujrat, to knock at the door of peace. The *amirs* and the chief men of Gujrat induced Sultan Qutb-ud-din for the benefit of the people, to agree to the treaty. ³ Shaikh Nizām-ud-din and the prince of the learned men Sadī Jāhān came to Chāmpānī from the side of Sultan Mahmūd, and Qādī Hisām-ud-din and some others went from Ahmadābād. They drew up the treaty in this way, that the armies of Sultan Qutb-ud-din should plunder and ravage such parts of the territories of Rānā Kūmbhā as were contiguous to Gujrat and Sultan Mahmūd should seize ⁴ the country of Mewār and Amhar and the neighbouring countries. (It was also agreed that) whenever necessary they should not fail to give help and assistance to each other. Letters of peace

¹ According to the Cambridge History of India, page 302, Ghīyās ud-dīn, son of Mahmūd Khaljī, led a raid into his dominions as far as Sūrat, but retired hurriedly on hearing of Qutb ud dīn's return, and it was after this that Sultan Mahmūd Khaljī sent the mission to propose a treaty of peace. The raid led by Ghīyās-ud dīn is not mentioned in the text or in Firishtah or in the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī or in Rās Mālā.

² Firishtah says Tāj Khān was the *میر*, minister in charge of all departments of Sultan Mahmūd Khaljī. Neither the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī nor the Cambridge History of India gives the name of the ambassador.

³ The names of the men sent to draft the treaty do not appear to be mentioned in any other history.

⁴ The lith ed of Firishtah has میوات و امہر و فرمانی ملاد, and Col Briggs the districts of Mewar and Aheerwara. The other histories do not give the names of the districts which were to be ravaged respectively by the Gujrat and Mālwa armies. The Cambridge History of India, page 302, says, that the western part of the Rānā's dominion were allotted to Gujrat, and the eastern parts to Mālwa. The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī (Bayley, page 150) is less definite. According to it, Sultan Mahmūd Khaljī would assail the Rānā from one side and Sultan Kutb ud dīn from the other. Rās Mālā (vol I, p 333) says that the treaty was to the effect that Rānā Koombho's dominion should be partitioned "between the two Mohammedan powers."

containing these terms were written and made over to the great men of the age.

In the year 861 A.H. (1451 A.D.) Sultan Qutb ud din agün marched to invade Kumbhalmer and on the way he took the fort of Abu and according to his promise delivered it over to Gita Deorah. From Abu he advanced towards Kumbhalmer and Rana Kumbha left that place and retired to the fort of Chitor. On the way he saw an uneven and difficult place and halted there. After the two armies had met the fire of war blazed up but when night came they retired to their respective places. On the next day the battle began again and Sultan Qutb ud din himself fought like Rustam. Rana Kumbha then hid himself in the hills and sent emissaries and begged for pardon. He sent ¹ four maunds of gold and some elephants and other tribute and entered into an engagement that he would after that never again cause any injury to the country of Nagor. Sultan Qutb ud din returned with victory and triumph and went back to Ahmadabad.

But three months had not yet elapsed when news came that Rana Kumbha was again attempting with an army of fifty thousand horsemen to devastate Nagor. The same day that the news came ² the Sultan came out of Ahmadabad and halted for a month outside the city for the purpose of mustering his troops. Rana Kumbha hearing the news of the Sultan's preparations retired to his own station and took up his position there. Sultan Qutb ud din also on hearing the news returned and entered the city and spent his time in pleasure and enjoyment.

¹ First Shah makes it fourteen *ma'as* of gold and two large elephant and other fine things. Col Briggs (vol IV p 4) says that 14 maunds of solid gold and two elephants which carried were paid to Koott Shah and a sea noble donation was also made to Sultan Mahmood Khilji but that was after the latter had advanced on Chitor.

First Shah makes it fourteen *ma'as* of gold and two large elephant and other fine things. Col Briggs (vol IV p 4) says that 14 maunds of solid gold and two elephants which carried were paid to Koott Shah and a sea noble donation was also made to Sultan Mahmood Khilji but that was after the latter had advanced on Chitor.

In the beginning of the year ¹ 862 A H, the Sultān made a strong resolution to punish the *zamīndārs* and marched to Sirōhī. The ² Rāja who was a relation of Rānā Kūmbhā fled to the hills, and took shelter there and for the third time Sirōhī was burnt down, and the other towns were raided and ravaged. Then (the Sultān) sent detachments to ravage the dominions of Rānā Kūmbhā, and himself advanced to the fort of Kūmbhalmī. At this time intelligence came that Sultān Mahmūd Khaljī had advanced towards the fort of Chitōi, by way of Mandsūr, and seized all the *parganas* near the last-named place. Sultān Qutb-ud-dīn now besieged the Rānā in the fort of Kūmbhalmī with a firm determination, but as a considerable time elapsed, and he knew that it would be difficult to seize it, he gave up the siege, and advanced towards the fortress of Chitōi, and after plundering and ravaging the country around it, ³ went back to Ahmadābād. To everyone of the soldiers whose horses had become disabled during the campaigns, the Sultān gave the price of one from the treasury, and thought it proper, in this way, to show kindness to them. Rānā Kūmbhā sent ambassadors after the Sultān and in great humility and distress prayed to be excused for his offences, and the Sultān again drew the pen of forgiveness across his guilt, and sent back the ambassadors, pleased and happy.

And again in the year 863 A H, the Sultān wanted to march with his army, but he happened to fall ill. He then went one day to see Sayyid Muhammad, who was celebrated as Qutb-i-‘Ālam, who lived in peace and contentment in the town of Batūh, and resolved in his mind, how nice it were if the holy and high God should bestow on him a

¹ The year is اَنْتِين و سَعْدَيْن و تِمَايَّة in both MSS., (one of which also gives it in figures, 872), and in the lith ed., but this is incorrect, the correct year being 862 A H or perhaps 861 A H. Firishtah has 861, Col Briggs 861 A H, 1457 A D, and the Cambridge History of India, 1456 as the year of the destruction of Sirōhī. The Mīrāt-i-Sikandarī (Bayley) has 862 A H, 1456 as the year. It will be seen that later on the MSS and the lith ed give the correct year 863 A H.

² He is called Sains Mal in the Cambridge History of India, page 302. I cannot find his name anywhere else.

³ Firishtah says that Sultān Qutb ud dīn returned to his capital with عَنْيَمَت يَقِيَّا س, i.e., plunder that could not be conceived, but contrary to that Col Briggs (vol IV, p 42) says that the Rāna gave fourteen maunds of solid gold and two elephants. See note 1, page 233.

worthy son His Holiness the Sayyid the beloved of God may God sanctify his tomb¹ knew what was in the Sultan's mind by his spiritual illumination and said Your younger brother who is like your son will keep the dynasty of Muzaffar Shah alive The Sultan rose in despondence and day by day his illness increased He died on the 123rd Rajah of the afore mentioned year and was buried in the enclosure of Sultan Muhammad Shah's tomb In proclamations and *farmans* they styled him Sultan Ghazi The period of his reign was² seven years and six months and thirteen days He was a *badshah* noted for his bravery and high spirits but at the times when the fire of his wrath flamed up and specially when he was intoxicated with wine he did many evil deeds and was greedy and reckless in killing and shedding blood

When Sultan Qutb ud din died his *amirs* put Shams Khan son of Firuz Khan to death on the suspicion that his daughter who was a *mukāh* wife of the Sultan had given him poison and the mother of the Sultan made her over to the slave girls who tore her to pieces and thus killed her with torment

³ AN ACCOUNT OF SULTAN DAUD SHAH SON OF AHMAD SHAH SON OF MUHAMMAD SHAH SON OF MUZAFFAR SHAH

When the *amirs* and the pillars of the state and the great men of the kingdom had carried out the ceremonies of mourning for

¹ Col Briggs gives the 9th May 1459 as the date of his death whereas the Cambridge History of India page 303 has May 18th 1458 Neither the Mirat-i-Sikandari nor Ras Mala gives the date of his death or the period of his reign but the former has some curious stories about his wounding himself in the knee but (Bayley p 158) quoting the Tarikh-i-Bahadur Shah says that Shams Khan's daughter gave him poison at the instigation of her father Firishtah's account of the way in which Shams Khan and his daughter were murdered is somewhat different as regards the particulars The Cambridge History of India page 303 says Qutb ud din's office at Nagaur put Shams Khan to death which cannot be correct if it implies that he was put to death at Nagor As regards his daughter it says that she was made over to her jealous co-wives Firishtah does say that she was made over to her co-wives دل بردہ اور حرسن کے but the statement are hardly identical

Firishtah has seen years and seven months

³ There are slight differences in the heading I have translated it as it is in one MS The other MS omits the word سلطان and the 1st ed substitute سلطانی for سلطان

Sultān Qutb-ud-dīn, they placed Shāhzāda Dāūd Khān, son of Ahmad Shāh, who was the uncle of the deceased Sultān on the throne of empire. As the recorder of destiny and fate had not written the order of *saltanat* against his name, he began to commit unworthy deeds and to perpetrate wicked acts. Some acts, which bore the suspicion of meanness of spirit were perpetrated by him from time to time and became the cause of the abhorrence of the people.¹ For instance, he made the promise of conferring the title of 'Imād-ul-mulk on a ²*farrāsh* who was his neighbour at the time when he was a Shāhzāda and the *amīs* and great men seeing such ³ ill-regulated acts of his, became annoyed with him, and they directed, that he should be excused from the work of government. They sent Mahk⁴ Alā-ul-

¹ There is a difference in the readings. Both the MSS have ایساً بکی اور اداہ و مراشی، but the lith ed has ارادہ و مراشی

² The man was a *farrāsh*. A *farrāsh* is a kind of cotton cloth which is spread on the ground for people to sit upon, and the *farrāsh* strictly speaking, is a man who spreads such cloth and keeps it in his charge, and generally, a man who keeps the house and the furniture in it swept and garnished. He is, however, different from an ordinary sweeper and Col Briggs (vol IV p 45) is wrong in calling him 'one of the common sweepers of the household'. Bayley (p 159) calls him more correctly a carpet spreader, and unlike Finishtah, who says that Sultān Dāūd conferred the title of Imād ul-mulk on the man, and made him one of the great *amīs*, agrees with Nizām ud dīn, and says he only held out the hope of granting the title to him. The Cambridge History of India is indefinite, and says that the new Sultān conferred high honours on unworthy favourites. Sultān Dāūd's act was unconventional, and must have given umbrage to the *amīs* as a body but it did not, I think, involve any moral turpitude.

³ One MS and the lith ed have ملکہ سماں, but the other MS مالیم I have adopted the former

⁴ Mahk 'Alā ul-mulk in one MS and in the lith ed, but Mahk 'Imād ul-mulk in the other MS. There is a good deal of confusion about this. Finishtah lith ed, says nothing about anybody being sent to the mother of Sultān Qutb ud dīn, but says that by the advice of 'Imād ul-mulk, they raised Mahmūd Khān, the younger brother of Sultān Qutb ud-dīn, who was in his fourteenth year to the throne. The Cambridge History of India, page 303, says that the *amīs* raised his (which would mean Dāūd's, which is certainly incorrect) younger brother Abu'l Fath Mahmūd on the throne. Bayley (p 160) says that the *amīs* deputed 'Ala ul Mulk bin Suhiāb to the mother of Fateh Khān I have adopted 'Ala ul-mulk علامہ الامک has been adopted in the text edition

mulk *bin* Suhrab to the palace of Makhдумا जहान the widow of Sultan Muhammad who was a ¹ daughter of one of the Sultans of *Hind* so that he might bring Shahzada Fath खान son of Muhammad Shah and all of them combined together to place him on the throne Makhдумا जहान said in reply Please keep your hands off my son for he has not the strength to bear this heavy burden It so happened however that Malik Ala ul mulk went privately to wait on Shahzada Fath खान and made him mount a horse and took him to the royal palace The other *amirs* hastened to wait on him and carried out the ceremony of congratulating him and on that very day which was Sunday the first of Sha han of that year placed him on the throne of empire and gave him the title of Sultan Mahmud

³ seven days.

⁴ AN ACCOUNT OF SULTAN MAHYUD SHAH SON OF MUHAMMAD SHAH

When Sultan Mahmud ascended the throne of Cujrat on Sunday
the ⁵ first day of Sha han 863 A H according to the advice and counsel

¹ According to the *Mati Sikandar Bayley* page 160 she was Bib Moghal who appears to have been a daughter of one of the Jams of Sind.

One MS and the lith ed have sons but the other MS has
sons

³ The period of the reign of Daud Shah is not mentioned by Fazl-i-Htah or by Col Briggs. The Mirat-i-Sikandari Bayley (p 160) agrees with Nizam ud-din and has seven days. Ra Mala says indefinitely only a few days but the Cambridge History of India page 303 give him a reign of no more than 27 days. This is incorrect and is contradicted by the fact that the date of the death of Qutb ud din is said in the same page to have been May 18th 1458 and that of the accession of Sultan Mahmud also on the same page May 9th. Unlike others Daud Shah does not appear to have come at once to a violent end. The Mirat-i-Sikandari Bayley (p 160) says Sultan Daud got out of a window facing the river Sabar and went into hiding. He reigned only seven days. It is related that he entered as an inquirer into the monastery of Shekh Adhan Rum and became one of his attendants in a short time he obtained advancement (in spiritual rank). He soon afterwards died.

⁴ That is the heading in both MSS. The 1st ed. has ذکر حل بفتح حل
المخطوب محمد بن سعيد بن احمد بن سعيد

⁵ Neither Fr. 11 tah nor Col. Brgg gives the date of the accession. The M. rats Sikandari give the same day and date as in the text and the corresponding A.D. date a 18th June 1459. R's Mala does not give the date.

of the *amirs*, and sat in the place of his father, he made the various sections of the people happy by his universal benefactions in accordance with their respective ranks. They say, that on that day, in addition to Arab, 'Iaqī and Turkī horses, and valuable robes of honour, and jewelled-belts and swords, and daggers embossed with gold, a *lāndī* of *tankas* was given away.

When six months had passed, ¹Malik Kabū Sultānī, who had the title of 'Add-ul-mulk, Maulānā Khīdrī, who had that of Safi-ul-mulk, Piārah Ismā'il, who bore that of Burhān-ul-mulk, and Jhajū Muhammad, who had that of Hisām-ul-mulk, from the wickedness of their natures and the refractoriness of their dispositions, prepared to create turmoil and disturbance. They resolved amongst themselves, that they would cause Malik Sha'bān ²'Imād-ul-mulk, in whose grasp of power the reins of the *rāzārat* were, to be removed (from his office), so that this wicked intention and dishonest determination of theirs might gain currency and success. In order to carry out this resolution, they represented (to the Sultan) in private, that 'Imād-ul-mulk wanted to place ³his own son, Shahāb-ud-dīn, on the throne, and like Malik Mughīth Khaljī has determined that the rule of the empire should be

The Cambridge History of India, page 303, does not give the A.H. date but gives an A.D. date different from that given by Bayley, viz., May 25th 1458

¹ The names and titles of the conspirators are the same in the MSS. and the lith. ed., except that the last name which is مُحَمَّد بَنْ يَحْيَى Jhajū Muhammad in the MSS. appears to be مُنْجَلِّي مُحَمَّد Manjhlū Muhammad in the lith. ed.

Firishtah mentions the first three of the conspirators by their titles alone. Col. Briggs gives the titles of all four. The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 163, gives slightly different names and titles, viz., Kabir-ud-din Sultānī entitled Burhān-ul Mulk, Maulāna Khīzr entitled Safi-ul-Mulk, Hāmid bin Ismā'il entitled 'Azd ul Mulk, and Khwājah Muhammad entitled Hisām-ul Mulk.

² This appears to be the same person who is designated عَلَى الْمُلْك عَمَادُ الْمُلْك earlier on. See note 4 on p. 236.

³ Firishtah and Col. Briggs and the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī (Bayley) all agree that the conspirators accused 'Imād ul mulk with the intention of raising his own son Shahāb ud din, on the throne, and Nizām ud din's reference to Malik Mughīth Khaljī confirms this, but the Cambridge History of India, page 303, says quite incorrectly, that the conspirators accused 'Imād ul-mulk of the determination of placing Sultan Mahmūd's own son, whom it gives the name of Shihāb ud din, and describes as an infant, on the throne, so that he might be able to govern the country as regent.

transferred to his own family Mahmud Shah told them that he had also inferred the same thing from Imad ul mulk's behaviour He gave orders for the latter being arrested and placed in confinement He was kept under guard on the upper floor of the gate of Ahmadabad The Sultan placed five hundred of the men whom he trusted to guard him Abd ul mulk and the other conspirators (thinking that they were quite) successful went to their own houses

It so happened however that Malik Ahd ul lab the superintendent of the elephants who was one of the men in whom the Sultan reposed confidence asked for a private audience and having reported the deceit and treachery of that deceitful crew stated that they had taken¹ Shahzada Hasan Khan to the house of one of themselves and having made asseverations and taking oaths had made the imprisonment of Imad ul mulk a means for attaining their own objects Sultan Mahmud made enquiries and having impressed the true state of things on his mind and keeping some of his old and faithful adherents such as

Haji and Malik Baha ud din and Malik Kalu and Malik Am ud din with him said to Malik Abd ul lab that he should get all the elephants ready and bring them to the *darbar* so that he might throw Imad ul mulk under the feet of an elephant He also ordered Malik Sharf ul mulk that he should bring the wicked and ungrateful Shahban to the *darbar* so that the superintendent of the elephants may throw him under the feet of an elephant When Malik Sharf ul mulk went to bring Imad ul mulk the guards said that they could not hand him over without the permission of Malik Abd ul mulk He came back and reported what the guards had said to the Sultan Sultan Mahmud then ascended to the top of the bastion and said in

¹ Firishtah also says that the conspirators wanted to raise prince Hasan Khan on the throne but Col Briggs (vol IV p 46) has changed the name to Hoossein The Mirat-i-Sikandar (Bayley p 164) however say that the conspirator wanted to raise Habib Khan on the *masnad* and Bayley say in a note that according to Firishtah and the Tarikh-i-Alfi the accession of Habib Khan was the real object of the plot The statement as far as Firishtah is concerned appears to me to be incorrect The Cambridge History of India page 303 agrees with Nizam ud din and Firishtah that it was Hasan Khan whom the conspirator wanted to place on the throne

² The name Haji without any prefix or suffix in the MSS as well as in the lith ed but Firishtah and the Mirat-i-Sikandar both call him Malik Haji

a loud voice "Bring Sha'bān quickly, and throw him under the feet of an elephant" When the men heard these words from the Sultān himself, a large number of people went and brought him When the Sultān's eye fell on him, he ordered "bring that wicked man here, so that I may ask him some questions" When they brought him up, (the Sultān was evidently standing on a platform), he ¹ ordered that the chain should be removed from the hands and neck of this faithful servant, so that he might inquire into the conduct of, and punish the wicked wretches Some of the connected *amīns* (*i.e.*, apparently those who were connected with the conspirators), who were occupied with the duty of guarding him, on seeing this threw themselves down from the top (of the bastion, or some platform some way up), and some of them raised a cry of mercy

When this news reached 'Add-ul-mulk and the other conspirators, they were amazed at the result of their action, and commenced to collect their retainers At the approach of the true dawn, Sultān Mahmūd came to the window of the *darbār-hall*, and saluted the people He placed the fly-whisk in the hand of 'Imād-ul-mulk, so that he might drive away the flies Malik 'Abd-ul-lah, the superintendent, had all the elephants there About three hundred (thirty hundred ²), men including both free men and slaves attended to perform the *kūnnish* (royal salute) ² At this time, the rebel *amīns* came towards

¹ The Sultān who was up to this time calling 'Imād-ul-mulk a *harām lhuār* (lit one who eats forbidden foods, a wicked wretch) now calls him according to the MSS *halāl lhuār* (lit one who eats unforbidden food, an honest man) The behaviour of the Sultān is somewhat enigmatical If as Firishtah says he had understood the deceit of the conspirators from the beginning, he acted with a good deal of dissimulation and astuteness for a lad of fifteen, and there is no other explanation Col Briggs (vol IV, p 47) says, "He had sufficient discretion to see the matter in its true light and at the same time too much prudence openly to avow his sentiments" Rās Mālā (vol I, p 355) says, that though only fourteen years of age he evinced a determination to protect a faithful minister against his enemies On the other hand, the Cambridge History of India, page 303, says that new to political intrigues, he believed the conspirators, but later on after consulting his mother and a few of his immediate attendants he determined on a course of action

² Somewhat contrary to this, Firishtah on the authority of Hājī Muhammad Qandahārī, says that the rebels came with thirty thousand horse and foot ready for battle, and that at that time there were not more than سو سی thirty

the *darbar hall* attended by the riff raff of the city and their own retainers When they came near Imd ul mulk and Malik Hajji and the other *sardars* with the immediate servants (of the Sultan) placed the elephants before them and made an attack on the rebels and Add ul mulk and the other traitors fled Their soldiers threw away their arms in the lanes of the city and hid themselves Out of the rebel *amirs* Hisam ud din went to his brother Rukn ud din who was the *lolual* of Pattan and from that place they both went away to Malwa Add ul mulk with a single retainer went among the *grassias* and as his retainers had slain some of the *grassias* of that neighbourhood they recognised him and slew him and they sent his head ¹ filled with turbulence to Ahmadabad As Burhan ul mulk was a man of big size he could not run away and concealed himself

hundred or three thousand men including free men and slave with the Sultan and they all washed their hands of their live and became thoroughly frightened Some said let us go into such and such a mansion and shut the doors and defend ourselves Others said let us collect as much of the jewels and treasure as we can and make our escape The Sultan did not approve of either of the counsels but armed himself and bound his quiver round his waist and with the thirty (three) hundred followers and the elephants which did not exceed two hundred in number came out of the palace to meet the rebels He posted the elephants at the heads of the various approaches so that the enemy might not attack from different sides and advanced with the greatest calmness and composure The people on seeing this immediately deserted the rebels and some joined the Sultan and others hid themselves Col Briggs account (vol IV p 48) agrees with the above but he makes the number of the rebels thirty thousand and that of the Sultan's followers 300 although in the Persian text the one is سی صد سوار و پیاده and the other سی هزار سوار و پیاده It must be said however that the number of the Sultan's followers is also given in the *Tabaqat as�س*

Bayley (p 165) also says that the Sultan's followers amounted only to three hundred in number and some of them suggested that they should get out of the palace by the windows on the side of the *Sabar(mati)* and collect men and then return but the Sultan did not listen to these cowards

¹ There is some difference in the readings The MSS have سر سر سر سر head filled with turbulence and سر سر سر سر head placed on an arrow and the lithed has سر سر سر سر which is not intelligible None of the readings is quite satisfactory but I have adopted the first Fishtah has سر اور سر سر سر having cut off his head

near the town of Saikhéj, in the uneven ground near the Sābarmati. It so happened that one of the eunuchs went to circumambulate the tomb of Shaikh Ahmad Khattū, may his soul be sanctified! He saw Burhān-ul-mulk seated there, and immediately seized him, and brought him to the *darbār*, where by order of the Sultān he was¹ executed Maulānā Khidī, Safi-ul-mulk,² was seized and sent to Dīp in imprisonment. As this disturbance was suppressed in this way, and friend was disengaged from foe³ ‘Imād-ul-mulk threw the skirt of his sash over the grandeur of the *vazārat*, and like men freed (of the cares of the world) he held his hand from all worldly affairs, and took kindly to the nook of contentment and⁴ seclusion, and relinquishing his *jāgī* became a beadsman.⁵ Sultān Mahimūd began to show favour to his soldiers, granted⁶ favours to fifty-two of his own servants, so that in the course of a short time, the number of his soldiers became double that of Sultān Qutb-ud-dīn and of the former Sultans. He conferred titles on all his own slaves, Malik Hājī was honoured with the title of ‘Imād-ul-mulk, and the office of the paymaster of the forces. Malik Bahā-ud-dīn was made Ikhtiyār-ul-mulk, Malik Tughān Faīhat-ul-mulk, Malik ‘Aīn-ud-dīn Nizām-ul-mulk, and Malik Sa‘ad Bakht Burhān-ul-mulk.

¹ Firishtah says فیل مسٹ اندھائے نا حاک یکسان ساختہ، i.e., he was trodden to death under the feet of a *mast* elephant.

² Firishtah says he was not executed as چون چندان گناہ نداشت، i.e., as he was not so guilty as the others.

³ According to Firishtah the Sultān did not forget ‘Imād ul mulk’s services و ساہان مدد و سر حقوق حدماب شایستہ او صادر دامتہ اورا معدور دامت و مر برگ او سہاب الدین احمد را ساہ ملک السرف دادہ ار امرای کلان گرداند.

⁴ The lith ed has کجھ before عرا، but as both the MSS omit it, I have also omitted it.

⁵ Some of these matters are mentioned with some variation in the Mirāt-i Sikandarī (Bayley, p 166)

⁶ It is not clear who these fifty-two servants or slaves were, and why the favours shown to them led to the increase in the number of troops. As to the increase the actual words are سمت ۸۵, in the MSS and بیعت ۸۵ in the lith ed I have adopted the readings of the MSS, and think that it means in the proportion of twenty to ten, i.e., double. Some of these events are mentioned in the Mirāt-i Sikandarī (Bayley, p 167).

¹ In the year 864 A H he marched in the direction of Kapurbinj and having gone hunting as far as the houndary of Malwa returned. In the course of this expedition he regulated the administration of the *thanas* and of the *parganas* and attended with care to the condition of the oppressed. In the year 866 A H he started from the capital city of Ahmadabad with the object of seeing the country and hunting and encamped on the bank of the river Khari which is fifteen *karsahs* from Ahmadabad. At this time he received a letter from ² Nizam Shah son of Humayun Shah the ruler of the Deccan in which after complaining (of the injuries he had received) at the hand of Sultan Mahmud Khalji he asked for assistance and reinforcement. ³ Mahmud Shah with a very large army and five hundred elephants advanced to help Nizam Shah. When he arrived at Nadarhar and Sultanpur another letter came (to the effect) that Sultan Mahmud Khalji in his pride of his large army had advanced against this *fazir* (i.e. he himself) by rapid marches and after the two armies had met in the first instance he was defeated and the soldiers of the writer plundered his camp and seized fifty elephants. But Sultan Mahmud came out of ambush with twelve thousand horsemen when his (*i.e.* Nizam Shah's) men were engaged in plundering Sikandar Khan Bukhari and Khwaja Jahan Turk (who were commanders of Nizam Shah's army) exerted themselves as much as they could (but) Sultan Mahmud

¹ This excursion is not mentioned by Firishtah or any other historian except the author of the *Mirat-i-Sikandari* (Bayley p. 170).

² The year is 866 in the MSS. but 865 in the 6th ed. Firishtah also has 866 and Col Briggs (vol. IV p. 49) 866 A H 1465 A D. Bayley (p. 175) also gives the same year and he calls the river Kahan and says on the authority of the *Tabakat-i-Akbari* it is eleven *kos* from Ahmadabad.

³ He was a mere child at this time and the government was carried on by his mother and the prime minister and there was a certain amount of jealousy and intrigue (see pp. 87-88 in the history of his reign).

⁴ Firishtah says that the *amirs* and the chief men of the city attempted to dissuade Mahmud Shah from going away on a distant expedition so soon after his accession specially as Daud Khan was attempting to recover the throne which he had occupied for a week but he did not agree with them and advanced arguments based on philosophical and humanitarian grounds in support of his determination. This is referred to by Col Briggs (vol. IV p. 49) but it does not appear to be mentioned in the *Mirat-i-Sikandari* or in the Cambridge History of India.

himself advancing within bowshot, shot an arrow, which hit the forehead of Sikandar Khān's elephant. The animal turned round, and caused much havoc to the Deccan army, and Sikandar Khān and Khwājah Jahān Turk seized the bridle of the *faqīr*'s horse, and started for Bīdār. The *faqīr* is at present at Firuzābād, and Sultān Mahmūd is besieging the city of Bīdār. As His Majesty has advanced in this direction, with the object of helping the *faqīr*, it is hoped that he would come with all rapidity.

Mahmūd Shāh directed his attention to the Deccan. He heard on the way that Sultān Mahmūd Khaljī had turned back and was going towards Mālwa. Mahmūd Shāh advanced into the country of Asīn and Burhānpūr that he might close the path¹ of his flight, and encamped in the neighbourhood of Tāhnūr, which is in the country of Asīn. Sultān Mahmūd Khaljī leaving the well-known road travelled by way of² Gōndwāna and owing to the difficulty of the road, and want of water, his men suffered great hardship. They say that more than thousand men perished for want of³ water. Mahmūd Shāh wrote and sent a letter to the effect, that "Whenever that⁴ pupil of the

¹ One MS. inserts درو^۱ between در^۲ and مسدوده^۳. I think this is correct and have inserted it, though it is not found in the other MS. and in the lith. ed.

² The Cambridge History of India (p. 304) instead of saying that Sultān Mahmūd Khaljī travelled through Gōndwānā like the other histories, says that he was compelled to retire through the Mahādeo hills into Northern Beiar where his army suffered severely both from want of water and from the attacks of the Korkūs. I have nowhere else come across the name of the Mahādeo hills or of the Korkūs. In the Persian text of *Muntūkhāb al-labāb*, edited by Sir W. Haig, the editor of the Cambridge History of India, the retreat of Sultān Mahmūd Khaljī (vol. III, p. 98), is said to have been through Gōndwāna and it is said that there was no sign of water along the route anywhere, and the troops are said to have suffered from thirst and at the hands of robbers roaming over the hills. In the Index of the Cambridge History of India the Mahādeo hills are mentioned only once in this particular place, and the Korkūs are mentioned only thrice. From one of these references (p. 358), it would appear that the "Korkūs" is only another name for the Gōndas.

³ One MS. adds را^۱ و تگی^۲, and the narrowing or difficulty of the road.

⁴ Both MSS. have ساخت^۱، مورید^۲ ساخت^۳. I have retained the latter, as it is the common form of the word which means hit the pupil of the eye, but is applied figuratively to some one who is very dear, such as one's son or daughter.

eve of empire shall have need for help and assistance he should notify the fact to the writer and there will be no neglect in according such help He then returned to Ahmadabad

¹ It is recorded by tradition that in this army there were eighty thousand well armed and picked horsemen with Mahmud Shah and that he had given away the whole of the country of Gujrat in jagir (fiefs) to the soldiers and there was not a single village as *Khula* or royal land and that in the course of four years he had disbursed a tenth part of the treasures left behind by his ancestors

In the year 867 A.D. another letter from Nizam Shah arrived to the effect that Sultan Mahmud Khalji had invaded the Deccan with ninety thousand horsemen and as the promise of help and assistance had been inscribed with the tongue of the pen the writer hoped that he would direct his great spirit to the fulfilment of that promise Mahmud Shah with a well equipped army marched towards the Deccan When he arrived at Sultanpur and Nadarbar Sultan Mahmud Khalji having raided and ravaged the neighbourhood of Daulatabad had gone back to his own country ² An epistle containing his excuses (? thanks) came from Nizam Shah with presents and offerings to the Sultan and he turned back and went to Ahmadabad He wrote to Sultan Mahmud Khalji that it appeared to be contrary to the law of Islam and against humanity to invade without any reason a country inhabited by Muslims and to return without fighting after such an invasion is reprehensible If after this he again attempts to injure and harass the inhabitants of the country of Deccan he should know for a certainty that the writer would invade the country of Malwa Sultan Mahmud replied that as he (the Sultan of Gujrat) had directed his noble spirit to the aid of the Deccan no injury would after this happen ³ from him to the inhabitants of that country

¹ The facts with some variations are also mentioned in the Mirat-i-Sikandari (Bayley pp 176 177)

² در حکم in the text edition

³ This is also mentioned by Firishtah and the Mirat-i-Sikandari (Bayley p 17) and the Cambridge History of India (p 30)

⁴ The e is a little variation in the readings The MSS have عزیز while the lith ed has اعزیز There is not much difference and I have retained the reading in the lith ed

In the year 869 A.H. (1465 A.D.) it was reported to the Sultān that the *zamīndārs* of ¹ Bāwār and of the fort of Dūn had for two years been causing damage to the ships, and as they had never received any punishment from the Sultāns of Gujrāt, they had got into a habit of refractoriness and revolt. Although his loyal advisers did not consider it advisable that he should march to attack them owing to the difficulty of the route and the strength of the fortress, he determined to conquer that tract, and punish the rebellious chiefs. When after enduring a thousand hardships and difficulties, he advanced to the vicinity of the fort, the commandant came out to give battle and made gallant efforts. (But) when night came, he again took shelter in the fort and for some days, he fought battles every day, and fulfilled the duty of making war-like and gallant exertions. It happened, however, that one day the Sultān went to the top of the hill of Bāwār with his retinue and soldiers. When the men of the fort ² saw the royal umbrella, and became aware of the large number of soldiers, they with humility put their hands ³ on the skirt of peace, and ⁴ the

¹ The MSS have امیں دار و سرداروں and رمیں دار بارو و سرداروں, and the lith ed has رمیدار و بارو و سرداروں. I have adopted the reading of the second MS Firishtah lith ed has فلکہ ماوراء و سرداروں Col Briggs (vol IV, p 51) calls Bāwar, Bāvar "an extraordinary hill fort". The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī (Bayley p 178) has the mountain of Bāwār, and Bayley says in a note that the best accounts of the expedition are to be found in the Tabakat-i-Akbārī, Firishtah and the Tārikh-i-Alfi, and he quotes from the first two, which both have Bāwar. As to Dūn he says there is a small port marked Dunnū near to a spot where a spur of the ghats runs into the sea. He gives the various variants of Bāwar in the different MSS and the MS of the Tārikh-i-Alfi, and they all have some resemblance to Bāwar, yet the Cambridge History of India, without a single word of explanation or a single reference to any authority, transforms the *zamīndārs* of Bāwar and of the port of Dūn to "the Hindu chief of Pādi near Damān" (see page 305). The conjunction, between طاعه دون and بارو has unfortunately been changed into و in the text edition, and as a result بارو reads بارو دون.

² It would appear that the men in the fort were not up to that time aware of the presence of the Sultān in the camp.

³ Both the MSS have صلح, but the lith ed has داداں صلح. I have retained the last reading, as it has the correct oriental metaphor.

⁴ Both MSS have only سردار, but the lith ed has سردار دو. Here I have adopted the reading in the MSS.

commandant came in all haste to wait on the Sultan and privy for quarter Sultan Mahmud on account of his great mercy drew the pen of forgiveness over their guilt and gave assurances of safety to all of them When the commandant of the fort and the chiefs of the neighbouring country came and waited on the Sultan he distinguished them all by bestowing robes of honour and favours on them He then mounted his horse and went to inspect the fort After he had finished the inspection the commandant presented a large tribute The Sultan bestowed the amount of the tribute on him in the same majlis and also conferred on him a special robe of honour and a golden belt He also fixed the amount of the annual tribute and entrusted the defence and government of the country to the commandant He then returned with success and prosperity and took up his abode in Ahmadabad

In the year 870 A.D. 1466 A.D. the Sultan went out hunting towards Ahmadnagar On the way Baha ul mulk son of Alf Khan killed Adam Silahdar (trooper) without any apparent cause and fled into the country of Idar ¹ Sultan Mahmud sent Malik Haji and Malik Kalu Add ul mulk and these men having gone a part of the way allowed a falsehood to enter their minds and they induced two

¹ The readings are different here One MS has عصَدُ الْمَلِك وَ عَصَدُ الْمَلِك بِهِ سَعَى مَعْنَى دَوْدَه اَبَاهَا دَوْدَه وَ سَعَى رَا اُورَدَه وَ نَاهَا فَوَارَ دَادَه كَهْ تَكُونَدَه
دو کس ار بُوكَرَانْ بَهَادُ الْمَلِك the other MS in كَلَلْ سَلَاحَدَه ما دَوْدَه
دو کس ار بُوكَرَانْ بَهَادُ الْمَلِك رَا اُورَدَه وَ نَاهَا فَوَارَ دَادَه كَهْ تَكُونَدَه مَلِك
حَاجِي وَ مَلِك كَالَّوْ عَصَدُ الْمَلِك رَا فَوسَادَه وَ اَبَاهَا حَوَّتَرَه رَاهَ دَعَنَدَه بُورَسَي
بَعَاظَرَ وَسَادَه دو کس ار بُوكَرَانْ رَا بُرسَي اُورَدَه كَهْ فَاتَلْ اَدَمْ سَلَاحَدَه ما دَوْدَه
I have after comparing the three readings and that in the lith. ed. of Firishtah which contains more detail adopted the reading which appeared to me to be the best In the text edition مَلِك كَالَّوْ عَصَدُ الْمَلِك instead of عَصَدُ الْمَلِك

According to Firishtah they induced the two men by giving them some money طَارِحَوْيَ مَال فَعَنَدَه They also told them that the badshah was merciful and would pardon them and besides he would not pass a sentence of death without consulting them The poor men tempted by the money and also actuated by good feeling towards their master said as they had been taught The Mirat-i-Sikandari (Bayloy p. 179) has a similar account but it says that the men sent in pursuit of Baha ul mulk actually found him but apparently let him go

of the servants of Bahā'-ul-mulk, to say that they were the murderers of Ādam Silāhdār, and returning from the way, they reported to the Sultān, that they had seized and brought the murderers of Ādam Silāhdār, and they were confessing their guilt and ¹ Bahā'-ul-mulk had fled into the country of Idar. Sultān Mahmūd ordered that those two innocent men should be executed. After some days when the veil was raised from the face of the matter, and it was known for certain, that those two poor men were not the murderers of the Silāhdār, and 'Imād-ul-mulk had by fraud and deceit induced them to confess, the Sultān ordered that 'Imād-ul-mulk and 'Add-ul-mulk should also be executed, and all the property and villages left behind by them should be escheated to the *Ihālsa* (the Sultān's treasury). Mahik Ikhtiyār-ul-mulk was made 'Imād-ul-mulk and the appointment of *nā'ib qhaibat* (regent in the Sultān's absence) was conferred on him and all the soldiers of 'Imād-ul-mulk were made over to him.

² The Sultān marched out in the year 871 A H (1467 A D) to conquer the fort of Karnāl which is now known as Jūnāgarh. They

Bayley says in a note that every copy of the *Mirāt-i Sikandarī* says that the men sent in pursuit of Bahā'-ul-mulk actually found him, but he also quotes the *Tabakāt-i Akbarī* to say that they returned after going a part of the way towards Idar. According to the *Mirāt-i Sikandarī* the two men were induced to confess, as they were told that the Sultān would sentence them to short terms of imprisonments, and they would be soon released at the intercession of those who asked them to confess. Rās Mālā and the Cambridge History of India do not mention the incident. Col Briggs (vol IV p. 51) refers to the incident "As an instance of the impartial justice of Mahmood Shah". It was impartial as even great *amīns* were not spared, but it is also an instance of a great miscarriage of justice. In the text edition the reading adopted is *خالیہ عزماً*

¹ This sentence, which occurs in both MSS and in the 16th ed., appears to be redundant, unless it is taken as part of the false report.

² Firishtah says that in 871 A H the Sultān saw the Prophet Muhammad in a dream, and that the latter bestowed on him two dishes of delicious viands. This was interpreted to mean that he would have two great gifts, viz., the conquest of the country of Dīu and the forthcoming conquest of Karnāl. There is no mention of it in the *Tabaqāt* and I cannot find any mention in the *Mirāt-i Sikandarī* also. Rās Mālā (vol I, p. 355) has a slightly different version, and refers only to an invitation "to the conquest of infidels, by spreading before him, in a vision, a magnificent banquet of the most delicious viands".

say that for nearly two thousand years this country had been in the possession of the ancestors of Ray¹ Mandalik. After Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq Shah and Sultan Ahmad Shah Gujrati the hand of the possession of no one else had reached this country. Sultan Mahmud Shah advanced towards it placing his trust in divine help and support and in the course of the march he ravaged the country of Sorath. When he arrived in the neighbourhood of the hill of Karnal the inhabitants of the district placed their property and their families in distant places and in hills filled with trees and themselves took shelter in a strong place. Tughlaq Khan who was descended from the Sultans of Sind and was the maternal uncle of the Sultan informed the latter of this. On the following day the Sultan proceeded in that direction as if hunting along the way. In spite of the

¹ Col Briggs (vol IV p. 3) says in a note that the Mandukhs as he writes the name are like dessais natgours reddywars zemindars and poligars so called in other parts of India. *Mandalika* is from *Mandala* a castle or a part of a country and means the lord of the *Mandala*. In the same note Col Br gg on the authority of the Moontukl ib ool Towareekh says that the name of this Mandalik was Humbur Ray. I cannot find his name anywhere else but the Cambridge History of India page 305 calls him Mandalak Chudasama but does not quote any authority and Mandalak is certainly incorrect. It appears from a note in Bayley page 183 that according to the Tarikh-i-Sorath Mandalik was also used as a proper name by the Raos of Girnar (Karnal).

The meaning is not very clear but it appears from the Mirat-i-Sikandari (Bayley page 184) that the Karnal people or the infidels of the country round gathered together their women and children and provision and went into the defile of Mahabalal which is an exceedingly strong position (mahabula means very strong). The Sultan resolved to carry the place. Prince Toghlaq (the Tughlaq Khan of the text) told the Sultan that it would be very difficult to seize the place. But the Sultan replied Plea e God I will conquer it. One day the Sultan mounted his horse to go hunting and went in the direction of the Mahabalal defile. When the Hindu saw the small party they took no heed to it. Suddenly the Sultan attacked them and the infidel after a little fighting fled into the jungle (p 185). Firuztah gives a somewhat different account. According to him the Sultan guided by Shahzada Tughlaq Khan went with a selected body of warriors to the *darra* or defile of Mahabalal without the Hindu knowing anything. The Rajputs who were left to guard the place and who were called Baraos on becoming aware of the Sultan's approach fought bravely but being unprepared and unarmed were all killed. Ras Mal (vol I p 356) gives another version according to which the Sultan sent

difficulties of the paths and the entrances (probably passes), he succeeded in reaching that place, and after much effort and endeavour, the Rājpūts fled, and threw themselves into the fort of Kaināl, by way of the hills and jungles ¹ Many prisoners and much property fell into the hands of the army From that place the Sultān went towards the temple of the people A body of Rājpūts who are called *Pādhnās* (*Pradhānas* or chiefmen), determining to die, placed their hands on their swords and lances inside the temple, and in the twinkling of an eye became food for the sword The next day (the Sultān) started from that place, and encamped at the foot of the fort of Kaināl, and sent detachments to plunder and ravage the surrounding country The Rāy Mandalik, in great humility and helplessness, asked for pardon of his offences, and sent a large tribute ² Sultān Mahmūd, on account of the exigencies of the times, deferred the conquest of the fort to the next year, and treating the Mandalik with gentleness went back to Ahmadābād

In the year 872 A H (1468 A D), it was reported to the Sultān that the Rāy Mandalik on account of his haughtiness and pride had an umbrella held over his head, and placing valuable ornaments, on his ³ arms and neck sat in public Immediately on hearing this news (the Sultān) appointed forty thousand horsemen with famous elephants to punish him At the time of bidding adieu to them, a detachment under Toghluk Khān "to occupy two outworks called Mohabilla The Rajpoots who were entrusted with the post were surprised and cut off" The Cambridge History of India makes no reference to the matter

¹ According to Firishtah they comprised the درگه مکانی و بسراں، *i.e.*, the women and children of the men who had been left to defend the Mahābala defile

² Firishtah says that the Sultān agreed to receive tribute and to defer the conquest for another year, because immense quantities of valuable jewellery and other booty had fallen into the hands of the soldiers, and the weather having become very hot, it was impossible to continue longer in that hilly country

³ The MSS have دست and کردن و کردن (unintelligible) in one, and دست و گردان in the other The lith ed has simply برحود Firishtah in the corresponding passage has دست و گردان, leaving out the middle word Firishtah says plainly, that the Sultān was simply waiting for a pretext, and this report enabled him to undertake another expedition

he told the *amirs* and the heads of clans that if the Mandalik came forward in the way of *uban ion* and *suliy* and delivered up the umbrella and the valuable jewel which on the days of idol worship he puts on his person and pay the tribute which had already been fixed they should not interfere in my way with his country. When the army of Gujarat arrived near the country of the Mandalik the commandant sent a body of men to him and communicated to him (through them) what the Sultan had said. The Raja Mandalik came forward to meet the emir saries with all respect and sent to the *amirs* the umbrella and the jewels and valuable ornaments which on the days of worshipping the idols and on other auspicious days he used to put on his person together with a large tribute and having tried to win their heart turned them back. When the *amirs* (after their return) waited on the Sultan and placed before him all the things which they had brought the latter in his festive assembly and convivial meeting gave the things away to story tellers and readers.

In the year 873 A.H. 1469 A.D. the news of the death of Sultan Mahmud Khalji the ruler of Malwa came. The *amirs* represented

¹ Firdausi quoting Siraj al-Ulum says that a man living in Al-Balad was but because of such prodigality appears fit for death as it certainly appears to me to be somewhat mere hit and miss the opinion of the scholars

² God alone knows the truth. C. J. Beazley (vol. IV p. 15) says in his translation the Sultan went to his new palace by the side of the city among a set of male slaves. It may be noted that حواريون means slaves till 13 and رعايا and رعاة mean slaves. Th. Mirat-i-Sikandari (Bayley p. 186) modifies the story a little and says the Sultan intended to govern among his musicians. Bayley in a note finds some kind of fault with Firdausi and says the latter places the expedition in 872 A.H. It appears to me that Firdausi does nothing of the kind he places the expedition in 873 A.H. Col. Briggs (vol. IV p. 50) however places this expedition in 874 A.H. which might have led to Bayley's mistake.

³ This matter about the death of Sultan Mahmud Khalji does not appear to be mentioned by Firdausi. The Cambridge History of India p. 30 mention it giving the 31st May 1469 as the date of Sultan Mahmud Khalji's death. It also refers to the discussion about the invasion of the country and Sultan Mahmud's refusal to undertake it and then says that the Sultan committed an act as a ronson by leading into Rath a large army against the Mandalik of Curnar.

to Sultān Mahmūd that at the time, when Sultān Muhammad, the son of Ahmad Shāh had accepted the summons of the just God, Sultān Mahmūd Khaljī arrived at the town of ¹ Kāparbanj, intending to attempt the conquest of the country of Gujāt. If the Lord of the world (meaning the Sultān) at this time, when the appliances for the conquest of the country are all at hand and ready, advances towards Mālwa, that country would come into his possession with very little effort. Sultān Mahmūd declared, that it was not right in Islām and Musalmānī, that Musalmāns should fall out amongst themselves, and that people should be trampled down in the calamities which would occur. Besides, at this time, when the Sultān has died, and the affairs of the state have not been arranged, it would be removed from the rules of humanity and the customs of generosity to invade his country. He then left Ahmadābād with the object of hunting, and having spent some days in the jungle, again took up his abode in Ahmadābād.

In the year 874 A.H., he again sent armies to plunder and ransack the country of Sōrath, and within a short time, they returned after devastating the country, and bringing an enormous quantity of plunder. Among the great incidents of the year, one was this that Sultān Mahmūd, mounted on an elephant, went towards ² *Bāgh-i-Iram*. On the way ³ another *mast* elephant, having broken his chain turned on the Sultān's ⁴ retinue. The other elephants seeing it, turned their faces in flight, and it advanced on the elephant which the Sultān was riding. The latter after bearing two or three onsets, also fled; and when it was running away, the other elephants rushing forward, struck it (apparently with their tusks) on the shoulder, and the Sultān's leg was injured by its tusks and blood began to flow from it. At this

¹ كيريانج Kēryānji in the text-edition

² Apparently some beautiful park or garden, called the garden of Paradise. Firishtah's account agrees with that in the text, but Col Briggs (vol IV, p 55) gives a somewhat different account. He says that the Sultan was on a hunting excursion and when he was attacked by the *mast* elephant, all his companions fled, etc.

³ This word shows that the Sultān was also riding a *mast* elephant, and Firishtah says so, but neither the MSS nor the lith ed of the Tabaqāt say that the Sultān was on a *mast* elephant.

⁴ The word is *fauj*, apparently the Sultān's retinue or followers.

time the Sultan with great bravery hurled a spear on the elephant's forehead. The blood was now flowing, but the elephant made another onset and had another spear hurled at it. The blood now bubbled out of its forehead as from a fountain. The animal now trumpeted and gave another blow to the Sultan's elephant but it received another spear with such force that it had to turn tail and run away. The Sultan went to the palace with safety and made all deserving persons happy by the distribution of votive offerings and charities.

After a few days he summoned the *amirs* of the marches and with a well equipped army advanced to conquer the fort of Junagadh and the hill of Karnal. He distributed five *lakhs* of gold in the course of a night and day among his soldiers and included amongst these were two thousand and five *Turki* and *Iraqi* and Arab horses the prices of some of which amounted to as much as twelve thousand *tankas* each which were bestowed on the men. He also distributed five thousand jewelled swords and seven hundred jewelled belts and one thousand and five daggers with gold and embossed scabbards. When he arrived in the country of Sorath by successive rapid marches he sent detachments in every direction to plunder and devastate (the country). Ray Mandahik in a state of extreme humility and helplessness waited on him and represented that this slave (he himself) had lived a whole life time within the bounds of allegiance and fealty and no act which might have the least suspicion of any breach of engagement or promise had been committed by him. He was also at the present moment prepared to pay any tribute which His Majesty might order. The Sultan said All my energies are at present directed to raise the standards of Islam in this country after bringing it into my possession so that the institutions of Islam might be established here. I have no other object in view except the introduction of Islam and the capture of the fort.

When Ray Mandahik understood from the purport of these words that this army with other armies was ready to conquer the

¹ One MS and the 11th ed have *حربا* charity but the other MS has *سکرہ* thanks offering

² The meaning of the sentence ایں لسکر نا لسکر عای دلگر نئی ماد is not clear. The sentence is the same in both MSS and in the 11th ed except that

country, he waited for an opportunity, and fled at night and returned into the fort of ¹ Jūnāgāh. The next day the Sultan moved forward, and encamped close to the citadel of Jūnāgāh. One detachment separated from the army, and advanced on the fort. A body of Rājpūts sallied out, and after fighting fled. The next day also there was some fighting, and on the third day the Sultan himself attacked the fort, and there was severe fighting from morning to evening. On the 4th day the Sultan's pavilion was raised near the gate, and the fort was closely besieged, and covered passages were laid down from all sides. The Rājpūts at all times sallied out of the fort, and made violent attacks, and many good men were slain. For instance, they fell on a particular day on the battery of 'Alām Khān Fāruqī, and made a martyr of him. Sultan Mahmūd made the siege such a close one, that the stones thrown by the ballistas sometimes fell in front of the Sultan's throne. Although Rāy Mandalik made proposals of peace and of the payment of tribute, they had no effect whatever as the Sultan had determined on the conquest of the fort.

In the end, Rāy Mandalik, in his extreme humility and distress, prayed for mercy, and after surrendering the fort, took shelter with all his Rājpūts in the ² hill of Karnāl. Sultan Mahmūd performed the rite of offering thanks, and occupied himself with settling the affairs of the country. After some days, he laid siege to the hill of Karnāl. In the end, Rāy Mandalik, having no other alternative,

the lith ed has by mistake دادا instead of دمایدی The lith ed of Firishtah has exactly the same words, except that it has instead لشکرهای پار دیگر

¹ The Cambridge History of India, page 305, says, Rāy Mandalak retired to his citadel Uparkot. Uparkot of course means upper citadel, but I have not seen the place, to which Rāy Mandalik retired, called Uparkot in any other history. It is called Jūnāgarh in the other histories.

² Firishtah calls it the fort of Karnāl, and he adds در دردی و راه ری کرد. This is however not mentioned in any other history, not even in Col Briggs's translation. The Mīrāt-i-Sikandarī however (Bayley, page 188) says that every day they sallied out and fought, and although Firishtah says that the Sultan became very angry, and himself led an attack on Karnāl, and seized it, his subsequent treatment of Rāo Mandalik does not make it very probable that the latter had committed theft and robbery.

joined the service of the Sultan and having prayed for the safety of his men surrendered the hill of Karnal also ¹ After this as he for several days went every day and waited on the Sultan and observed his pleasant manners and his proue worthy morals he submitted one day that from the auspicious effect of the society of Shah Shams ud din Darvish the love of Islam and of Musalmans had had a great effect on his mind and now that he had been attending on the Sultan and had become cognizant of the truth of the faith of Islam he wished that he should join the Muslim community Sultan Mahmud with great eagerness taught him the creed of the unity of God and conferred the title of Khan Jahan on him And in order that the institutions of Islam should be current in that country he laid the (first) brick for building the city of Mustafa abad in the ground and he ordered all the amirs that they should lay the foundations of mansions for their residence there In a short time the city of Mustafa abad became a model of Ahmadabad

When the amirs and the soldiers took up their residence in Mustafa abad everywhere where there were thieves and disturbers of the peace round about Ahmadabad they raised their heads and began to commit thefts and highway robberies and the roads by which people went about from place to place became closed When this news reached Sultan Mahmud he conferred the title of Muhafiz Khan on Malik Jamal ud din son of Shaikh Malik who was - the *kalval* of the camp (provost marshal) and who was entrusted with

¹ The *Mirat Sikandar* (Bayley p 190) give another version of the story of the conversion of Rao Mandal k According to thi he went in attendance on the Sultan to Ahmadabad One day he went to Rasulabad where his Holine Shah Alam lived and is buried He saw many horses and elephants and men assembled there and inquired what *amir* lived there He was told tht at His Holiness Shah Alam resided there He went and saw him and wa converted by him It may be mentioned here as an extremely curious fact that according to Ras Mala Row Munduleek who wa t through life so unremittingly persecuted by the Musalmans was as Khan Jel in worshipped under the guise of a Muslim ant by the descendants of the men who had persecuted him at his tomb in Ahmadabad up to the time when Ras Mala was published n 1856 and may be worshipped up to the present day (See R Mala vol I page 35)

² The word **کردوال** appears to me to be incorrect although it is found in the MSS and also in the lith ed and also in the lith ed of Fishtah I would either insert the word **ڈا** before **کردوال** or change **کردوال** to **کردوی**

the supervision of the *silāh Thāna* (stores of arms and ammunition), and gave him a standard and a ¹ trumpet and sent him to Ahmadābād after investing him with the post of *shahna* and *kotwāl* (Superintendent of manners and morals and of police) of that place.

Malik Jamāl-ud-dīn, Muḥāfir Khān put the city of Ahmadābād into such order as the heart could wish for, within a short time and had five hundred thieves hanged. As this work of his met with the approbation of the Sultān, he had other appointments conferred on him, and the office of the *istifā-i-mumālik* was added to his other offices and ² gradually his astans reached to such a position, that one thousand and seven hundred horses were collected in his stables.

¹ The word is طبلہ in both MSS., and ورطبلہ in the 11th ed. Firishtah has کریما instead.

² The whole of the passage about the appointment of Malik Jamāl ud dīn, and the increase of his power down to the end of the paragraph is copied almost *verbatim* by Firishtah, but Col Briggs (vol IV, p. 57) in his translation makes certain changes. Instead of the 1,700 horses in his stable he mentions 1,700 "bāgeer-khass", or persons equipped by him, and riding his own stable horses. He also says that his powers were so little under control, that his son, "in the absence of the king, marched without orders, and obliged the Rāys of Idur, Wagur and Serohy, to pay him tribute". This might have been correct, but neither Nizām ud dīn nor Firishtah explicitly says so. According to the *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī* (Bayley, page 192), "His son exacted tribute from the rebellious chiefs who had never paid it before". It appears also from a note on the same page that there is probably some MS. of Firishtah, which contains statements identical with those made by Col Briggs. Bayley however quotes from Col Briggs, and attributes the statement of Firishtah (see the note *, page 194). The Cambridge History of India (page 306) says something quite different. According to it, while Mahmūd "was besieging Gīnār, Jai Singh, the son of Gangādūs of Champānēr had been committing systematic brigandage and highway robbery in the country between his stronghold and Ahmadābād. He therefore sent Jamāl-ud dīn Muhammad, conferring on him the title of Muḥāfir Khān to govern this tract, and he put down thieving and highway robbery with such a firm hand, that the inhabitants, we are told slept with open doors". This is not quite correct, Malik Jamāl-ud dīn, or Muḥāfir Khān was appointed *kotwāl* and *shahna* of the city of Ahmadābād, and not governor of the country between that city and Chāmpānēr. There is nothing said in any of the histories of any connection between Jai Singh and the thieves and robbers, except that he allowed the rebels of Barōda and Dabhoī to pass through his territory, and Malik Jamāl ud dīn is not said to have had anything to do with him except that he waited on the Sultān, when the latter was marching against Jai Singh, and was appointed the *vazīr*.

and wherever there was a good soldier he was included among his retainers. His power and splendour reached such a height that his son Milik Khidr extorted tribute from the Rajas of Bakar and Idar and Sirohi.

In the beginning of 876 A.H. 1471 A.D. it was reported to the Sultan that Jai Singh the son of Gangdas Raja of Champainir having become proud by the help and patronage of Sultan Chiyith ud din of Malwa had allowed the rebels of Biroda and Dibohi a passage through his territory and had the disposition of raising a rebellion. The Sultan marched from Mustafa abid and advanced to punish him. On the way Muhamiz Khan had the honour of waiting upon him and the appointment of *ta'arif* was added to that of *kotali*. He left his deputies to perform the duties of the *kotali* and occupied himself with the affairs of the *ta'arat*.

When the Sultan heard of the disturbances created by the *amindars* of Kach (Cutch) and their persecution of the Musalmans was reported to him the Sultan gave up the determination to conquer Champainir and marched against that country with a large army. When he arrived¹ on the edge of the saline country which is known as the Ran he made a very rapid march and in the course of one day traversed a distance of sixty *Karohs*. Out of his total army not more than² six hundred horsemen were with him at the end of the

¹ Firishtah has instead of موسوم براست رسید که سوری instead of سرمه، which Col Briggs (vol IV p 80) has translated as came suddenly upon the enemy's encampment at Sheetur. It appears from Firishtah that this part of Cutch was contiguous to Sind and was inhabited by people whom he calls محلبان Majinan. According to the Cambridge History of India page 306 the place is what is now known as the Thar and Pa kar tract.

² There is some doubt as to the possibility of a march of this length in the course of one day as in the text or a دریا or a night and a day as in Firishtah though Bayley quoting Col Briggs makes it without a halt in a note on page 193 and comes to the conclusion that it is impossible to cover the distance in one day but it is possible though hardly likely to do so in one day and night. I should note here also that both MSS have sixty *Karohs* as the length of the march but the lith ed has sixty one *Karohs* and it appears from the note in Bayley that the MS which he had had sixty one *Karoh*.

³ One MS and the lith ed has six hundred horsemen but the other MS has three hundred. Firishtah lith ed has six hundred but Col Briggs (vol IV

march When he reached the other side of that dangerous country, the enemy could be seen before them They say that there were twenty-four thousand archers The Sultān, in spite of the fact that he had such a small number of men, and the enemy were in such large numbers, dismounted and armed himself When the enemy saw the boldness and gallantry of the Sultān, they ¹ came forward with sincerity, and made excuses for their offences The Sultān drew the pen of forgiveness across their offences, and made peace with them, after taking a large subsidy He also took some of their chiefs with him to Mustafa-ābād, and taught them the tenets of Islām and Musālmani, and making everyone of them happy with largesses and favours gave them permission to go back He granted a suitable *jāgī* to each one of them, and retained those in his service who of their own free will chose to remain with him

In the year 877 A H (1472 A D), it was reported to the Sultān, that forty thousand turbulent and refractory archers had collected together in the neighbourhood of the country of Sind, and ² were harassing (the inhabitants of) the towns and villages on the border He equipped an army and again turned in that direction When he

p 58) has "only three hundred cavalry" He makes the enemy consist of four thousand archers, though Firishtah like Nizām-ud-din has twenty-four thousand The Cambridge History of India, page 306 gives the correct number, but makes them horse (horsemen) instead of archers

¹ Firishtah's account of what happened, when the Sultān with his six hundred horsemen met the archers, agrees generally with that in the text, but he says that the hostile men became confused and frightened and the chiefs came forward with swords and shrouds hanging from their necks Col Briggs has a somewhat different account He says they were defeated, and numbers of them were slain, after which the remainder came forward with their weapons slung round their necks to implore for mercy The accounts in the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī (Bayley, p 194) and the Cambridge History of India (p 306) agree generally with that in the text, but Bayley quotes in a note Col Briggs's account and attributes it to Firishtah

² The Cambridge History of India page 306, has forty thousand "rebels had risen against Jām Nizām-ud-dīn, the ruler of Sind", but neither the Tabaqāt nor Firishtah nor the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī mentions Jām Nizām-ud-dīn On the contrary they say that 40,000 men were harassing the residents of the parts of Gujrāt adjacent to their country

arrived in the salt country he ordered that¹ each horseman should take two horses with him and take with him water and food for seven days Then relying on divine help he entered into that dangerous country and traversed a distance of sixty *karohs* each day When he arrived in the country of Sind - the rebels became scattered and dispersed and there was no sign or vestige left of them The country of Sind now came into his possession without any hindrance Some of the *amirs* submitted that they had traversed all that distance with very great trouble and it was right that a ruler (*halim*) and a superintendent (*darogha*) should be left in the country The Sultan replied as the Makhduma i Jahan was descended from the Sultans of Sind in the line of chieftainship and royalty the consideration of the rights of relationship was incumbent on him and it appeared very far from kindness and humanity to seize their territory He hunted as far as the bank of the Indus and returned to Muṣṭafa ḥad

After a time the resolution to conquer the port of² Jagat which is a place of worship of the Brahmins entered the Sultan's mind But owing to the narrowness and the difficulty of the road he deferred carrying it out It happened however that one day a learned man (*fādil*) of the name of³ Maulana Muhammad Samarcandi

¹ One MS and the lith ed have سوار ۲۰۰۰ each horseman but the other MS has سوار ۱۰۰۰ one thousand horsemen Firishtah also has ۱۰۰۰ one thousand active horsemen

The account of what happened is more circumstantial and somewhat different in Firītah but it does not add very much to our information According to Firītah the inhabitants were Baluchis they concealed themselves but some of them were dragged out and killed and their camp was plundered The Cambridge History of India page 306 says that before the Sultan returned he received gifts and a letter of thanks from the Jam who also sent his daughter who was married to Qasar Khan grandson of Hasan Khan Iftikhar ul Mulk of Khanda I who had taken refuge in Gujarat For the account given in the Mirat i Sikandari see Bayley page 195

² Jagat appears to be identical with Dwarka In the Mirat i Sikandari the name is associated with Sankhdhar and in Ras Mala with Beyt The country according to a note in Bayley page 195 was called Okemandal and the Rajputs as they are to day were Paghars and Waghars a poor but brave and hardy race much given to piracy and robbery

³ Col Briggs (vol IV p 60) describes him as one of the most learned philosopher of his age but the Mirat i Sikandari Bayley page 195 describes

some with his two sons with their heads and feet bare and waited on the Sultān, and submitted that they had embarked in a ship to go from the Deccan to Samārqand, and were sailing towards Hormuz (Omrūz) that when they arrived opposite to Jagat, a body of men came out in boats filled with weapons of war, blocked their way, plundered them, and carried away the women and children of the Musalmāns into imprisonment¹ Among them he and his sons had also been imprisoned Sultān Malmūd showed kindness to the Maulānā, and sent him to Ahmadābād, and fixed an allowance on him At the time of bidding him farewell, he told him, "You rest assured, that whatever has been taken from you will be returned to you in its original condition, and those men will receive condign punishment" Then moved by his sense of shame, and his desire to help (Musalmāns), he sent for the *amīrs* and the chiefs of the different sections to attend on him, and said to them, "If on the day on which inquest will be made of our actions, they ask me, 'In your neighbourhood the *kāfir*s committed such oppression, and in spite of you having the power to stop it, you procrastinated', what reply shall I give?" The *amīrs* opened their lips for prayer and praise, and² said, "These slaves have nothing to do except to carry out your orders, and the destruction of these people is incumbent and due on our spirits"

The Sultān being confirmed in his determination, moved out on the 16th Dhī-hijjah of that year towards³ Jagat, and when with very great hardship on account of the narrowness of the way, and the dense jungle, they arrived at Jagat, the infidels fled to the island

him as "a man skilled in the rules and practice of poetry" The Cambridge History of India, page 306, calls him a learned poet and merchant Bayley interprets the sentence, I think incorrectly, by saying that Maulānā Muhammad's literary name or *nom de plume* was Fāzlī

¹ According to Firishtah the Maulānā told the Sultān that his wife was still in the custody of the *Kāfir*s According to Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 196, "the pirates turned the Mullā (as he is called there) and his two sons adrift, but kept his women, his property and the ship" As the boys were of tender age, the Mullā had to carry them by turns, and in this way he traversed the distance of seventy *kōs*, and came to the Sultān

² According to Firishtah the *amīrs* were tired of the annual expeditions undertaken by the Sultān

³ One MS inserts *yo*, port, before Jagat • ↳ Jakat in the text edition

¹ of Beyt Many snakes appeared there At the place where the Sultan's pavilion had been put up seven hundred snakes were killed in the space of one *pahar* Many tigers and lions and wolves caused much loss to the men in the island and many of the wild animals were also killed They ravaged the temple of Jagit and pulled it down Sultan Mahmud had to wait there for four months at this place and during this time many boats were prepared to carry the soldiers and the artillery and then they started for the island of Beyt The men in the island embarked in boats and advanced to fight but in the end they retreated to the island The brave warriors (of the Sultan's army) drove the ships and threw themselves into the island and having captured the citadel of Beyt slew a vast number of Rajputs The Raja of the place who had the name of Ray Bhim got into a boat and fled to some place The Sultan embarked a number of his men in boats and sent them in pursuit of him He himself entered the city of Beyt and released all the Musalmans who were imprisoned there He got much plunder and an enormous number of prisoners of war He left Malik Tughan who had the title of Farhat ul mulk as the *thanadar* of the place and crowned with success and victory ² returned to Mustafa abad On Friday the 13th of

¹ Both MSS and the 1st ed of F *Rushtah* have بیت Byet but the 1st ed of the *Tabaqat* has شکوندر Shakundhar The two appear to be names of the same island

² The MSS as well as the 1st ed have سر، در و بلک Col Brigg (vol IV p 61) has lions leopards and wolves As to the number of snakes killed F *Rushtah* (1st ed) also says that seven hundred were killed in the course of one *pahar* Col Briggs however has seventy killed in a day and says in a note that the number would not appear to be exaggerated to any one who has been in India The *Mirat-i-Sikandari* also says that seven hundred snakes were killed in one night within the royal enclosure According to the Cambridge History of India (p 307) the Sultan moved from Jagat or Dwarka to Aramura at the extreme N W point of the peninsula and it was here that the army was troubled by lions and venomous snakes and insects The *Mirat-i-Sikandari* (Bayley p 196) mentions the village of Aramrah and Bayley says in a note that the name is variously spelt in the different MSS

³ According to F *Rushtah* Ray Bhim was seized and brought before the Sultan before the latter left for Mustafa abad and he was taken to that place At Mustafa abad the Sultan ordered that a letter be written to the Maulana but while the letter was being written he arrived and his wife and children were

Jamīdī-ul-āwwal of the aforementioned year, the men who had gone in pursuit of Rāy Bhīm brought him under arrest and in fetters, and made him stand in front of the Sultan's hall of audience. The Sultan sent for Maulānā Muhammad Samākandī from Ahmadābād, and sent the wretched and miserable Bhīm Rāy to Muḥāfiẓ Khān, so that he might cut him up into four strips, and hang them up at the four sides of the city of Ahmadābād, so that other turbulent men might be terrified by the sight.

¹ In the month of Rajab of that year (874 A.H.), the Sultan left a number of his officers at Muṣṭafa-ābād, and started towards the fort of Chāmpānīr. On the way he received the news that a body

made over to him. Rāy Bhīm was also made over to him, to do what he liked with him, and the Maulānā asked the Sultan, that he should be made over to Muḥāfiẓ Khān, and should be taken round the city and killed with torture. Col Briggs's account is slightly different. The Cambridge History of India does not say that the Maulānā's wife and children were returned to him, but he was asked to identify his property out of the immense quantity of plunder and he was given all that he identified, besides some big presents. Rāya Bhīm was also made over to him but he returned the raja, and he was sent to Ahmadābād, and impaled (p. 307).

¹ The account of this incident as given in Fīrishtah (lith. ed.) does not differ materially from the text. The date is ۸۸۷ مَحَرْبُ سِعِينٍ وَنِيَامِهِ اَخْتَلُوفٍ in the lith. ed. of Fīrishtah, which is defective as in the words, the word for the tens is omitted. In figures the year is 887, and in Col Briggs's translation the year is 887 A.H. and 1482 A.D. In the Cambridge History of India, page 307, the attack on the Malabar pirates is said to have taken place between October 1473 and January 1474, i.e., about 8 years before the date given by Col Briggs. The correct year would be 877 A.H., اربعه و سعدين و نيمائة و خمسين، as given in the lith. ed. of the Tabaqāt. There are some details in Fīrishtah not mentioned by Nizām-ud-din such as the fact that the Sultan's men were armed with توب و تیغ و بیرون کمان Col Briggs's account (vol. IV, p. 65) differs a great deal. He calls the Mālābārians Bulsar pirates, and he says that they had gained such an ascendancy at sea, as to threaten the invasion of his dominions, and had already intercepted the trade. The Mirāt-i Sikandari's (Bayley, p. 199) account is different, as it does not appear from it that the Sultan himself embarked on board his ships, and a battle was fought with the pirates, but Bayley in a note quotes the Tabakāt about the Sultan having commanded the fleet and fought a battle. He also says that according to Fīrishtah the pirates were of Bulsar. The Cambridge History of India, page 307, says that the Malabar pirates made a descent on his coasts.

of ¹ Malabarlis had collected a large number of boats and were harassing people travelling by sea. Immediately on hearing this news (the Sultan) arranged some ships and himself with a body of brave warriors embarked in them and relying on divine help and victory lifted the anchors. When they arrived near the ships of the Malabarlis the latter fled and some of their boats fell into his hands. He then sailed to the port of Kanbayat and disembarked there. He returned to the capital city of Ahmadabad in the month of Shaaban. At the end of Ramadan he raided a part of the country of Champanir and again returned to Ahmadabad.

² In the year 875 A.H. the Sultan sent Malik Baba ud din Imad ul mulk to the *thana* in the town of ⁴ Sonkhir and Qawam ul mulk to that in the town Kodhra. Farhat i mulk to the *thana* at fort Beyt and Jagat and Malik Nizam ul mulk to the *thana* at ⁵ Kuz and

¹ ساربان traders in the text edition

This sentence is to be found in one MS. and in the 1th ed. but is omitted from the other MS. The Sultan said to have returned to Ahmadabad according to both the MSS. and the 1th ed. but it is more likely that he went to Mustafa abad.

³ Nizam ud d n does not give the reasons of these appointments. It appears from Fishtah that the people (*amirs*?) were tired of the continual expeditions of the Sultan and with the order to change their residence from Ahmadabad to Mustafa abad and were in a mood to rebel. So the Sultan made these appointments so that the *amirs* might keep their *thanas* in order and he himself might have the leisure to organise the administration of the newly acquired territory of Karnal or Sorath. Col. Briggs says briefly that the Shah conceived his dominions to be too extensive for his own immediate management. The Cambridge History of India also refers to the tireless energy and ceaseless activity of the Sultan which had become wearisome to his soldiers and officers. I may point out here that the Cambridge History of India page 307 suddenly jumps in the course of about half a dozen lines from January 1474 to December 1480.

⁴ سونکھر in the text edition

⁵ This name is كنير in one MS. is illegible in the other and كنير Kanir in the 1th ed. In the 1th ed. of Fishtah it's مير Maiz. According to Col. Briggs (vol. IV p. 6) Nizam ool Mook was sent to Tanna. The Cambridge History of India does not give the names of the governors and of their stations.

⁶ کامپانیر in the text edition

appointed ¹ Khudāwand Khān to be the *vazīr* of the kingdom, and left him in attendance on Shāhzāda Ahmad Khān at Ahmadābād. He occupied himself with the administration of Jūnāgarh and the surrounding country.

One day Khudāwand Khan, owing to his sincere attachment and intimacy with the Rāy ² Rāyān, told him in private “³ I am much aggrieved at the many activities of Sultān Mahmūd. Not a single year or a month passes, that he does not take up an enterprise and does not march the army about. If with your own men, and taking five hundred of my soldiers with you, you go to the house of ‘Imād-ul-mulk and get him out of the way, we can to-morrow raise Shāhzāda

¹ Firishtah says Khudāwand Khan, who was the *vazīr*, was made the *atāliq* or guardian of Shāhzāda Mu'azzar Khan, and was left at Ahmadābād. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 62) calls him Khoodabunda Khan “preceptor of the Prince Moazzuzzur Khan”. The Mirāt-i-Sikandari agrees with the Tabaqāt, and Bayley in a note says that the Tabakāt and the Muāt-i-Sikandari are correct as to the name of the prince, but he says that Firishtah says that Khudābandah Khan was made governor of Ahmadābād which is certainly not correct. But Bayley always means Col. Briggs when he says Firishtah. According to the Mirāt-i-Sikandari, Khudāwand Khan was induced by some designing men to acquiesce in the conspiracy (Bayloy, p. 201).

² His name does not appear, but as his title implies, and as the Cambridge History of India (p. 308) says, he was the chief Hindu noble.

³ Firishtah does not give the conversation between Khudāwand Khan and the Rāy Rāyān, but goes on at once to say that they sent for ‘Imād-ul-mulk and other nobles to Ahmadābād, and after swearing ‘Imād-ul-mulk on the Qurān made them join the conspiracy. ‘Imād-ul-mulk joined it, as he did not have his soldiers with him. The Mirāt-i-Sikandari's account is very brief, and Bayley considered the account in the Tabakāt had such details, and the matter was of such importance, as explaining the reasons why Prince Ahmad was passed over, that he has incorporated a translation of it in his book. I find, however, that his translation is not quite correct, if he made it from a text which was identical with mine, for instance he says that Khudāwand Khan told Rāy Rāyān, if I were to take my own followers and five hundred soldiers to ‘Imād-ul-mulk's house, I could easily get him out of the way.

The account of the conspiracy as given in the Cambridge History of India, page 308, agrees with that in the text, except that it says that the Rāy Rāyān refused to be a party to ‘Imād-ul-mulk's death. I do not know whether he would have actually refused, but all that the text says is that he believed that he would be able to gain him over, and that the conspirators would be all the stronger by his joining them.

Ahmad Khan to the *sultanat*. For killing Imad ul mulk we will not have a better time (than this) when all his retainers have gone to his *thana*. I have submitted this matter to Shahzidi Ahmad Khan and he agrees with me and is willing to join us. The Ray Rayan said

Imad ul mulk is sincerely attached to me and tells me all his private matters. As he is also aggrieved with the Sultan and has complaints against him it is extremely likely that he would join with us in this matter and by his union with us our plans will acquire a new strength. Although Khudawand Khan forbade the Ray Rayan to communicate with Imad ul mulk it was of no avail. The Ray Rayan relying on the friendship and affection of Imad ul mulk at first swore him in private on the *Quran* that he would not disclose this secret and later brought the matter into discussion. As Imad ul mulk saw that his men had gone to his *jagir* on the spur of the moment he signified his consent and said. In this matter I am at one with Khudawand Khan but it appears to me that as Ramidan is drawing to a close we should attempt to carry out our intention after it is over. The Ray Rayan was pleased (with this suggestion) and communicated the message to Khudawand Khan.

After the Ray Rayan had gone away Imad ul mulk sent for ¹ Malik Miyan to come to him in private and said to him. In Sultan Qutb ud din's time I used to desire that I might have a second horse and I could not have it and now owing to the greatness of Sultan Mahmud there is not a greater man than myself in his service. He immediately wrote a letter to Malik Farhat ul mulk who had encamped in the town of Sirkhej and asked him to come and meet him. He also sent a letter to Malik Qayam ul mulk at ² Rakhal that he should not march from that place for some days. Early the next morning Malik Farhat ul mulk arrived at Imad ul mulk's house with five hundred horsemen. They had an interview for a little while and then Malik Farhat ul mulk was sent to his own house. After a time Imad ul mulk sent for Muhafiz Khan the *katwal* of the city and said to him. As there is relationship between us it is right

¹ میریں in the text edition

² Contary to this Firishtah says he sent for his own troops

³ The name of the place is printed as Rakhal by Bayley also but he has (') after it (p. 203) رکھل in the text edition

that we should ¹ endeavour to do good to each other. Your loyalty consists in your being present to attend to the affairs of the city, lest a disturbance should be created. On the day of the 'Īd, you should be ready with your followers and retainers, and attend on Prince Ahmad Khān at the ² maslā, and till midday you should make every endeavour to guard the city”

Khudāwand Khān on hearing the words (the news ²) became anxious in his mind. He sent for Rāy Rāyān to his presence, and said (to him), “Did I not tell you, that 'Imād-ul-mulk would not agree with us in this matter. Now things have come to such a pass, that all our houses (families) would be ruined.” When the 'Īd passed off, and 'Imād-ul-mulk's retainers all arrived, ³ Khudāwand Khān did not for fear (of consequences) disclose (his intentions), and his resolution remained in this way unaccomplished. It so happened, however, that after some days, ⁴ a popular rumour reached Muṣṭafa-ābād that Khudāwand Khān had killed 'Imād-ul-mulk on the day of the 'Īd, and all the amīrs had joined with him, and they had placed Shāhīzāda Ahmad Khān on the throne. One of the (amīrs), who were with the Sultān, went with some audacity, and without any hesitation repeated the rumour to him.

¹ The translation in Bayley, page 203, is “we must rival each other in loyalty”. This does not appear to me to be correct.

² حواہی does not mean loyalty (to the Sultān), but in the next sentence apparently means loyalty to him.

² I do not know what the meaning of مسلا is. The translation in Bayley, page 203, does not say where he was to go in attendance on prince Ahmad Khān.

³ کی اور مقریان گئناح رتھے دی تھاںی این خار سلطان The sentence is somewhat cryptic, but the corresponding sentence in Firishtah which is ویسر حان کے اور امرای مقرب ملکاں بود و در مصطفیٰ آناد خار ارا یہ makes the meaning clear.

⁴ According to Firishtah the rumour reached Muṣṭafa-ābād, and Qaisar Khān secretly communicated it to the Sultān, and the latter determined on making a secret investigation. The Cambridge History of India, page 308, says “Qaisar Khān Fārūqī, who was at Ahmadābād, privately informed the king of the affair, so that it came to naught”. It does not appear, however, that Qaisar Khān was at Ahmadābād, or that he knew the real facts, and the Sultān did not know them till some time afterwards, when he got 'Imād ul-mulk to divulge them.

¹ Immediately on hearing this news the Sultan sent for Qasir Khan and Firoz Khan to his private chamber and said The news of the illness of the Shahzada had come before this and to day my mind is very sad as to what has happened to him Go out a distance of two *karohs* and come back with correct and detailed news from anyone (when you may meet) who should be coming from Ahmadabad When Malik Sa id ul mulk had gone a part of the way he saw one of his own relations who was coming from Ahmadabad He asked him how things were there He said I was in Ahmadabad on the day of the ² Id i Iitr The Shahzada came to make his *namaz* and Khudawand Khan and Muhsin Khan were in attendance at the *darbar* When the Shahzada went back to the palace Muhsin Khan was present at the *darbar* till two *pahars* of the day had passed But the men of the city say that Imad ul mulk does not give his permission that the *amirs* should go to their *thanas* and they are all at their houses Malik Sa id ul mulk came back and reported all that he heard The Sultan said A man had told me a falsehood to the effect that the Shahzada had been ill After two or three days he sent for Qasir Khan and Firoz Khan into his private chamber and having told them the whole ⁴ story said I will tell people that I intend to go on a pilgrimage to the *Hijra* Whoever approves of this determination of mine I shall know that he does not want me After some days he gave orders that ships should be made ready and he gave some *lakhs* of *tankas* to the superintendent of the ship so that he might buy things that would be required in Mecca for devotional offerings He then went from Musafa abad to the port

¹ The account in the *Mirat-i-Sikandari* (Bayley p. 20.) agrees with the text but Firoz Khan and the Cambridge History of India page 308 without giving any of the intermediate incidents at once go on to say that the Sultan wanted to give out that he was going on a pilgrimage to Mecca

According to the *Mirat-i-Sikandari* Bayley page 204 the Sultan told Kai ar Khan and Firoz Khan to send Malik Sa id ul Mulk to find out the true facts The name is Sa d ul mulk in the 1st ed of the *Tabaqat* in one place and Sa id ul mull in another but it is Sa id ul mulk in both MSS

² The *Id* of the opening or breaking of the fast of Ramadan which takes place on the 1st Shawwal

⁴ It is not clear how he got hold of it or how much he knew

of ¹ Ghōgha, embarked in the boats, and disembarked at the port of Kanbāyat

When this news reached Ahmadābād, all the *amīns* ² hastened to wait on the Sultān. The latter said that the Shāhzāda had come to a good age (*buzung shudah*), and the *amīns* have been trained as the heart might desire. "My mind is composed about the welfare of the kingdom, and it has occurred to me that I should now obtain the happiness of the *Haj*." 'Imād-ul-mulk said, "Your Majesty should go once to Ahmadābād, and then do whatever may appear to be proper." The Sultān knew that the ³ cup is only half filled, and proceeded towards Ahmadābād. When he arrived in the city, he sent one day for all the *amīns*, and said, "Please give me permission that I might come back after performing the *Haj*, as long as you do not give a reply, ⁴ I shall not have any desire for food." The *amīns* knew that the Sultān was testing them. All of them placed the seal of silence on their mouths. When the great luminary reached the meridian, 'Imād-ul-mulk said to the *amīns*, "The Sultān is hungry, some reply should be given to him" ⁵ Nizām-ul-mulk went and waited

¹ The name is كھوگہ in the text edition

² Firishtah and the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī agree, but the Cambridge History of India, page 308, says that the nobles were summoned from Ahmadābād to Cambay to consider this proposal, i.e., the proposal of the Sultān that he should go on a pilgrimage

³ The sentence in both MSS., and the lith. ed. is مکہ درین کاسہ نعم کاسہ مکہ Firishtah has a slightly different sentence :- مکہ ریو کاسہ نعم کاسہ مکہ

⁴ This is a curious and very early instance of a hunger strike

⁵ Both the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī and the Cambridge History of India make Nizām ul Mulk the spokesman of the *amīns*, and attribute the speech to him, but Firishtah assigns it to 'Imād ul mulk. Nizām ul mulk is called in the Cambridge History of India (p. 308) Nizām-ul-Mulk *Aisan*, and is described as the oldest courtier. It would appear, however, that Firishtah is right, and the others are wrong. The fact that 'Imād ul mulk suggested to Nizām ul mulk later, that as he was the oldest, he should go to the Sultān confirms it. This also appears from Firishtah. If Nizām-ul mulk had first gone to the Sultān there would be no necessity to ask him to go a second time on the ground that he was the oldest of the *amīns*. Besides it is not likely that the Sultān would have said to Nizām-ul mulk, that the government of the country could not go on in his absence. He could have only said this to 'Imād ul mulk. As to the name of Nizām-ul mulk I have not seen it with the affix *Aisan* anywhere else, but in

on the Sultan and submitted As tho Shihzadu has reached the stage of perfection and the son of this slave Malik Badeh his acquired much experience and knows how to endure the heat and cold of the times thus slave hopes that the *thana* of this slave should be made over to the slave's son and that Your Majesty would not leave this slave behind him when he goes on the auspicious pilgrimage¹ The Sultan said It is a great good fortune if it can be secured but the government of the country cannot go on - without you ² go and bring a plain answer from the *amirs* Nizam ul mulk went back to the *amirs* and repeated what had happened but no one attempted to give a reply When Imad ul mulk saw that no one would give an answer and the Sultan was stirring he said to Nizam ul mulk

As you are the most senior in age among all of us friends it would be better if you would go on behalf of all of us and would submit that the Lord of the world should first conquer the fort of Chain panir where he might leave his treasures and the inmates of his harem behind in safety and then he could turn his attention to the acquisition

the lith ed of Firishtah in the pas ago in which the illness and death of Imad ul mulk are mentioned he is called عماه الملك Ain Imad ul mulk Is the Aisan of the Cambridge History of India or make for Ain and has it been given to Nizam ul mulk by mistake instead of to Imad ul mulk?

The name of the *amir's* son is given in the MSS of tho Tabaqat as Malik Badeh The lith ed has Malik but omit Badeh It is not given in any other history in this place but it is given a Bullock on page 309 of the Cambridge History of India and as Malik Badin in Bayley page 909 The word which I have translated as experience is تجارت merchant so or trade in both MSS and in the lith ed This is so clearly a mistake that I have had no hesitation in inserting the correct word تجارت Apparently there was the same mistake in the Mirat-i-Sil andari and it puzzled the translator who has rendered it I have acquired wealth by trading and am well acquainted wth the sea ons and then adds in a note this sentence is doubtful (Bayley p 95)

¹ The Cambridge History of India page 308 says it was now Mahmud & turn to be at a loss I do not think he was very much at a loss

The reading in both MSS and in the lith ed is ای وحدت او I think ای وحدت نو is more correct and F rshtah has ای وحدت نو So I have taken the liberty to correct the text and this is followed in the text edit on

² The word بگو is not in the MSS but is in the lith ed

of the good fortune of circumambulating (the sacred places)" (The Sultān) said, "If God so wills, it comes to pass" He then sent for his food, and partook of it But he summoned Qaisār Khān into his private chamber, and said, "Imād-ul-mulk does not tell me the truth I have determined that I shall not speak to him till he discloses the truth"

When a few days passed in this way, one day Imād-ul-mulk said to the Sultān in private, "This slave does not know what offence he has committed" The Sultān replied, "Until you tell the truth I shall not speak to you" He replied, "They made me swear on the *Qurān*" The Sultān said, "If in the discharge of your loyal duties, your life goes, you should say let it go" Imād-ul-mulk then having no other alternative reported the whole of the truth Sultān Mahmūd acted with great forbearance, the only penalty which he inflicted on Khudāwand Khān was this, that he gave the name of Khudāwand Khān to one of his ¹ pigeons After a time he went to Nahrawāla, and from that place he sent Imād-ul-mulk to conquer Jālōr and ² Sājōr, and he sent Qaisar Khān with him Imād-ul-mulk on receiving leave to go, encamped near the tomb of Shaikh Hājī Rajab, may his soul be sanctified! In the night ³ Mujāhid Khān, son of Khudāwand Khān, in concert with Sāhib Khān his cousin, came out of his house, and entered the pavilion of Qaisar Khān, and murdered

¹ The word **کبوتران**, pigeons, is printed **بوقران**, servants, in the lith ed , and Col Briggs apparently having **بوقران** in the MSS , from which he made his translation, has turned the humorous and whimsical punishment of Khudāwand Khān, whom, by the way, he always calls Khoobabunda Khan into a matter of disgrace to the latter, by causing the person employed in the meanest office of his household to be called by his name Bayley on page 205 says that the Sultān called one of his pigeons Khudāwand Khān, but, as usual, in a note he attributes Col Briggs's statement to Firishtah

² The name is written ساحر in both MSS , and also in the lith ed of Firishtah, but it is سابقور in the lith ed of the Tabaqāt Col Briggs (vol IV, p 64) has Julwāra and Aboogur in place of Jālōr and Sājōr Bayley (p 206) has Jālōr and Sājōr, but the Cambridge History of India, page 309, has "Sānchor and Jālor in Marwār"

³ Firishtah agrees that the murder was committed by a son and a nephew of Khudāwand Khān, but the Cambridge History of India, page 309, says that it was committed by his two sons

him Early in the morning Imad ul mulk went to wait on the Sultan and disclosed the truth to him Another man however reported (to the Sultan) that Azdar Khan son of Alf Khan had committed this heinous act The Sultan immediately on hearing this sent Firuz Khan that he should arrest and bring Azdar Khan When night came Mujahid Khan and Sahib Khan fled with their family and children In the morning when it became known that Azdar Khan was innocent and Mujahid Khan and Sahib Khan had murdered Qasar Khan the Sultan ordered that Khindawand Khan should be put in chains and should be made over to Muhsafiz Khan and Azdar Khan should be set at liberty After some days the Sultan returned to Ahmadabad and about this time the poor Imad ul mulk bound up the goods of existence (died) The Sultan took pity on his family and gave his eldest son who had the name of ¹ Mahk Badeh the title of Ikhhtiyar ul mulk and he transferred the duty of the *rajarat* to Muhsafiz Khan

In the year 880 A.H. the people of Cunrat suffered the privations of a failure of the rains and a famine It so happened that ² Mahk

¹ See note 1 pp 269 - 0 The name is written in the MSS here as مک and مک is printed in the lith ed as مک I have retained the name previously given to him According to Firishtah on Imad ul mulk's death his son Ibar ul mulk obtained his father's place and became very near (to the Sultan) and having attained to the post of *raja* his affairs reached such a high position that he became the person to whom the high and low all looked up Col Briggs so far as I can see omits all reference to this matter Bayley quotes the Tabakat al Cambridge History of India page 309 agrees partially with Tabaqat and partly with Firishtah According to it on the death of Imad ul Mulk he was succeeded by his son Buda Imad ul Mull

² This is the year in both MSS and in the lith ed According to Firishtah it was 887 A.H. and according to Col Briggs 86 A.H. 148th A.D. Bayley gives the same year while the Cambridge History of India briefly refers to a failure of rains and famine

³ He is called Malik Sida Klassiah Khel Sultan who was posted at Mor Imlı otherwise called Rasulabad in the Mriti Sankari Bayley page 207 and Bayley says in a note that he is called Malik Sadha in the Tabakat al Akbari The Cambridge History of India page 309 calls him Malik Sudha governor of Rasulabad which is said there to be 14 miles S.E. of Champaner Firishtah apparently does not mention him though he says that the Rajputs of Champaner harried the Musalmans of Rasulabad

Sadhā had raided certain villages in Chāmpānī, and ¹ Rāy Batāī, the son of Rāy Udai Singh, Rāja of Chāmpānī, collected troops and attacked him and in the battle Mahk Sadhā and a body of his followers attained to the rank of martydom Rāy Batāī plundered and carried away two elephants and all goods and equipments belonging to Mahk Sadhā and his men When this news reached the Sultān, he set out on a march to Chāmpānī, on the first of the month of Dhī-qādah of the aforementioned year, and when by successive marches, he arrived at the town of Barōda, Rāy Batāī, becoming ashamed and repentant of the reprehensible act and wicked deed he had perpetrated sent ambassadors to wait on the Sultān, and petitioned for the pardon of his offences He also submitted that both the elephants, which had been wounded, had become disabled, but he was willing to send two other elephants loaded with gold The Sultān replied, "The answer to this message will be given to-morrow by the sword, which cuts like a diamond", and he turned the ambassadors back He sent in advance of himself Tūj Khān and 'Add-ul-mulk and Bāhrām Khān and Ikhtiyār Khan They arrived at the foot of the fort on the ² 7th Safar The Rājpūts saluted out of the fort every day, and fought from morning to evening with great gallantry

The Sultān also advanced from the town of Barōda, and passing Chāmpānī, encamped in the village of ³ Karnārī He appointed

¹ The name is رای بسائی, Rāy Basāī in the MSS, and Rāy Batāī in the lith ed It appears to be رای بنہی, Rāy Banāhī in the lith ed of Firishtah Col Briggs calls him Beny Ray The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī has Rāwal Patāī According to Rās Mālā (vol I p 371) his real name was "Jye Singhī", or as it should be correctly transliterated Jaya Sinha, which undoubtedly is the right name for the son of Udaya Sinha "and by Ferishta" (or rather by Col Briggs) "entitled Beny Ray, and widely known in Hindu tradition under the name of Phutāee Rāwul" In the Cambridge History of India, page 309, he is called Patāī, and it is also stated that he sacked and destroyed Rasūlābād, but I cannot find this anywhere else Firishtah has been followed in the text edition

² It is هفتم, 7th in one MS, and in the lith ed, and هفدهم, 17th in the other MS Firishtah lith ed also has 7th هفدهم in the text edition

³ Both MSS have کرناڑی, while the lith ed has کرناں Firishtah lith ed has کرنای, Karnāī, and Col Briggs (vol IV, p 67) has "Girnary on the Malwa road"

Sayyid ¹ Badr Alangdar for guarding the road and for the bringing in of provisions It so happened that one day when the Sayyid was escorting a convoy of provisions the Rajputs fell on them from an ambush and they slew a body of the troops and carried away all the provisions The Sultan on hearing this news became very depressed and sad and he sat down at the foot of the fort of Champanir till the end of Safar of that year and did every thing to carry on the siege with great vigour Muhibat Khan mounted every morning and inspected all the batteries till midday and then returning made report of the state of things to the Sultan When the siege had progressed in a satisfactory and perfect manner, he ordered that covered ways should be laid down from (all) four directions They say that for every plank that thou carried to the top of the hill the wages of the men carrying it amounted to one lakh tankas Ray Batai seeing this state of things and owing to great weakness and exhaustion again sent ambassadours and submitted that he would send a tribute of nine mans of gold and of grain which would suffice for feeding the army for two years The Sultan said It is impossible that I should rise from the place till this fort should have been conquered

When the ambassadors returned despondent Ray Batai in the year 888 A H sent his experienced *takil* ² Suru to Sultan Ghiyāth ud din Khalji and asked for help and undertook to pay one lakh of tankas for every stage in the march of his army as a contribution to his expenses Sultan Ghiyāth ud din mustered his troops and advanced to and encamped in the town of ³ Na Ichha When this news reached the Sultan he left his *amirs* at the different stations and marched himself

¹ The name of this man appears to be سید بدی اللہ در in the MSS It is مسندی در in the 1st ed He is called سند بدرا Sayyid Badr in the 10th ed of Firishtah and Syuli Mudun Lung by Col Briggs (vol IV p 67)

² Both MSS have اریں سر رعن بروجاسن ممکن نہیں but the 10th ed has اریں سر رعن ممکن نہیں کہ بروجسون

³ He is called صورا in the MSS and in the 10th ed Firishtah 10th ed has سورا Col Briggs (vol IV p 67) has Shew Ray and the Mirat-i-Sikandari (Bayley p 208) has Sahura and the Cambridge History of India (p 309) Sur

⁴ The name is written لالجا in both MSS In the 10th ed it is لالجا Lalja Firishtah 10th ed has لالجا نالجا The Mirat-i-Sikandari (Bayley) Na Ichah

as far as the town of ¹Dahūd to meet him. At this place the news reached him, that ²Sultān Ghīyāth-ud-dīn had sent for the learned men one day, and asked for an expression of their opinion on the following point "a bādshāh of the Musalmāns has besieged a hill of the infidels, is it right according to the *Shara'* that I should reinforce and go to help the latter?" The learned men said, "it is not right." Sultān Ghīyāth-ud-dīn immediately went back to Mandū. The Sultān on hearing this tune (of joyfulness) was delighted came back to Chāmpānīr, and laid the foundation of a ³*Jāma'* mosque.

The *amīrs* and the *sardārs* now knew for certain, that the Sultān would not leave the place until the fort should be conquered, and made a very great effort in planning the conquest. When the construction of the covered ways was completed, the soldiers in the Sultān's own battery saw one day from the covered way, that most of the Rājpūts went away in the morning for cleaning their teeth and for their ablutions, and only a few remained on the bastions. When they reported this to the Sultān he ordered that Qawām-ul-mulk on the following ⁴day in the year 889 A.H., at the true dawn should

¹ The name of the town should be transliterated as Dahūd. Firishtah, lith ed., has دہود, apparently a mistake, Col. Briggs has D'har, Bayley (p. 208) has Dahōd, and the Cambridge History of India (p. 309) Dohad.

² Firishtah agrees with this, but Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 68) says that the Sultān "on being reproached by his nobles and officers, for entertaining an intention of marching to the assistance of an infidel" disbanded his army, and returned to Mando.

³ The Cambridge History of India, p. 309, says that the mosque, which still adorns the ruins of the city, was built before Sultān Ghīyāth-ud-dīn's offer to aid the Rāja. This does not agree with the other histories, according to which the foundations of the mosque were laid after the Sultān's return from Dahūd. The author of the *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī* laments the ruin which had overwhelmed Chāmpānīr during his time. He says (Bayley, p. 212) "Now thanks be to God, Chāmpānīr is not still the same. The buildings are in ruins, it is inhabited by the tiger, and the gardens are for the most part jungle, nor is there any sandal wood produced its very name is unknown." The first sentence is curious. There is, however, no mention of the mosque.

⁴ No date is given in either the MSS. or the lith. ed. Only the year is mentioned at this place, but it appears a few sentences further on, that the date was the first of Dhī-qādah. Firishtah in the corresponding passage gives neither date nor year. Bayley after giving the account of the capture of Chāmpānīr, says

take the Sultan's own troops with him and should advance his *sabat* (covered way) into the fort. There was every hope that the flag of victory should be unfurled from the flag staff of hope. On the following morning which was the 1st of *Dhi qa dah* Malik Qiwam ul mulk with the Sultan's own troops hurled himself from the covered way into the fort and slew a large number of the garrison and a great fight took place. They drove the Rajputs to the gate of the citadel Ray Batai and other Rajputs then prepared for *jauhar* and Qawam ul mulk and the other leaders having the great good fortune of martyrdom before the eyes of their noble spirit lavished all efforts and made every endeavour.

It so happened that a few days before this they had shot a cannon ball on the rampart of the fort from the western side and several cracks and fissures had appeared in the rampart of the great citadel Malik Ayaz Sulṭāni availing himself of an opportunity went to the crack in the rampart with a body of soldiers from that crack which was in truth the crack by which the angel of the death of the garrison made his entrance they rushed into the great citadel and by way of the ¹*barah* ascended to the top of the great gate. At this time Sultan Mahmud came to the top of the *sabat* and placing his face of humility in the dust offered prayers and as victory and triumph still delayed he sent reinforcements. The Rajputs being harassed and discomfited threw bombs filled with gun powder on the roof of the gate. It so happened however that from the seat of divine mercy the breeze of success and victory blew, (the men on the top of the gate) seized those very bombs and threw them into the courtyard of the palace of Ray Batai. When the Rajputs found that things had come to this condition at every place where they had arranged a *jauhar*

that the Tabakat and Firishtah give a fuller account of how it was seized and proceeds to quote from them. It would appear from his account page 210 that the attack of Qiwam ul Mulk was made on the 1st *Zi I ka dah* 889 A.H. The Cambridge History of India does not specially mention this particular incident.

¹ The word *بَرَّ* *baru* in both MSS but it is *بَرَّ* *barah* in the 1st ed and in the 1st ed of Firishtah I have retained *barah* as it occurs in Imam barah etc. The translation in Bayley gives no help. It says from that breach they fought the way to the roof of the principal gate. M H dayat Hosain has *barah* in the text edition.

they set fire to them and burnt all their dependent and children. The whole of that day and night and the next day the entire (Muslim) army remained under arms and fought. On the second day which was the 2nd of Dhu-qâdâh 889 A.H., they forced open the door and got into (the citadel) and slew a large number. Sultan Muhammad also advanced as far as the door. A body of the Râjpûts then threw down their arms and assembled round a reservoir. They all got into the water and washed their bodies and coming out of the water seized their swords, and stood up. As the body of the Sultan's troops went near the reservoir, seven hundred Râjpûts at once rushed on them and very large numbers on both sides were slain, but Râj Batâî and Dûngarsi and a number of others were captured and brought before the Sultan.

The Sultan performed the ceremony of offering thanks to God and made over Râj Batâî and Dûngarsi to Muhâfir Khân, so that he might have their wounds medically attended to. The same day the Sultan gave the name of Muhammadâbâd to Châmpâni and made an entry into it. A number of the Râjpûts fled, and entered the third citadel. They were brought down the same day in distress and wretchedness. When Muhâfir Khân reported that Râj Batâî's wounds had healed, the Sultan urged ¹ him to accept Islâm. He did not agree. After he had been in prison for ² five months, and as he did not still accept Islâm he and ³ Dûngarsi were by order of the learned men, executed. This occurred in the year 890 A.H. In the same year he passed orders for the erection of a special citadel of citadels *Jahân Panâh*, and of palaces and gardens and placed the work in the charge of Muhâfir Khân. In the year 892 A.H., he bestowed the country

¹ Both Firishtah and the Cambridge History of India (p. 310) say that Râj Batâî and Dûngarsi were both invited to accept Islâm and both refused.

² According to Firishtah he was in chains during the whole of the five months, and was every day threatened with death.

³ The Cambridge History of India (p. 310) says, that the minister Sûrî was executed at the same time, but this does not appear to be mentioned in the Tabaqât or in Firishtah, and the Mirâti Sikandarî (Bayley, p. 211) says that the Sultan ordered the execution of the Râj, and of his minister but whether this refers to Dûngarsi or to Sûrî is not clear.

of Sorath and the forts of Junagarh and Kurnal on Shahzada¹ Khan

In the year 892 A H (the Christian year is given as 1486 A D) some merchants coming from Dehli arrived in Muhammadabad and complained that they were bringing² four hundred and three horses

¹ Firishtah call him the Sultan's *سونہ* or younger son but he is not mentioned by Col Briggs. In the Mirat-i-Sikandari he is mentioned on page 16 and it is said in a note that he afterwards became Muzaffar II. It appears from the Mirat-i-Sikandari page 39 that he was the Sultan's fourth son by Rani Harhai daughter of the Tah Rana of Rajput *amindar* on the bank of Mahindri. The Rani died the fourth or fifth day after the prince's birth. It is said that immediately after his birth the prince was taken by the Sultan to Hans Bai (the swan like lady as Bayley takes the trouble to explain that her name signifies) the widow of Sultan Muhammad and Sultan Mahmud's step mother. She educated the prince with more than a mother's care and Sultan Muhammad (sic) used to say whenever he saw him The line of my kingly ancestors will be carried on by this boy and his descendants.

It is curious that at least three of Sultan Mahmud's four sons were born of Hindu mothers viz (1) Muhammad Kala whose mother was Rani Iup Manjari who had previously been married to Sultan Kutub ud din and after his death came to Sultan Mahmud. The prince and his mother both predeceased the Sultan (2) Aba Khan whose mother was Rani Pirai. He was poisoned by his father's order because he had gone to some one's house who found him there and thrashed him (3) Ahmad Khan who was nick named Khudawand Khan a Ahmad Shah as Khudawand Khan had conspired to place him on the throne as had already been mentioned His mother's name is not mentioned. The fourth son was Khalil Khan.

There is some difference as to the place where the merchants complained to the Sultan. Both the Tabaqat and Firishtah say that they came to Muhammadabad and made their complaint there. In the Mirat-i-Sikandari Bayley page 16 it is said he then went to Ahmadabad. A party of merchants came to him complaining etc from which one would infer that the complaint was made at Ahmadabad. The Cambridge History of India (p 310) says that the complaint was made when he was hunting at Halol near Champaner.

² He is called *لاری* in the 1st ed of Firishtah and the number of horses is said to be four hundred there. Col Briggs says that the name and the country of the chief is omitted in the original and he does not give the number of the horses. The Mirat-i-Sikandari says that the merchants complained that they were bringing four hundred Persian and Turki horses from Irak and Khurasan and some rolls of Hindustani fabrics. But on reaching the foot of mount Ibu the Rajah of Sirohi had seized them all (Bayley pp 216-17). The

The Rāja of the hill of Ābū had taken them all by force and had looted the whole caravan (The Sultān) on hearing their words immediately ordered that the price of the horses might be paid to the merchants from the treasury, and having conferred robes of honour on them commenced to muster his troops and after some days advanced to devastate that country. He sent a *farmān* addressed to the Rāja of Ābū, by the hands of the merchants in advance of himself. The purport of the *farmān* was this that as the merchants were bringing the horses and other merchandise for the Sultān, and he (the Rāja) had taken them with violence, he should at once give back to the merchants exactly what he had taken from them otherwise he should be prepared to meet the anger and wrath of the Sultān. When the merchants took the *farmān* the Rāja of Ābū in great alarm, made over to them three hundred and seventy horses, which he had in their original condition, and gave them the price of thirty-three horses, which had become disabled and also sent a heavy tribute (to the Sultān) by their hand.¹ The merchants came and waited on the Sultān, informed him of the true state of things, and also placed the tribute of the Rāja before him, upon which he turned back and came to Muhammadābād Chāmpānī.

In the year² 896 A.H. (1491 A.D.) news came that Bahādūr Gilānī, servant (عَسْلَمَ) of Khwājah Mahmūd Gilānī, had turned his head from the obedience due to his master Sultān Mahmūd³ Lashkari

Cambridge History of India (p. 310) makes the number of horses four hundred and three and the name of the chief who had seized them, the Rāja of Ābū.

¹ Firishtah says that the Rāja sent an ambassador with the merchants, and placed himself in the band of the Sultān's servants. The Cambridge History of India (p. 310) says that the Sultān "permitted the merchants to retain the horses, as well as their price." I have not seen this anywhere else and it does not appear reasonable, that the merchants who had come from great distance to sell the horses, should have them returned to them.

² Firishtah lith. ed. gives 900 A.H., and Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 71) gives 900 A.H., 1494 A.D. as the year.

³ The MSS. have سُلَطَانٌ مُحَمَّدٌ but the lith. ed. has سُلَطَانٌ مُحَمَّدٌ Lashkari had, however, died some time before this, and his son Sultān Mahmūd was the nominal ruler, though much of the power was in the hands of Qāsim Barid. It appears from other histories that Sultān Mahmūd was in command of the troops that were sent against Bahādūr Gilānī. I have therefore substituted Sultān Mahmūd for Sultān Muhammad Lashkari.

the ruler of the Deecan and having taken unlawful and forcible possession of the port of Dibul was causing harassment to ships passing over the sea and the passage of coming to and going from Gujrāt had become closed and he had also forcibly carried away the Sultan's own ships. Immediately on hearing this news the Sultan mustered his troops and sent an army under Malik Qiwam ul mulk by land route and he also despatched many ships. When this news reached Sultan Mahmud Bahmanī he summoned the *amirs* and said. On several occasions help has come to us from his ancestors and the greatness and grandeur of Sultan Mahmud is known to all and the consideration of the rights of this great dynasty is obligatory and incumbent on our spirit and energy. It is therefore right and proper that we should turn our attention to his (Bahadur Gilani's) destruction. The *amirs* and *ta'irs* applauded the opinion and acknowledged the truth of the statement and began to collect troops. (At the same time) a letter couched in terms of sincerity was sent to Sultan Mahmud and preparations were made for the punishment of Bahadur Gilani and of teaching him a lesson. At the moment which the astrologers declared to be auspicious to Sultan Mahmud he marched from the city of Bidar to effect the destruction of Bahadur and after fighting slew him. The particulars of this occurrence have been narrated in the section about the Deccan.

In the year 897 A.H. (1474 A.D.) Sultan Mahmud marched towards the Malwa and on the day spies reported to him that Alf Khan son of Ulu^h Khan had fled as he had spent stipends (due to his retainers) for his own purposes and was afraid that they might apply to the Sultan for redress and indignities might be inflicted on him.¹ The Sultan sent Sharf i Jahan to reassure him and although

¹ Firishtah and Col. Briggs say that Alf Khan revolted in 904 A.H. 1498 A.D. and their account is briefer than and somewhat different from that in the Tabaqat. In the Mirat-i-Sālāndari Bayley page 20 the Sultan is said to have marched to Morasah on account of Alaf Khan's rebellion. In a note Bayley gives the version in the Tabakat. The account given in the Cambridge History of India page 311 differs from the others. The year of the revolt is said there to be 1497 and the name of the rebel is Baha ud din Ulugh Khan son of Ulugh Khan Suhrab. He is said to have fled because the people rose against him on account of his oppressing them and of appropriating the pay of the troops.

the emissary preached sermons and advices to him, they had no effect whatever

He sent some elephants, which he had with him in charge of Sharf-i-Jahān, and entered the country of Mandū, but as his father had acted towards Sultān Mahmūd Khaljī, Sultān Ghiyāth-ud-dīn gave him no place in his dominions and showed no favour to him at all. Alf Khān in distress and at a loss what to do came towards Sultānpūr. Sultān Mahmūd sent ¹ Qādī Pī Ishāq to reinforce ² Malik Shaikhā. When Qādī Pī Ishāq arrived in the vicinity of ³ Sultānpūr, Alf Khān fought with him, and son of the Qādī Malik-ul-Mashāikhī and some other men were slain in the skirmish in the end. After much wandering Alf Khān sent a petition to the Sultān, containing an account of his great suffering and distress and praying for the pardon of his offences. ⁴ As he was a *Lhānahzād* (one brought up in the family, a hereditary servant) of the Sultān the latter drew the pen of forgiveness over his offences. He came and waited on the Sultān in the year 901 A.H., had the honour of rendering homage, and had favours and kindness bestowed on him. But as the star of his fortune was on the decline, after three months he murdered his *nāib-i-'ard* (officer in-charge of petitions) without any cause, and was put into prison, and died in prison.

The name of his father according to the *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī* was 'Alā ud dīn bñ Suhrāb.

¹ Firishtah's account is entirely different. According to him Qādī Bir was sent against the rebel and pursued him through hills and jungles, till he at last fled by way of Sultānpūr to Mālwa. Col Briggs (vol IV, p 72) says that, "Sheikh Burra Deccany the Kazy ool-Koozat of Ahmudabad" was sent in pursuit of him. The *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī* says that Alaf Khan fled from place to place, and at last went to Sultān Ghiās-ud-dīn Khiljī. The account in the Cambridge History of India agrees generally with that in the text, but it does not say that Alf Khān fought with the force under the Qādī. On the other hand, it says that when the relieving force arrived, he fled into Baglāna.

² This is apparently the Qādī mentioned by Firishtah.

³ He appears to have been the governor of Sultānpūr. He does not appear to be mentioned by Firishtah or in the *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī*. The Cambridge History of India, page 311, calls him 'Aziz ul-Mulk Sharhan.'

⁴ The latter part of his history is narrated very briefly by Firishtah and the other historians.

As¹ Adil Khan Gurraqi governor of Asir had not for a long time remitted the tribute which had been fixed and was walking in the path of pride and haughtiness the Sultan collected his troops and in the year 906 A.H. (1490 A.D.) advanced to punish him and teach him a lesson. When he arrived on the bank of the river Tapti Adil Khan sent a large tribute and prayed to be excused. Sultan generously accepted his excuses returned to Muhammadabad Champain.

In the course of the same year i.e. 906 A.H. (1490 or 1500 A.D.) news came that Sultan Nasir ud din Abd ul Qadir having acted with ingratitude had taken the kingdom from Sultan Ghayyud din and assumed the title of Sultan. Sultan Mahmud wanted to advance to Malwa to punish him and teach him a lesson. At this time a subsidy came from Sultan Nasir ud din with a petition expressive of his humility and submission. He also stated in the petition that whatever he had done had been done with the consent of his lord master and father but as Srinja Khan and Rani Khurshid had ac-

¹ Firishtah says that Q. II Bhr with some other rulers first invaded Lakh in 906 A.H. Adil Khan was unable to meet them and asked Im Ul mulk the ruler of Berar for help but as he received none he sent the tribute which was in arrears and asked for pardon. Firishtah adds that according to some historians Sultan Mahmud himself advanced as far as the bank of the Tapti when Adil Khan sent the tribute. Col. Briggs in a note in vol. IV page 73 calls the demand of tribute by the King of Guzerat from Adil Khan an unimaginablyanton exercise of power but as Bayley has pointed out in a note on page 1 the Irak rulers were more or less in a kind of feudal duty to the Gujarat kings. The Cambridge History of India (p. 313) describes Adil Khan II as one of the most energetic and most powerful rulers of Khanda and he had scorned to pay tribute in his career of victory yet a mere demonstration of force by Sultan Mahmud was enough to bring him to his senses.

This sentence requires explanation. Nasir ud din was the son of Sultan Ghayyud din of Malwa. He was suspected of having poisoned his father I have not been able to find any reference to this in Firishtah or in Col. Briggs but Firishtah says in one place that he was accused of it but he stoutly denied it. The Mirat-i-Sikandari (Bayley p. 991) says that Nasir ud din poisoned his father and seized the kingdom. Bayley says in a note that there is no proof of evilness of the poisoning. The Tarikh-i-Alfi though hostile in tone merely says that there was a suspicion. The Cambridge History of India (p. 311) says Ghayyud din was deposed on November 6th 1500 and died in February 1501 not without suspicion of poison.

quined influence over (the mind of) Sultān Ghīyāth-ūd-dīn, they exerted themselves in concealing the facts. The Sultān having taken pity on his humility and distress, gave up the intention of marching there.

¹ In the same year, as the *Firangīs* (apparently the Portuguese) created disturbances in Musalmān ports the Sultān proceeded to the port of Mahāim, and when he arrived in the neighbourhood of ² Dūn news was brought to him, that Āyāz one of his slaves had prepared some of the Sultān's ships, and ten of the Turkish ships at the port of Dip and had fought with the *Firangīs* of the port of ³ Chaul. In the action many *Firangīs* and four hundred Turks were slain. The *Firangīs* fled and ⁴ one of their large ships, the cargo in which was valued at one *kīōrī*, having had its mast struck and broken off by a cannon ball was sunk. Sultān Mahmūd after carrying out the rites of offering thanks to God, returned to Muhammādābād Chāmpānī.

In the year 914 A.H. ⁵ 'Ādil Khān, son of Hasan Khān, made a representation to Sultān Mahmūd, through his mother, who was the

¹ Firishtah's account is somewhat different. He says that the *Firangīs* wanted to build forts on the coast. The Sultān of Rūm, who was their enemy had, on hearing this, sent many ships to carry on a war of religion, and to prevent their carrying out their objects. Some of these ships had arrived in the Gujrāt ports. Sultān Mahmūd also intending to carry on religious war there, started towards the ports of Dīsī and Daman and Mahāim, and when he arrived at Daman he sent his special slave Āyāz Sultānī, who was the Amīr ul-umrā and Satarsāl from the port of Dip. Col Briggs's account (vol IV, p 74) is similar but he says that the Turkish fleet was under "Ameer Hoosein" whom the Portuguese called Meer Hashim. The account given in the Cambridge History of India page 312, is long and comprehensive, but it is unnecessary to refer to it here in detail.

² See note 1, page 246.

³ The name is written in Persian as جوہل, but is written in English as Choul or Chaul.

⁴ This was their flag-ship, and probably had on board Don Laurence, the son of Vasco da Gama, who was killed.

⁵ He is called عادل حاں in both MSS and in the lith ed of the Tabaqāt and by Firishtah and Col Briggs and also in the Muntakhab-al-labāb, vol III page 155, but is called 'Ālam Khān in the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī and in the Cambridge History of India. He is called 'Ādil Khān bin Hasan Khān, but whether he was the son of Hasan Khān, or he was the great grandson of Hasan Khān, as stated in the Cambridge History of India in respect of 'Ālam Khān, is not

Sultan's daughter that Adil Khan the son of Mubarak Khan the ruler of Asir and Burhanpur had died seven years and some months ago leaving no son and he hoped that the Sultan would bestow the place of his ancestors on the *faqir* (*i.e.* himself). The Sultan accepted the request and prayer of his daughter and collected an army in the month of Rajah of that year. In Sha'ban he marched towards Asir and Burhanpur and having passed Ramadhan on the bank of the Narbada in the village of ¹Sili he marched towards Nadarbar in Shawwal. When he arrived at that place he learnt that Malik Hisam ud din Maghul who was in possession of half the country of Asir and Burhanpur had in concert with Nizam ul mulk Bahri the ruler of Kawil placed ²Khanzuda Vlam Khan who was n

el er Adil Khan was probably the son of Qasim Khan I who died in 1359. He was the younger son of Malik Raja of Khanda I who died in 1359. He was deprived of his share of the patrimony by his elder brother Nizam Khan in 141 and took up his residence in Gujurat where his descendant married with the royal family.

¹ It is written as مسلمی in the MSS. and printed as سلسلی in the litho ed of the Tabaqat and also in the litho ed of Firishtah. It does not appear to be mentioned in any history.

Malik Hisam ud din Maghul is called Malik Hisam ud din in the litho ed of Firishtah and Hisam e Deen of Kandarsibz Col Brigg (vol IV p 76). He is called Hisam ud din Moghul by Bayley (p. 23) and Malik Hisam the Mughul in the Cambridge History of India (p. 314).

² Firishtah says ملک حسام الدین مغلی رادہ عالم حارثا It is not clear whether the word Mughal is part of the name of Hisam ud din or whether as is more likely Khanzuda is a derivative of Vlam Khan. In any case this does not explain the exact connection of Vlam Khan with the family. According to a note by Bayley Khanzuda may signify that though he was not a prince he might have belonged to a collateral branch of the family of Asir. It appears also from the Mirati Sandarsib Bayley page 3 that Hisam ud din had previously written to Vlam (Adil) Khan that if he would give him he could raise him on the throne of his ancestors. It is found later that Sultan Mahmud was also interested in him and treated him private and with the help of Nizam ul mulk Bahri placed the other Vlam Khan on the throne.

The Cambridge History of India page 313 say that Sultan Mahmud induced Adil Khan II to nominate his youthful kinsman as his heir to the exclusion of his brother Daud but is 1001 A.D. Mahmud was not in a position to press his grandson's claim and Daud succeeded Adil Khan II without any opposition. Daud died in August 1509 A.D. He was succeeded by his son

descendant of the rulers of Asī and Burhānpūr on the throne of that kingdom, and Malik Lādan Khaljī, who was in possession of (the other) half of the country of Asir had taken up an attitude hostile to Malik Hisām-ud-din Maghūl, and had taken up a fortified position on the hill of Asī. Sultan Mahmūd, on hearing of these happenings, advanced to ¹ Thālnīr. Malik 'Ālam Shah, the *thānadār* of Thālnīr, came and waited upon him, through the intervention of 'Aziz-ul-mulk Sultanī, *thānadār* of Sultānpūr, and evacuating his *thāna*, ² surrendered it to the Sultan.

On hearing this news, Nizām-ul-mulk Bahī left four thousand horsemen with 'Ālam Khān and Malik Hisām-ud-din and himself went to Kāwīl. As Sultan Mahmūd felt slightly indisposed in Thālnīr, he remained there for some time, and sent Asaf Khān, and Malik 'Aziz-ul-mulk, with a well-equipped army to punish Malik Hisām-ud-din and 'Ālam Khān. When these officers advanced towards Burhānpūr, the troops left behind by Nizām-ul-mulk Bahī turned their faces to their own country, without (obtaining) the permission of Hisām-ud-din. Malik Lādan Khaljī came forward to welcome Asaf Khān, and had an interview with him. Asaf Khān took him with himself to wait upon the Sultan. Malik Hisām-ud-din also, ashamed and repentant, came and joined the Sultan's camp, and both were honoured with kindness and favour. After the 'Id-ud-duha, at an auspicious moment, the Sultan conferred the title of A'zam Humāyūn on 'Ādil Khān, and bestowed on him four elephants and ³ thirty lakhs of *tankas* as a contribution towards his expenses, and entrusted to him the reins of the government and defence of Asir and Burhānpūr. He conferred the title of Khān Jahān on Malik Lādan, and gave him permission to go back with A'zam Humāyūn 'Ādil Khān. As

Ghaznī Khān, who was poisoned after a reign of ten days. Ahmad Nizām Shāh now invaded Khāndesh with the object of placing another scion of the Fāruqī house, also named 'Ālam Khān, who had taken refuge in his court.

¹ بہادر in the text edition

² This incident does not appear to be mentioned anywhere else

³ It is لکھ سی thirty *lakhs* in the MSS, and in the lith ed Firishtah, however, on page 204 of the lith ed (vol II) has & three *lakhs*. Col Briggs has not mentioned the various gifts. The Mirāt-i Sikandarī, Bayley, page 225, has thirteen *lakhs*. The Cambridge History of India does not mention the gifts.

Malik Lidan had been born in the village of ¹ بناس that moudah was granted to him as a reward. The Sultan also conferred the title of Ghazi Khan on Malik Muhammad Bakha son of Imad ul mulk Asri and that of Qutb Khan on Malik Alami Shah thanadar of Thalnir that of Muhsin Khan on Malik Hafiz and that of Saif Khan on his brother Malik Yusuf and sent them back in attendance on Zam Humayun ² He left Malik Nasrat ul mulk and Mujahid ul mulk Gujrati in the service of Zam Humayun after giving them money to defray their expenses. On the 17th Dhil hijjah he marched from that station and proceeded towards Sultanpur Nadarbar. At the first station (in the march) he conferred the title of Shahryar on Malik Hisam ud din Maghul and having bestowed the moudah of ³ Dhanura which is one of the dependencies of Sultanpur and two elephants gave him permission to go back. He himself then by successive marches arrived at Muhammadabad Champaonir on the 16th of the sacred month of Muharram in the year 916 A.H. (1510 A.D.)

Adil Khan after his arrival at Burhanpur (found that) Malik Husam ud din Shahryar Malik Bakha and Ghazi Khan had on account

¹ The name is سناس in the MSS and in the lith ed and also in the lith ed of Firishtah but Col Briggs (vol IV p 76) make it the district of Ahwa. The Mirat i Sikandari Bayley page 2 has The village of Ban ⁴ in the paraganas Sultanpur. In the text edition سناس is apparently a typographical error.

The name is as I have it in the text in the MSS and in the lith ed but Firishtah lith ed has ملک نساں Malik Nasseh son of Imad ul mulk Khan d hi and the Mirat i Sikandari Bayley page 2 has Muhammad Makha

³ The sentence from در حدود اعظم مہارون گرائب to و ملک حسام الدین is not to be found in one MS but is in the other and in the lith ed

⁴ The name is رعنورہ in the MSS and in the lith ed and also in the lith ed of Firishtah. It is Dhanurah also in the Mirat i Sikandari Bayley pag 2 but Col Briggs has (vol IV p 76) the town of Dhoor

⁵ There are variations in the readings. The MSS have the reading which I have adopted. The reading in the lith ed is different. The other histories do not give the details of the way in which Hisam ud din was murdered. Firishtah merely says سلطان اعظم مہارون ملک حسام الدین سہریار را کسٹہ اعویں اوڑا مل عالم سود And the Cambridge History of India page 314 says one of his (Adil Khan III's) first acts was to cause Malik Husain who was again plotting with the king of Ahmadnagar to be assassinated

of an ill-feeling which they had with Mahk Lādan Khaljī Khān Juhān, left Burhānpūr and had taken up their residence in Thālnūr. After some days, news was brought to A'zam Humāyūn, that Malik Hisām-ud-dīn Shahīyār had combined with Niẓām-ul-mulk Bahūnī, and wanted to raise the dust of disturbance. Having become cognisant of this treachery on his part, A'zam Humāyūn sent a message to summon him. Malik Hisām-ud-dīn knowing the state of things came towards Burhānpūr with four thousand horsemen. When he arrived in the vicinity of the city, A'zam Humāyūn went forward to receive him with ¹ three thousand Gujrātī horsemen, took him to his palace, and after confessing on him a robe of honour, gave him permission to go back to his camp. On the following day he arranged with the men in his confidence, that when Malik Hisām-ud-dīn would come to the hall of audience, he should be taken by the hand to the private chamber, and when he would be bidding farewell, Daryā Shāh Gujrātī, who would be carrying the sword of A'zam Humāyūn 'Ādil Khān, should deal him a fatal wound. After he is murdered, his men should also be murdered at the various places (where they happen to be). According to this agreement, a man was sent to summon Hisām-ud-dīn. The latter, in his great pride and conceit, came with all his followers. After they had met, (A'zam Humāyūn) in the way of consulting him took him by the hand into the private chamber. They had a short conversation, after which A'zam Humāyūn handed him *pān* (betel), and bade him farewell. At this time Malik Hisām-ud-dīn straightened himself up, and ² Daryā Khān struck him on the head with the sword with such force, that it was cloven in two.

When Mahk Burhān 'Atā'-ul-lah, who was the *vazīr* of A'zam Humāyūn, became aware of what had happened, he ordered a number of Gujrātīs, who were with him, to smite the wretches. When those men drew their swords from the scabbards, Mahk Muhammad Bākhā

¹ The number is ۳۰۰۰ thirty hundred or three thousand in both MSS., it is ۳۰۰۰۰ thirty hundred thousand, which is of course incorrect, in the lith ed., Firishtah has ۳۰۰ ۳۰۰ three hundred, which is more probable and in the Persian text of Muntakhab al labāb, vol III, page 443, has ۲۰۰ ۲۰۰ ۲۰۰ two hundred three hundred.

² The same man is called Daryā Shāh a few lines earlier

and the other sardars who had accompanied Malik Hisam ud din turned their faces in flight. Four hundred Habsils who were present at the *darbar* cut them all down and Malik Muhammad Bakha and the other leaders were thrown wallowing in the dust and blood. The half of the country which was in his possession came without further dispute into A zam Humayun's possession. When the account of these events in great detail and clearness reached Sultan Mahmud in the month of Rabi ul awwal of the afore mentioned year ¹ he declared that whoever did not regard the rights of the salt fell in the end into the place of destruction.

In the year 916 A.H. 1510 A.D. a petition from A zam Humayun reached (Sultan Mahmud) to the effect that he had on one occasion gone to the fort of Asir, and that he had found Sher Khan and Saif Khan who were in charge of it full of mischief and hostility and now that Malik Hisam ud din had been slain these two wretches had combined together in their enmity and malice and they had written a letter to Nizami ul mulk Bahri and had summoned Khanzada Alam Khan. This slave (i.e. he himself) in concert with Malik Ladan Khan Jahan and Mujahid ul mulk and other amirs had advanced to the fort and is besieging it. Nizam ul mulk Bahri has brought Alam Khan with him and has come with his army and is stationed near the border. It is true if he should enter this slave's territory he would have to ruse the siege and would have to go and fight with him. The Sultan bestowed five *lakhs* of *tankas*

¹ This is also mentioned by Firishtah

This also is mentioned by Firishtah but he says that Nizam ul mulk had come to his border bringing with him Alam Khan and with the Raja of Kalna. It may be mentioned also that he says that the five *lakhs* of *tankas* were *silver tankas*. Col Briggs after mentioning Mahmood Shah return to Sooltanpoor says (vol IV p 76) Notwithstanding these arrangements internal commotions occurred at Aseer during the following year which were amicably adjusted through the agency of Mahmood Shah who sent his own son to carry into effect his orders and to confirm the authority of Adil Khan. This is scarcely correct. The adjustment was anything but amicable so far as Malik Hisam ud din and Malik Muhammad Bakha etc. who accompanied Malik Hisam ud din were concerned and not even so far as Sher Khan and Saif Khan and Khanzada Alam Khan were concerned. It does not also appear that any son of Sultan Mahmud was sent to Khandesh to settle matters there.

as a contribution to his expenses, and sent Dilāwar Khān, Safdar Khān and other *amīns* to help and reinforce him. He also wrote in reply, "let my (grand)son's mind remain assured, that whenever there should be any necessity, I shall myself go to his aid. How can Nizām-ul-mulk Bahri, who is a slave of one of the Sultāns of the Deccan, have such power that he should cause any damage to the territory of my (grand)son?" The *amīns* mentioned above had not yet marched from outside the city, when ¹ Shāhzāda Muzaffar Khān, an account of whom will before long be narrated, came from the town of Baiōda, and having obtained the honour of kissing his father's feet prayed for and obtained a further sum of seven *lakhs* of *tankas* towards A'zam Humāyūn's expenses.

After some days, an emissary of Nizām-ul-mulk Bahri came and waited on the Sultān and presented a petition (of his master) to the following effect. 'As Alām Khānzāda came as a suppliant to me, I hope that he (the Sultān) will be pleased to bestow a part of the

¹ It appears from the Cambridge History of India, page 314, that A'zam Humāyūn or 'Adil Khān III cemented his alliance with Gujrāt by marrying a daughter of Sultan Muzaffar. I have not seen this mentioned anywhere else, except in the *Muntakhab-al-labāb*, vol III, page 445, but it is stated there that Sultan Mahmūd gave a daughter of Sultan Muzaffar in marriage to him at the same time that he conferred the title of A'zam Humāyūn on him, and confirmed him in the government of Khāndesh. So that it was more the act of Sultan Mahmūd than of A'zam Humāyūn. Besides it was scarcely necessary for A'zam Humāyūn to cement his alliance with Gujrāt by marriage. He was the grandson (daughter's son) of Sultan Mahmūd, and was being treated with great affection and kindness by the Sultān himself, and by his son Shāhzāda Muzaffar (who is somewhat loosely and incorrectly called Sultan Muzaffar, while his father was still alive, both in the Cambridge History of India and in the *Muntakhab-al-labāb*). It appears from *Frishtah* that the Shāhzāda prayed for the additional grant, not for his son-in law, but for his nephew (*khwāhāzāda*), so that the earlier relation had greater force and validity with Sultan Mahmūd and Shāhzāda Muzaffar than the later one. The *Muntakhab-al-labāb*, vol III, page 444, has a somewhat different account. It says Sultan Mahmūd, immediately on becoming acquainted with the purport of the letter, sent twelve *lakhs* of Mahmūdis, which amount to six lakhs of rupees current at that time, and various articles, such as vessels of gold and silver, etc. The twelve *lakhs* may include the five *lakhs* originally given, and the seven *lakhs* given at the request of Shāhzāda Muzaffar. He also made an assignment of eight *lakhs* of *tankas* out of the revenues (*mahsūl*) of *pargana* Sultānpūr.

country of Ait and Burhanpur on him. The Sultan sent for the emir and told him. Since the (the Nizam ul mulk) places his foot further than his blanket he will soon receive his merited punishment. In short when the amirs mentioned above (Dilawar Khan etc.) arrived at the town of Nadarbar Sher Khan and Saif Khan being now aware of the disastrous end of their affairs carried their application to Malik Mujahid ul mulk and prayed for protection. Azam Humayun finding this to be an uniopeful boon gave them promise and engagement. Sher Khan and Saif Khan relying on his promise came out of the fort and went away to the territory of Kawil. After the arrival of Dilawar Khan and the other amirs Adil Khan determined on raiding the country of Kalna. After he had harassed a few of the villages and hamlets the Raja of Kalna sent tribute and prayed for forgiveness³ of his offences. Adil Khan then gave the Cufrah amirs leave to go back to their country and returned to Burhanpur.

It was in this year that Sultan Sikandar Indi the Badshah of Dehli sent as a matter of special friendship some nice things as presents to the Sultan. Before this no Badshah of Dehli had sent any presents to any Badshah of Cufrah. It was also in Dhil hijjah of the year 916 A.H. (1510 A.D.) that Sultan Mahmud travelled towards Nahrwala and made the learned and pious men and the faqirs living there happy by granting largesses and favours to them. He told (them) that the object of his coming there was this that he should bid adieu to the sainted ones there perhaps the angel of death would not give him further respite. The learned and great men all offered prayers for him each in his particular way. He then

¹ The word وَلَمْ is omitted from the MSS. According to Firishtah the Sultan's word to the emir were a good deal terner and more emphatic.

Adil Khan whom Nizam ul din has been calling Azam Humayun is here again called by his proper name.

² A sentence which occurs in the lith ed. at this place but is omitted from both MSS. اعلام حل ار ان سرمن بحراس means and I have left that country. I have omitted it from the text but in the text edition اعرابی گھر اے اعلام حل ار ان سرمن is retained between and

⁴ One MS. inserts رحصہ after کرد بعلی which appears to be illegible and unintelligible.

mounted and proceeded to circumambulate the tombs of the Shaikhs of Pattan, may the mercy of God be on them all! On the 4th day, he started on the journey to Ahmadābād and having circumambulated the holy tomb of ¹ Shaikh Ahmad Khattū, may his soul be sanctified! turned towards Muhammadābād As at this time he felt very ill and weak, he summoned Shāhzāda Muzaffar Khān from the town of Barōda, and gave him pleasant advice After four days, when he saw some signs of improvements in his health, he granted leave to the Shāhzāda to return to Barōda But after a few days the illness increased and he became extremely infirm and weak

At this time, one day, Faīhat-ul-mulk reported to him, that Shāh Ismā'īl, the Bādshāh of Irān, had sent Yādgār Bēg Qazlbāsh, with a body of other Qazlbāshes with elegant presents in the way of an embassy He said ² "May the great God not show me the face of a Qazlbāsh, who is (a follower of) the enemies of the ³ companions of the Prophet of God, may the benediction of God and salutation be on him! and of the perpetrators of oppression, and as a matter of

¹ This was at Sarkhēj Firishtah also says that it was the tomb of Shaikh Ahmad Khattū, that he visited here, but Col Briggs (vol IV, p 77) makes it the tomb of "Sheikh Ahmad Geesoo Duraz"

² The Cambridge History of India, page 315, says that "Yādgūr Beg Qizilbāsh was commissioned to invite Mahmūd to embrace the Shiāh faith" This may be correct, but I have not seen it stated in any work of a Muhammadan historian Elphinstone on page 765 of his History of India (edition 1889) says "the reign of Mozaffer opened with a splendid embassy from Shāh Ismail king of Persia" This is not strictly correct, the embassy had been sent to Sultān Mahmūd, but it only arrived after his death, and the accession of Sultān Muzaffar Elphinstone concludes the paragraph by saying that the embassy "was probably designed to conciliate their favour to the Shiā religion" If this is the foundation of the statement in the Cambridge History of India, it scarcely justifies the positive assertion that is made there It also adds somewhat picturesquely that Mahmūd sent a message to "the heretics bidding them begone" This is also not mentioned anywhere as far as I have seen On the other hand, it is said both in the Tabaqāt and by Firishtah that he expressed a pious wish, that God might not show him the face of a Qazlbāsh and this actually happened for he died before Yādgār Bēg could reach Muhammadābād It would, in fact, appear that he could not be approaching Muhammadābād, if the Sultān had bade him begone

³ Firishtah says more precisely *آلیٰ اصحاب* or the three companions, namely Abū Bakr and 'Umr and 'Uthmān

fact it happened so He then ordered that Shahzada Muzaffar Khan should be quickly summoned and Ladgar Beg Qazlbash had not yet arrived when at the time of evening prayer on Monday the 2nd of Ramadan in the year 971 A H (23rd November 1511 A D) he bound up the goods of existence (*i.e.* died)

He lived for 169 years and 11 days and he reigned for 55 years and one month and 2 days He is described in *farmans* (*manashir*) as Lkhudaigan Hilm (the patient or calm Lord) He is also called Mahmud Begarah and Begarah means a cow whose horns turn upwards and then curl round His moustaches were of this shape and on this account he has been named ³ Begarah He was a ⁴ Badshah calm or patient merciful brave liberal and God fearing

¹ Fishtah makes it sixty nine years and eleven months

The word is written as Bégra or Bé Gurra by Col Briggs (vol IV p 71) Begurra by the translator of Ras Mala Begara by Elphinstone Begara by Bayley and Begarah in the Cambridge History of India but it is بگرا in the MSS of the Tabaqat and in the lith ed of Firishtah and بگرہ in the lith ed of the Tabaqat and in the Persian ed of the Muntakhab al labab M Hidayat Ho a n has adopted بگرہ in the text edit on So that it was always written w th a G in English and with a K in Persian I do not know sufficient Gujrati to say which is correct

² Firishtah gives another etymology of the word on the authority of Sh h Jamal ud din Anju who says that as he captured two renowned forts he was called بگرہ and Firishtah adds that this is nearer the correct etymology Ras Mala vol I page 39 says *be* means two and *gurah* means a fort If this etymology be cor e t then the correct Persian spelling would be بگرہ and the correct English spelling would be B garah The meaning of the two curled horns may if I may venture a guess be correct f the word is changed to بگرہ Be garah (*be* meaning two and *gurah* meaning a knot or curl)

⁴ The Cambridge History of India page 315 says that he had made himself immune from the effects of po ons by gradually absorbing poisons into his system and quotes Hudibras Part II Canto I where it is said that

The prince of Cambay a daily food

Is asp and basilisk and toad

He goes on to say that his voracious appetite demanded large supplies of more whole some food His daily allowance was between twenty and thirty pounds weight and before going to sleep he placed two pounds or more of boiled rice on either side of his couch so that he might find something to eat on which ever side he awoke I was at first inclined to think that the author of the

~ AN ACCOUNT OF ¹ SULTĀN MUZAFFAR SHĀH, SON OF MAHMŪD SHĀH

As on Monday, the 2nd of Ramadān in the year 917 A H, Mahmūd Shāh son of Muhammad Shāh passed away from the narrowness of bodily existence to the wide spaces of the spiritual world, Shāhzāda Muzaffar Khān arrived after two hours (*sā'at*) of the night of Tuesday the 3rd of Ramadān (had passed), and by the exertions of the *amīns* and the men learned in divine knowledge, sat on the throne of sovereignty. The people performed the ceremony of the offering of service and of wave offerings. On the same night, he sent the body of his father to the tomb, which is the resting place of light, of the chief of Shaikhīs, Shaikhī Ahmad Khattū, may his soul be sanctified! He made over two *lakhs* of *tankas* to 'Azīz-ul-mulk so that he might distribute it, among deserving people in the town of ² Sarkēj. He bestowed robes of honour on the *amīns*, and the great men of the kingdom, and honoured some of them with suitable titles. On the same day, *khutba* was read in his name on the pulpits of Islām. Among his *khāsa khāil* (men of his own household), he conferred the title of

Cambridge History of India had either made a mistake or had exaggerated what he had found in some Persian history, but I find that he has if anything greatly diminished the quantity of Sultan Mahmūd's food. According to the author of "The coins of the Gujrāt Saltanat" published in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol XXI, page 290, his daily allowance was one Gujrāti *man* in weight, i.e., forty-one pounds. His little breakfast consisted of 150 plantains, a cup of honey and another of butter, but it is not stated whether this was included in the one Gujrāti *man*, or was in addition to it. The *Mirāt-i Sikandari*, Bayley, page 162, also gives him a similar quantity.

I find that the fact of his having made himself immune from the effect of poisons is based on the account of two European travellers, Bartema, as Elphinstone calls him (or more correctly Di Verthema) and Barbosa, mentioned by Elphinstone on page 764 of his History of India, 7th edition. I should be inclined to doubt the statement about the quantity of food. It is curious that the European travellers say nothing about it, and the Indian historians are equally silent about his being able to absorb abnormal quantities of poisons. I am inclined to agree with Mr Danes, the editor of the book of Barbosa for the Hakluyt Society, page 122, that probably out of the stories about the enormous quantities of food eaten by him, arose the stories about the abnormal things he ate.

¹ The lith ed has سلطان مظفر شاہ before سلطان محمود شاہ, but both MSS omit it.

² سرکیج in the text edition

Imad ul mulk on Malik Khush Qidam and of Khudwānd Khan on Malik Rashid ul mulk and placed the reins of the *ta arat* in the latter's powerful hands.

In the month of Shawwāl of the afore mentioned year Yadgar Beg Qazibash the ambassador of Shah Isma'il arrived from Iraq to the neighbourhood of Muhammadabad. The Sultan sent all the amirs and *ta'irs* to welcome him and ¹ met him on his arrival with pleasure and gratitude. Yadgar Beg placed the beautiful presents which he had brought for Mahmud Shah at the service of Muzaffar Shah. The latter conferred kingly robes on Yadgar Beg and all the Qazibashes and elected a special mansion for their residence.

After some days he went from Muhammadabad to the town of Baroda and he gave the name of Daulatabad to that town. At this time news came that Shihab Khan son of Sultan Nasir ud din Khalji who had revolted with the help of Khwajah Jahan the eunuch of Sultan Mahmud and had seized Mandu and assumed the title of ²Sultan Muhammad and had made most of the nobles take his side as the pen has attempted to narrate these events in the section about Malwa now fled from Mandu and came praying for help. Sultan Muzaffar sent Muhib Khan to receive and welcome Shihab Khan so that he

¹ One MS and the lith ed have طافی but the other MS has طافی. It appears that the embassies from the Shah of Persia in respect of which Sultan Mahmud had expressed a pious wish that he might not have to show his face to them and whom in the forcible language of the Cambridge History of India he ordered to be begone was received with much favour by Sultan Muzaffar. Firishtah goes a little further than Nizam ul din. He says در سلطنت عظیم و دکریم دعوه فروگذاس سند و در سلطنت عظیم دعوه فروگذاس سند in the observation of respect and honour no minutia was omitted.

There is some slight difference in the readings here both MSS read حواجه سراجون سلطان محمود but the lith ed has حواجه سراجون سلطان محمود. I have adopted the former reading. The sentence requires some explanation. Shihab Khan was the elder brother of Sultan Nasir ul din but the latter deposed him and became the Sultan and took the title of Sultan Mahmud (II). Afterwards Shihab Khan rebelled against him and having seized Mandu assumed the title of Sultan Muhammad but on being defeated afterwards came to Sultan Muzaffar for help.

² The correct title Sultan Muhammad is given in one MS but the other MS and the lith ed have Sultan Mahmud.

might carry out the rites of hospitality and try to please his heart. After an interview (Sultān Muzafrā) remained for some days at Baroda in order to entertain Sāhib Khān and then went away to Muhammadābād. He sent Qaisar Khān to the town of Dālūd, that he might report a correct and detailed account of Sultān Mahmūd Khaljī, and of the condition of the country of Mālwa and of the behaviour of the *amīns*. As the rains (now) commenced, the people halted at the various places where they happened to be. Sāhib Khān sent a message one day to the effect that a long time¹ had elapsed since the coming of the *fagīr*, but he does not see that there has been any progress in his affairs. The Sultān replied, "If the great God so wills, I shall at the end of the rains, either amicably or by force recover half the kingdom of Mālwa from the possession of Sultān Mahmūd and shall make it over to you." But as the star of the fortune of Sāhib Khān was on the decline, it so happened, that he became friendly with Yādgān Bēg Qazlbāsh, who had become known to the people of Gujrat by the name of *Sukh Lulāh*, i.e., red cap, owing to their living near each other.² One day there was a quarrel between the servants (of the

¹ One MS. has سو instead of سو in the other MS. and in the lith ed. Contrary to what is stated in the text and in Firishtah about Sāhib Khān's complaint about Qaisar Khān having done nothing to carry out the work which he had been deputed to perform, the Cambridge History of India, page 316, says, that Qaisar Khān returned with a report favourable to Sāhib Khān's claim. The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 245, gives a somewhat different account of the work which Kaisar Khān was to do, but it says nothing about his return, or his submitting any report.

² This incident is variously stated in the different histories. Firishtah's account is similar to that in the text, but he adds that the Qazlbāshes wounded some of Sāhib Khān's men. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, pp. 80, 81) says that the Kuzilbashes wounded several persons wholly unconnected with the affair. The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, pages 245, 246, begins with the altercation between the servants, but goes on to say that there was some trouble between Sāhib Khān, who is called Shāhzāda Muhamad, and the Persian envoy, who is called quite incorrectly Mirza Ibrāhīm. Sāhib Khān went in the evening to some old servant of his who lived in the same *serai* as the Persian envoy. Some strife monger told the latter that Sāhib Khān wanted to rob him, and he shut the door of the *serai*, and afterwards took Sāhib Khān to his own appartement. In the morning Sāhib Khān escaped, and spread a report that an order had been issued to plunder the Kazilbāshes. A great crowd collected and a fight took place. Many

two households) and it ended in a fight and the house of Yadgir Beg was looted A report spread among the Gujrati soldiers that the Turkmans had seized Sahib Khan The latter being ashamed at such a report left without taking leave of Sultan Muzaffar The details of this brief statement have been mentioned in the section about Malwa

As after the departure of Sahib Khan news came to Sultan Muzaffar about the power and violence of the ¹ Rajputs and of the weakness of Sultan Mahmud Khalji his high spirit induced him to undertake the punishment of the former In order to carry out this resolution he went to Ahmadabad so that he might be sure of the safety of the *thanas* of his own dominions and he might advance into Malwa

of the Kazilbashe were slain and the house was set on fire and plundered Afterwards Sultan Muzaffar paid *rahalis* of *tankahs* to the envoy and sent him back to Irq with many presents The Sultan was annoyed with Sahib Khan and he having received invitations from some *amirs* of repute in Malwa went away without taking leave of the Sultan The Cambridge History of India page 317 has an entirely different story It says that before Sultan Muzaffar could redeem his promise to help him Sahib Khan left Gujarat owing to the gross misconduct of the Persian ambassador who invited him to dinner and assaulted him The prince's servants attacked the ambassador's suite and plundered his lodging but the affair was not made known and Sahib Khan was overcome with shame that he fled from Gujarat I do not know what the authority for this version is but the fact that the Persian ambassador was paid a large sum by Sultan Muzaffar as compensation and was sent off with presents and all marks of honour and Sahib Khan was overcome with shame and fled from Gujarat how that the statement about the gross misconduct of the Persian ambassador is very improbable

¹ They are called Poorby Rajpoots by Col Briggs (vol IV p 81) According to the Mirat-i-Sikandari Bayley page 47 they were an army of Hindus collected at the instance of Sultan Mahmud himself who gave their leader the title of Medini Rao According to a note by Bayley in the same page he must have been a man of very remarkable and in many respects of a very noble and generous character According to Ris Mala vol I page 381

Mednee Raee the Hindoo minister of that prince had it was represented acquired such authority that nothing but the name of king was left to the sultan and infidelity was therefore rapidly regaining its dominion The Cambridge History of India page 31 does not mention Medni Ray but says that Shirul din of Malwa had employed in his army a large number of Rajputs from eastern Hindustan who had become so powerful in the kingdom that Mahmud II was a puppet in their hands

after asking for the help of the great ones there, both dead and living. He remained in Ahmadābād for a week, and then proceeded to Kōdhīrah (Gōdhīrah). He halted there for some days to collect his troops. In the course of these days news was brought to him, that Mahk 'Am-ul-mulk, the governor of Pattan was coming with his retainers to wait on him, i.e., the Sultān but on the way he received information that the ¹ Rāja of Īdar, taking advantage of such an opportunity, had raised the dust of disturbance and rebellion in that locality, and had raided the country as far as the borders of the Sābarmatī. Mahk 'Am-ul-mulk, therefore, on account of his loyalty and devotion wanted that he should come, and attend on the Sultān after punishing him. He had therefore gone, and attacked the town of Mahāsa. But in the meantime, the Rāja of Īdar, having collected a large force, came forward to meet him and a great battle took place between the two armies. As Mahk 'Abd-ul-mulk with two hundred men attained to martyrdom, and an elephant which he had with him was cut to pieces, 'Am-ul-mulk being unable to stand firm fled.

On hearing this news Sultān Muazzam advanced towards Īdar, and when he arrived at the town of Mahāsa, he sent an army to plunder and devastate the country. The Rāja evacuated the fort, and concealed himself in the hills ² of Bijānagar. When the Sultān arrived at Īdar, there were only ten Rājpūts who stood there deliberately, with the intention of immolating themselves and were ³ barbarously and cruelly slain. They left no vestige of any building

¹ His name according to Firshali was Bhim Rāy. He also describes 'Abu ul mulk as a *sardār*, and Col Briggs calls him an officer of distinction. According to the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 249 Abd ul Mulk was the brother of 'Am ul Mulk. Bayley says, in a note on page 249, that according to the Tabakāt, 'Am ul Mulk lost forty men. This is not correct according to the MSS or the lith ed of the Tabaqāt or the lith ed of Firshali or Col Briggs, according to all of whom 200 men were slain. The Cambridge History of India, page 317, agrees with the text.

² So called in both MSS and in lith ed and also in the lith ed of Firshali, but Col Briggs (vol IV, p 81) has "Beesulnuggui". The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī and the Cambridge History of India and Rās Mālā all say went to the hills or hill country.

³ The words are مہلت و حواری کستہ شدید I am not quite sure that my translation is quite correct. It sounds rather offensive.

or temple or garden or trees. The Raja came forward with great humility and sending ¹ Malik Kobi Zunnardar (Brahman) to wait on the Sultan and prayed for pardon. He sent a message to the effect that Malik Am ul mulk owing to the great enmity which he had against this slave had come and plundered his country and owing to his distress this helpless one had committed certain acts. If he has committed any offence he was deserving of the anger and wrath of the Sultan. He was sending twenty *lakhs* of *tankas* and a hundred horses by the hand of the *takils*. As the conquest of Malwa was in the forefront of the Sultan's spirit he accepted the Raja's excuses and returned to Kodhrab. He bestowed the twenty *lakhs* of *tankas* and the hundred horses on Am ul mulk so that he might equip his men.

He sent Shahzada Sikandar Khan from Kodhrab to act as the governor of Muhammadabad. When he arrived in the town of Dihud he ordered Qasar Ikhun that he should take possession of the country as far as the village of ² Devla which was in the possession of Sultan

¹ The name is Kopan in both MSS and Malik Kobi in the lith ed. It is Malik Copal in the 1st ed of Firuzah and Muhammed Copal in Col Brigg's (vol IV p 8). The Mirat-i-Sikandari Bayley page 49 has Malik Kobi Brahman and a minister of the Sultan in the text and this is corroborated by Bayley who says in a note that he was really a minister of Murashuk Khan and he will be found often mentioned in the sequel. He is not mentioned at all in the Cambridge History of India. M. Hidayat Ho am has دیکھا in the text edition.

It is twenty *lakh* and eight *lakhs* of *tankas* respectively in the two MSS and eight *lakhs* of rupee in the lith ed. I think lith ed has *lakhs* of *tanka* which is equivalent to two thousand *tumans*. The Mirat-i-Sikandari does not give the amount. But Bayley says in a note that the Turkhi Miftah that it is twenty *lakhs* of *tankas* (equivalent to two thousand *tumans*). Col Brigg (vol IV p 8) has two hundred thousand *tanka* and 111¹ Cambridge History of India (p 317) has eight hundred thousand rupees.

² The place is دیکھا in the MSS and in the lith ed of Firuzah. In the lith ed of the Tabaqat it is دیکھا Dilwala. Col Brigg's has the town of Dydla. The Mirat-i-Sikandari Bayley page 9 has the pa of Dohala which is very difficult. The Cambridge History of India page 317 has Deoli near the Mithi and in a note in v. North and 74 : 8 East. The Cambridge History of India goes on to say that the Sultan had now changed his intention of aiding Mahmud by crushing the Rajputs and had formed

Mahmūd Khaljī s men After that he advanced towards Dhārāgāh On the way the ¹ son of Haikhūkhā, who was a resident of Dhār, came and waited on the Sultān, and begged for quarter for the people of the city The Sultān gave him assurances of safety, and sent Qawām-ul-mulk (son of Qawām-ul-mulk) and Ikhtiyār-ul-mulk, son of ‘Imād-ul-mulk, in advance of himself, to reassure and encourage the citizens of Dhār At this time intelligence came that Sultān Mahmūd Khaljī ² had been left alone, and the *amīrs* of Chandērī had risen against him and he had gone towards that place Sultān Muzaffar summoned back his *amīrs*, and told them, “My object in undertaking this expedition was really that I should drive away the *Pūrabīa Kāfīrs*, and divide the kingdom equally between Sultān Mahmūd and Sāhib Khān, the sons of Sultān Nāṣir-ud-dīn Now that Sultān Mahmūd has gone to put down the *amīrs* of Chandērī, and has taken away the tyrannical Rājpūts with him, it would be removed from the rules of humanity, and the customs of brave men, to enter his country”

Qawām-ul-mulk, who had now joined the Sultān, reported to the latter something of the ³ beauties of the deer-park of Dhār, and made him desirous and anxious to see the place, and to enjoy the pleasures of the chase Sultān Muzaffar left Qawām-ul-mulk, to guard the

the design of conquering and annexing Mālwa I have nowhere found any evidence of such a change of mind All his acts culminating in the restoration of Mandū to Sultān Mahmūd, after it had been recovered from the Rājpūts in 924 A H (1518 A D), show that there was no such change It is true that Sultān Mahmūd Khaljī had great fear about Sultān Muzaffar’s intentions, but Mandū was restored to him, and Sultān Muzaffar returned to Gujrāt

¹ Firishtah says چون مردم دھار ساسکھاں امداد امان حواستندہ , and does not name anyone as the spokesman of the people of Dhār The Mirāt-i Sikandarī, Bayley, page 250, says the son of the head man of Dhār came

² The words in the MSS and in the lith ed are مادود در the meaning of which is not clear There are no similar words in Firishtah, who says that Sultān Mahmūd Khaljī had gone to crush the *amīrs* of Chandērī, who had risen against him The Mirāt-i Sikandarī, Bayley, page 250, also says that Sultān Mahmūd Khiljī and Mēdīnī Rāo had gone towards Chāndērī

³ The Mirāt-i Sikandarī Bayley, page 251, says “gave such a glowing description of the buildings of the deer-park, which had been formed there under the orders of Sultān Ghiās ud dīn”, etc

camp and with ¹ two thousand horsemen and one hundred and fifty elephants proceeded to Dhar. When he arrived there he mounted the same afternoon to go on a pilgrimage to the tombs of Shaikh Abd ul lah Janjal and Shaikh Kamal ud din Malwi. It is said that in the time of Raja Bhoj Shaikh Abd ul lah had the name of Pandey Brij and was his *tawar* and because of inclination having accepted Islam attained to spiritual greatness by pious exertions and exercises. In short the Sultan having in the neighbourhood of Dhar given leave to Nizam ul mulk so that he might hunt in the neighbourhood of Dilawara Nizam ul mulk passed through Dilawara and went to Nalcha and when he was returning a ² body of Purabia Rajputs came on and obstructed him and they obtained their deserts as is mentioned in the section about Malwa. Sultan Muzaffir on being apprised of this occurrence was very angry with and reproved Nizam ul mulk for it was his only object that this year he should simply see the country and return and acts like these which had been committed by Nizam ul mulk ³ grieved him much thought. The Sultan then turned back and marched towards Gujerat and took up his quarters at Mohammadabad Champain.

In the month of Shawwal in the year 921 A.H. (1515 A.D.) as after the death of ⁵ Rāj Bhīm Rāja of Idar Rāna Sīnīlā had come to

¹ It is two thousand in the MSS and in the lith ed and also in the lith ed of Firdausi and in Col. Rigg (vol IV p 8) but the Mir-i-Sikandari Baylyk page 1 has twelve thousand light horse.

According to the Miri-i-Sikandari the Sultan did not give Nizam-ul-Mulk permission to return but he told him and some others to go and see the deer park. He did not return and the Sultan was informed later on that Nizam-ul-Mulk had probably gone to Naheba to see his brother (who apparently was a Hindu and named Raja Singhi) who dwelt there. It appears from the Culmridge History of India page 318 that Nizam-ul-Mulk was a son of Raja Iatul (or Rayatul) of Chimpur.

³ According to the Mirat-i-Sikan-i-Harf Bayley page 5 they came from Mandu and I pursued him. Nizam ul Mulk faced about and fought. Forty of the infidel were killed and the rest fled back to Mandu.

* The actual words are حاضر مسؤولیتی ہے۔

⁵ It appears that Rāj Bhim was the younger son of Rāj Bham and he had d po e ed his elder brother Rāj Mal was the son of the latter and having now grown to man s e tate claimed the throne The Cambridge History of India page 318 calls Rāj Mal the brother in law of Rāna Sūlā The

feudatory of Ashtanagar fled from Mandū on account of the violence of the Pūrabā Rājpūts and waited on the Sultān and ¹ complained of the great power which they had acquired ² A few days later, a representation came from the *dārōgha* of Dahūd that Sultān Mahmūd Khiljī had become alarmed at the great power of the Pūrabā Rājpūts, and had come praying for help. As he had arrived at the village of Bhakōi which was situated on the boundary of Gujārāt this slave (*i.e.*, he himself) had waited on him, and as far as lay in his power, had left nothing undone in rendering service to him. Sultān Muzaffar was pleased on hearing of these incidents and he sent tents and a red pavilion with necessary equipages and many beautiful gifts and presents and all that is specially reserved for *bādshāhs* by the hand of Qaisar Khān and he himself advanced to welcome Sultān Mahmud. They met in the village of ³Dēvla. Sultān Muzaffar did everything to please his guest and exhorted him not to be much distressed owing to the separation from his children and his kingdom as before long

--

مقطوع but does not give the name of his sief Col Briggs (vol IV p 84) calls him "Hubeib Khan the Kazi of Cholv Meheswari, and explains the last words by saying in a note "properly Maha Iswur". The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī does not give any designation of Habib Khān but Bayley in a note on page 253 says that the Tabakāt-i-Akbarī calls him governor of Aslita or Ashtanagar **حکامہ** in the text edition

¹ The purport of the complaints is given in the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley page 253

² The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley pages 254, 255 describes at some length the way in which Sultān Mahmūd Khiljī escaped with his favourite wife Rāni Kanākrā (Bayley says in a note Kanākrā means golden) on two horses provided by Kishnā, a Rājpūt *zamīndār*, who was also one of his guards. The village to which Sultān Mahmūd Khiljī came is called Bhakōrah in the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī

³ What follows is copied almost word for word by Firishtah, but the name of the village where the two sovereigns met is دیول in the lith ed of Firishtah. The account given in the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī Bayley page 255, is similar, but it appears from it that the name of the *dārōgha* or governor, as he is called by Bayley, was Kaisar Khān. The presents mentioned in the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī are also different. They consisted of horses and elephants and male and female attendants. The account in the Cambridge History of India, page 319, is similar, but Qaisar Khān is described as a Gujārāt noble, and the presents are somewhat different, and the village to which Sultān Mahmūd Khilji came is called Bhāgor

with divine help he would be able to destroy the Purabis and purify the kingdom of all disturbances and rebellions and restore it to his servants (emphemism for himself) He halted at the place and gave orders for the mustering of his troops and in a short time an immense army advanced into Malwa

When Medini Ray received information of the advance of Sultan Muzaffar he left ¹ Ray Pithora with a body of Rajputs in the fort of Mandu and himself with two thousand Rajput horsemen and the elephants belonging to Sultan Mahmud proceeded to Dhar From that place he went to Rana Sanga to bring him to his aid Sultan Muzaffar advanced to Mandu with the object of laying siege to it When the army arrived near Mandu the Rajputs sallied out and fought with great bravery but in the end they fled and took shelter in the fort The next day also the Rajputs came out and fought a great battle Qwam ul mulk exerted himself in a notable way and slew many Rajputs That day Sultan Muzaffar divided the different sides of the fort and entrusted them to the *amirs* and made the siege closer At this time Medini Ray sent a letter to Ray Pithora and informed him I have come to Rana Sanga and I am bringing him with all the Rajputs of Marwar and the neighbouring country You should keep Sultan Muzaffar inactive for the period of one month by tales and excuses Ray Pithora with great deceit and trickery sent emissaries with the following message As the fort of Mandu has for a long time been in the possession of the Rajputs and they have got their families and dependants in it they would be able to remove them and vacate the fort in the course of a month and would then make it over to him and they would also hasten to his service and become his loyal adherents if he would go back and take up a station

¹ The name is spelt in different way in the MSS and in the lith ed but the correct spelling appear to be that I have adopted in the text Pithora as the reader will remember was the name given by the Musalman historian to the celebrated Prithi Raj of Delhi The Ray Pithora in the present case appears to have been a son of Medini Ray According to the Mirat-i-Sikandari Bayley page 256 Medini Ray sent Shadi Khan Pithora and three other Hindus to hold the fort of Mandu but according to most historians the command was confided to Ray Pithora Col B ggs (vol IV p 84) calls him Bhew Ray

According to the Mirat-i-Sikandari the emissaries went to Khudawand Khan the rājā and he took them to the Sultan

one stage behind his present position' Although Sultān Muzaffar knew that these people were merely temporizing and were waiting for reinforcements still as the sons and other relations of Sultān Mahmūd were in the fort he had no other alternative except to agree to their prayer and he went and took up a position three *karohs* further back.

At this station,¹ 'Ādil Khān, the ruler of Āśī and Būrhānpūr, arrived with a fresh army and joined the Sultān. At this time news came to the latter that Mēdīnī Rāy had given² some elephants and much gold to Rānā Sānkā, and had brought him to aid and reinforce his men and they had arrived in the neighbourhood of Ujjain. The noble spirit of Sultān Muzaffar was now aroused and he sent 'Ādil Khān Fāruqī, the ruler of Āśī and Būrhānpūr and Qawām-ul-mulk Sultānī to attack Rānā Sānkā and himself began anew the siege of the fort of Mandū. He devoted all his energy to it, so that the fort might be taken before the battle with Rānā Sānkā took place and³ he stationed the *amīns* and the leaders of the different bodies, at the various stations round the fort. On the morning following the night of the 14th Safar, 924 A.H., (the Musalmāns) came in crowds from all sides of the fort, and attacked it and placing ladders (against the wall) entered the fort. The Rājpūts performed *jauhar* and set fire to their houses, and killed their families and children, and burnt some of them, and then commenced fighting, and fought as long as they had any life left in them. Sultān Muzaffar entered the fort and ordered a general massacre. It has been stated correctly that on that day

¹ He was Sultān Muzaffar's nephew and son in-law.

² These were some of the elephants belonging to Sultān Mahmūd which Mēdīnī Rāy took with him.

³ The operations are differently described by Firishtah who says that for four days continuous attacks were made, so that the garrison had no sleep or rest. On the 5th night there was a cessation of assaults, and the garrison became careless. Then when midnight came, the soldiers went with ladders, and as they found the men in the citadel asleep, they mounted to the top of the ramparts, and slew the guards at the gate. Col Briggs (vol IV, p 85) says that false attacks were made on the first four nights, and the garrison being worn out with fatigue, on the fifth night ladders were applied and Mando fell. The Cambridge History of India, page 319, says, "On February 23rd, 1518, the day of the Hindu festival of the Holi, Māndū was carried by escalade".

19,000 Rajputs were buried. The particulars of this brief statement have been mentioned in the section about Malwa.

In hot weather when he had sumed the massacre of the turbid Rajputs Sultan Mahmud waited on him and offered congratulations and solicitations and inquired in great anxiety What does Your Majesty say to this slave? Sultan Murazzar said May the great God make you happy with the fort of Mandu and the kingdom of Malwa He then turned back and went to his camp. The next day he advanced towards Rani Sunka. One of the notable men among the Rajputs who had been wounded and who had fled from the fort had gone to the Rani and had described to her the great power of and the ferocity of the massacre by Sultan Murazzar in such a way that the Rani was thoroughly frightened and he fled incontinently towards Chitor and that Rajput died in the same majlis (assembly). As Sultan Mahmud came from Mandu to Dhar and prayed that * The Sultan is in the place of my father and uncle I hope that he would add fresh kindness to his former favours and would make the hovel of this insignificant one bright with the grandeur of his pleasant advent. Sultan Murazzar accepted his prayer and went to Mandu taking Shahzadas Sikandar Khan and Latif Khan and Adil Khan the ruler of Asir and Burhanpur with him. They stayed that night at Nalcha and in the morning mounted on elephants entered the fort and dismounted at Sultan Mahmud's palace. Sultan Mahmud endeavoured to the best of his power to perform the rites of hospitality and himself standing before Sultan Murazzar

¹ One MS has *لکھا* ref to Rani Sunka but in other the other 2 MS nor the lith ed has it *لکھا* *وہا مسکو* in the text-edition

The actual words are *وہا مسکو*, but the Rani's liver melted Firishtah's account does not differ materially from the text but he says that the Rani fled to her sons Jaipur and Adil Khan pursued him thundering and slaying those who followed him.

² It would appear that he was so excited that he burst open and he bled to death.

⁴ One MS has a reading different from that in the other MS and in the lith ed and the one which I have adopted. That reading is *بدر و بدر ای سید* which would mean Be thou in the place of the father and the uncle of this *fajir*.

waited on him After they had finished eating, he placed presents of all kinds before Sultān Muzaffar and the Shāhzādas, and again made his excuses Sultān Muzaffar then saw all the palaces and other buildings of the former Sultāns of Mālwa, and afterwards went back to Dhār There he bade adieu to Sultān Mahmūd, and leaving Āṣaf Khān Gujātī with ten thousand horsemen to reinforce him, started for Gujāt Sultān Mahmūd owing to his great affection accompanied him as far as *mauda* Dēvla, although Sultān Muzaffar had already said farewell to him, and there, after again taking leave of him, returned to Mandū

On his arrival in Gujāt, Sultān Muzaffar remained for some days in Muhammadābād Chāmpānī, and the great and noble men of the country of Gujāt hastened to wait on him, with their felicitations and congratulations, and were made happy with his largesses and favours At this time, one day one of his courtiers reported to him, that at the time, when the shadow of his conquest had been spread over the kingdom of Mālwa, Rāy Mal, Rāja of Īdar had come out of the hills of Bijānagar, and had raided a part of the country of Pattan and the town of ¹ Gilwāra, but as Naṣrat-ul-mulk left Īdar, and advanced to give him battle, he fled and concealed himself in the caves of Bijānagar The Sultān declared, “God willing, I will, after the rains, determine what to do in this matter” After the rains in the year 925 A H, 1519 A D, he advanced towards Īdar to chastise and punish Rāy Mal, and other disturbers of peace As ² Rāja Māl was the protector and the asylum of Rāy Mal, the Sultān thought that the chastisement of the former should be undertaken first, and he levelled his territory to the dust, and after halting at Īdar for a few days, he came back to Muhammadābād Chāmpānī and stayed there

¹ The name of the town is كهرالوار كهرلو in the MSS, and مصبات انجدوره without giving any names in the lith ed Firishtah lith ed has Col Briggs (vol IV, p 87) has the town of Gilwara I cannot find any mention of it in the Mirāt i Sikandarī and the Cambridge History of India, but Rās Mālā (vol I, p 383) agrees with Col Briggs and calls it Gilwārā كهرالله in the text-edition

² The name is راجه مال Rāja Māl in both MSS, but it is راجه مال دے Rāja Māl Dēv in the lith ed Firishtah calls him راجه مل Rāja Mal I cannot find him or his territory mentioned anywhere else

After a few days news came that Sultan Mahmud Khālji had in concert with Āṣaf Khan marched against Bhīm Karan Purabī with the object of seizing Kākrun when Medīnī Rāo brought Rāna Sāṅka to aid him and a great battle took place. Most of the amirs of Malwa were slain and Āṣaf Khan's son and a number of other warriors were also killed. Sultan Mahmūd received many wounds and was taken prisoner. Rāna Sāṅka however treated him with kindness and sent him with a body of troops to Mandū. Sultan Muzaffar hearing this news became depressed and sad and sent some other sardars to Sultan Mahmūd's aid and wrote an affectionate letter inquiring about him. About this time Sultan Muzaffar went to Idār to see the country and to enjoy the pleasures of the chase and commenced erecting some buildings there. On his return he brought Naṣrat ul mulk to Ahmadābād with him and entrusted the government of Idār to Mubāriz ul mulk.

It so happened that one day a bard or wandering minstrel waited on Mubāriz ul mulk and said something about the bravery of Rāna Sāṅka. Mubāriz ul mulk on account of his great arrogance and pride spoke to him in improper language and giving ² a dog the name of Rāna Sāṅka kept him tied up at the gate of Idār. The bard went back and told this story to Rāna Sāṅka. The Rāna owing to his pride and ⁴ boorishness turned towards Idār and advanced and

¹ There is no mention of Bhīm Karan or Kākrun in any other history except the Mirat-i-Sāṅkāri (Barlow page 63) where it is said that Sultan Mahmūd marched to sarkar Gāgrūn where he attacked Bhīm Karan and it is said in a note that Bhīm Karan is said to have been a deputy of Medīnī Rāo and was holding Gāgrūn (?) for him. He was certainly one of his chief officers and very probably a relative. Evidently some lines have been left out in the lith ed of Fīrshtah Col Brigg's the Cambridge History of India and Rāj Māla all say that Sultan Mahmūd Khālji had attacked the combined forces of Medīnī Rāo and Rāna Sāṅka and had been defeated by them.

One MS has ~~als~~ before Kākrun but the other MS and the lith ed do not have it.

² The Cambridge History of India page 30 says that Mubāriz ul Mulk called the dog Sangrama. I am afraid Sangrama or the more correct Sangram would have been Greek to Mubāriz ul Mulk. I doubt whether Rāna Sangram Singh's parents or he himself ever called himself Sangrama or Sangram. Sangram was quite sufficient for them.

⁴ The word used is ~~wala~~ but it appears to me to be extremely inappropriate and unjust.

ravaged the country to the boundary of Snōhī About this time Sultān Muzaffār went to Chāmpānī, leaving Qiwām-ul-mulk, son of Qiwām-ul-mulk, in Ahmadābād, for the control of the ¹ grāssias ² When Rānā Sānkā arrived in the country of ³ Bākar, the Rāja, although he was obedient and submissive to Sultān Muzaffār, in his fear and distress joined Rānā Sānkā The latter then came to Dūngarpūr Mubāriz-ul-mulk wrote an account of what had happened to the Sultān As the Sultān's vazīrs were not friendly to Mubāriz-ul-mulk they told the Sultān that it was not ⁴ right for him to give the Rānā's name to a dog, and thus bring him into contempt, and afterwards being afraid of him, to ask for reinforcement, otherwise the Rānā would not have dared to put his foot into the Sultān's territories It so happened, however, that at that time, the army which had been left to protect Īdar had, on account of the ⁵ excessive rains gone to their own homes at Ahmadābād and only a small number had remained with Mubāriz-ul-mulk

¹ Grās according to a note on page 98 of the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī comprises (1) blackmail paid to powerful local chiefs for protection and immunity from plunder or rather land held in lieu of such blackmail, (2) lands or allowances allotted by government, or allowed to be retained by them to land holders, both as a politic measure to keep them quiet, and as a retainer for military and other services Here apparently the word is used to mean the holders of such land

² Firishtah's account agrees generally with the text, but he says that Rānā Sānkā plundered and ravaged Mubāriz-ul-mulk's fief before coming to Bākar, and he also says that the Sultān on hearing what his vazīrs told him delayed sending in reinforcements The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī (Bayley, p 264) gives a detailed account of Nizām-ul Mulk's talk with the bard, Rānā Sānkā's march against Īdar and the former's prayer for reinforcement, and the action of the Sultān's minister about it, down to the battle of Ahmadābād and the sack of that city Its version of the story of the dog is somewhat different from that in the other histories It is said, that in the talk with the bard, Nizām ul-Mulk repeatedly called the Rānā a dog, and finally he called for a dog, and having had it tied up at the door of the darbār, he said, "If the Rānā does not come he will be like this dog"

³ Called Bāgar in the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 266, and Bagry by Col Briggs (vol IV, p 88)

⁴ The word is يقى in one MS and in the lith ed, but سوا in the other MS

⁵ One MS inserts ماران و before بوسات

Rana Sinka becoming cognizant of all these things advanced against Idar. When he arrived near Mubiriz ul mulk with the other *sardars* prepared for battle and went out to meet him but before the two armies should come together they turned back and returned to Idar. The *sardars* said that the small number of their friends and the vast host of their enemies were potent to all. It was advisable that they should go to Ahmadnagar and fortify them there till the arrival of the reinforcements and on this decision they went to the fort of Ahmadnagar taking Mubiriz ul mulk with them whether he liked it or not. On the following morning Rana Sinka arrived at Idar and enquired about Mubiriz ul mulk. The *gauria* who had fled from Qiwain ul mulk and had joined the Panis told him that Mubiriz ul mulk was not a man that would run away but the amirs had taken him away to Ahmadnagar and they were waiting for reinforcements. Rana Sinka then advanced against Ahmadnagar with a large force. The bard who had praised Rana Sinka in the presence of Mubiriz ul mulk again went to the latter and said

Rana Sinka has come with a large army. It would be a great pity that men like you should be killed for nothing. It is advisable that you should remain in the fort of Ahmadnagar. The Rana would return after giving his horse a drink of water below the fort and he would not do anything more. Mubiriz ul mulk said in reply. It is impossible that I should allow him to give water to his horse in the river. He thereupon with great bravery crossed the river with the few men that were with him and who were not a tenth part of the number of the Rana's army. When the Rana arrived there there was a great battle. Asad Khan who was one of the commanders was killed with a number of other horsemen. Sifdar Khan was wounded and Mubiriz ul mulk after making several attacks on the Rana's troops received many wounds and most of the Gurjars

¹ I wish w I suppose that I take no as far as the fort and Mubiriz ul mulk had not dare to come out. Col Briggs(vol IV p 89) says till his horse drank out of the ditch of Ahmadnuggur but I suppose and the next sentence shows that he meant the river which flows below the city and the fort.

² The clause is as I have it in the text in both the MSS and in the lith ed but it appears to be redundant. I omitted it in my ed before اکھر and omits the g after داده. This improves the clause a great deal. The meaning of the

were slain Mubāriz-ul-mulk and Safdar Khan now retired to Ahmadābād The Rānā ravaged Ahmadnagar, and halted there for one day The next morning he¹ marched towards Badnagar When he arrived near it, most of the inhabitants came to him and said, ‘We are *zunnārdārs* (men with the sacred thread, Brahmins) and your forefathers have always respected and honoured us’ Rānā Sānkā² desisted from attacking and plundering Badnagar and advanced to³ Bēsalnagar⁴ Malik Hatim the *thānadarī* of the place came out with the resolution of becoming a martyr, and gave him battle, and attained his object Rānā Sānkā after ravaging Bēsalnagar returned to his own country

amended clause is, as most of the Gujratis were slain Mubāriz ul-mulk and Safdar Khan retired to Ahmadābād

¹ The readings are different One MS has متوحدہ بندگو کردیده, marched towards Badnagar The other has عاظم بندگو کردیده The lhth ed has متوحدہ بندگو و مسلنگو کردیده Firishtah has متوحدہ بندگو گردیده I have adopted this, as it agrees with the reading in the first MS The place is called Barnagar in the Mirāt-i Sikandarī and Vadnagar in the Cambridge History of India, page 320 I do not know why and how بندگو has been transformed into Vadnagar The Mirāt-i Sikandarī, Bayley, page 269, says that the *grāssiahs* incited the Rānā to plunder Barnagar, as the inhabitants of the place were merchants, and who were very rich, but the Rānā did not on the representation of the inhabitants, as stated in the text, allow the place to be plundered

² The Mirāt-i Sikandarī and the Cambridge History of India say that Rānā Sānkā accepted tribute from the people, but neither the Tabaqāt nor Firishtah says so A Brahman who has always called himself a mendicant is not likely to have paid much tribute

³ The place is written like بیسالنگر Bēsalnagar in the MSS and in the lhth ed In the lhth ed of Firishtah it looks like Bēlnagar Col Briggs has Beesal-nuggur The Mirāt-i Sikandarī, Bayley, page 269, has Bisalnagar The Cambridge History of India, page 320, has Visnagar I think Bēsalnagar is identical with the hills of Bijānāgar, to which the Rājās of Idar used to escape whenever hard pressed by the Sultans of Gujrāt, and which the Cambridge History of India had in previous pages called Bichabhera (page 318) and Vajnagar hills (page 319) and now gives it the entirely new name of Visnagar (see notes 1, page 300 and 3, page 301) بیسالنگر Bēlnagar in the text edition

⁴ Contrary to what is stated here, and in Firishtah, the Mirāt-i Sikandarī, Bayley, page 269, says, he shut himself in the fort and it was beleaguered till the hour of evening prayer, and in the fighting and confusion the town was plundered

¹ Malik Qiwam ul mulk sent a detachment with Mubriz ul mulk and Šafdar Khan to Ahmadnagar that they might bury the dead. Mubriz ul mulk arrived at Ahmadnagar and buried the martyrs. About this time the *holis* and *grassias* from the neighbourhood of Idar seeing the small force under Mubriz ul mulk's command attacked him. Mubriz ul mulk came out of the fort and fought with them and after slaying sixty one of the leaders of the *grassias* returned victorious and triumphant to Ahmadnagar. As Ahmadnagar however was in ruin ² and the people suffered privations for want of grain and all other necessities they started from there and came to the ³ town of Parantej.

When news of all these events reached Sultan Muzaffar the latter appointed ⁴ Imad ul mulk and Qasir Khan with an enormous army and one hundred elephants to crush Rana Sinka. Imad ul mulk and Qasir Khan arrived at Ahmadabad and taking Qiwam ul mulk with them went to Parantej. From that place they wrote to the Sultan that Rana Sinka had returned to his own country and asked

¹ The Mirat-i-Sikandari Bayley page 20 gives a fairly detailed account of how Kiwam ul Mulk started to reinforce Mubriz ul Mulk when he heard of the latter's defeat and sent for him with the object of going in pursuit but hearing that this was impossible sent Mubriz ul Mulk to bury the dead and this was done sixteen days after the battle.

Frishtah agrees with the text but Col Briggs (vol IV p 90) says that the *holis* and *grassias* attacked Moobariz ool Mooll on the march to Ahmadnuggur but were defeated. Ras M I also says ⁵ o The Mirat-i-Sikandari Bayley p go 70 says that the *holis* of Kanth came to carry off grain from Ahmadnagar.

³ There is no *g* in this place in the MS or in the 11th ed but I have inserted it as it is required to complete the sentence.

⁴ The name appears to be ^{عَلِيٌّ} Walunj and ^{دَاهِيٌّ} Dahej in the MS and ^{عَلِيٌّ} Heli in the 11th ed and ^{رَاهِيٌّ} Rahi in the 11th ed of Frishtah. Col Briggs has Puranty. The Mirat-i-Sikandari Bayley page 70 has Parantly and Ras Mala I as Peerantej. The Cambridge History of India does not mention the matter. I have adopted Paranty. M Hidayat Hosain however has ^{دَاهِيٌّ} Dahlji in the text-edition.

⁵ There are slight variations in the readings. The 11th ed has ^{رَسُور} before ^{كَلَّا} but the MSS omit the words and one MS and the 11th ed have ^{كَلَّا} ^{رَسُور} ^{كَلَّا} but the other MS has ^{كَلَّا} ^{لَيْلَة} ^{رَسُور}

for permission to march to Chitōr. The Sultān wrote in reply, that as the rains had commenced they should wait in Ahmadnagar, and after the rains should advance towards Chitōr. The *amīrs*, in accordance with this order remained at Ahmadnagar. Sultān Muzaffar paid the soldiers a year's wages from the treasury and ¹ went to Ahmadābād. He intended to march to Chitōr himself to chastise Rānā Sānkā.

At this time ² Malik Ayāz Sultānī came from Sōrat with a large army, and after rendering homage represented that the ³ imperial grandeur of the Sultān is higher and more exalted, than that he should go in person to punish and chastise Rānā Sānkā. The training of slaves like myself is for the purpose, that if a work like this has to be done, the Sultān should not have to take the trouble to do it. In the month of Muhaīram in the year 927 A.H. (December, 1520 A.D.) Sultān Muzaffar arrived at Ahmadnagar. When the army had all collected Malik Ayāz ⁴ again prayed (that he should be employed)

¹ Firishtah lith cd agrees with the text, but the place where the *amīrs* remained is called سرکج Sarkach, or Sarkhēj, and calls the Rānā's capital Jaipūr instead of Chitōr. He also says that the Sultān ordered the payment of one year's wages to the soldiers. Col Briggs has a different account. He says Imad ool-Moolk and Keisur Khan retreated from Ahmudnuggur, but the Sultan ordered them to remain there during the rains, and he intended to advance to Chittoor in person after the rains. The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 271, says that the allowances of the whole army were increased from ten to twenty per cent, and a year's pay was issued from the treasury, so that every man might provide himself with all that was requisite for the campaign.

² According to the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 233, Malik Aiāz "was originally a purchased slave, yet he attained to the rule of provinces, and to unlimited wealth". Bayley also says in a note that some authorities declare he was a renegade Portuguese, but this assertion seems opposed to such an origin. He was possibly a slave brought from the southern provinces of Europe or Asia Minor or Armenia by the Turks. But contrary to this Firishtah says ایار حاص مالک آیاز کے اور علامان پدرس نوہ, and Col Briggs has "originally a slave born in the king's family" (vol IV, p 90).

³ In the corresponding passage, Firishtah has a و between کدری and حلال.

⁴ This would be somewhat impertinent on his part, but Firishtah says, that when he made the request on the previous occasion, the Sultān did not give any reply.

to chastise Rana Sankha. The Sultan sent him for that purpose with one *lakh* horsemen and a hundred elephants. He also sent ¹ Qawam ul mulk with twenty thousand horsemen a little later to join Mahlik Ayaz. When the two commanders encamped at Mahrasi the Sultan with great caution and farsight sent Taj Khan and Nizami ul mulk Sultan also to that place (to join them). Mahlik Ayaz sent a representation to the Sultan in which he submitted that the act of sending so many great *amirs* for the punishment of Rana Sanka would be a reason for his pride and glorification. He also reported that so many elephants were not at all necessary and that this slave (*i.e.* he himself) owing to the grandeur of His Majesty was quite sufficient for this service and after ² sending back most of the elephants he marched from Mahrasi and encamped at the village of ³ Dhol. From that place many detachments were sent out to plunder and ravage the country. Safdar Khan was sent from here to chastise the Rajputs of ⁴ Lakiakot. He marched to this place which was in a rough and uneven country and ravaged it and slew many Rajputs and taking those who escaped the sword with him as prisoners of war re joined Mahlik Ayaz. They marched from that place and having burnt down and rased to the ground Dungarpur and Banswala advanced

¹ The Mirat Sikandari says on the authority of the Tarikh Bahadar Shah Bayley page 27, that he had a hundred elephants in addition to one hundred thousand horsemen.

Firuztah lith ed agrees but Col Briggs says that he 1 ft behind him nearly all the elephants and the greater part of the cavalry which had lately joined (vol IV p 91).

² The village is called Dhol in one MS and in the lith ed and Dadud in the other MS. It is not mentioned by Firishtah or by Col Briggs but the Mirat-i-Sikandar Bayley page 27 calls it Dhamolah in the district of Bagar but in a note which purports to be a translation of a passage of the Tabakat Bayley calls it Dabal.

³ The name is چھوٹی لکھا کوت in the lith ed of Firishtah. It is not mentioned by Col Briggs or in the Mirat-i-Sikandar but Bayley translates a part of the Tabakat in a note call it Lakiakot. The Cambridge History of India (p 30) mentions Galahakot and Banswa among the five places which were ravaged and gives the lat and long of each. Apparently the author had a map on a very large scale in which all these places were marked and from which their lat and long could be calculated. Galahakot is probably identical with Lakiakot and Banswa with Banswala.

towards Chitōi It so happened that at this station, a man came and gave information to ¹ Malik Ashja'-ul-mulk and Safdar Khān, that Udaya Smgh, Rāja of ² Māl, had, with a body of Rājpūt soldiers of Rānā Sānkā and Ugai Sēn Pūrabā, come and were lying in ambush behind a hill, and they wanted to make a night attack. Ashja'-ul-mulk and Safdar Khān without sending any information to Malik Ayāz Sultānī, galloped to that place, taking two hundred horsemen with them. There was a great battle. Ugai Sēn was wounded, and fifty Rājpūts fell on the battlefield, and the other Rājpūts fled. When Ayāz Sultānī came to know of these happenings, he advanced with his army fully equipped to reinforce and help Safdar Khān. When he reached the battlefield, he was amazed at the (gallant) efforts of Safdar Khān, and applied the ointment of kindness on the wounds of the ghāzis (victorious heroes of Islām).

On the following morning, Malik Qawām-ul-mulk Sultānī penetrated into the hill of Bānswāla in pursuit of the men (*i.e.*, those who had fled), and did not leave a vestige of men and habitation there. Ugar Sēn, wounded as he was, went to the Rānā, and told him all that had happened. When Malik Ayāz arrived at Mandisōr, and besieged it, Rānā Sānkā came to the aid of his *thānadār*, and halting at a distance of twelve *kāñōhs* from Mandisōr sent ³ the following

¹ One MS calls him ملک شیخ اسحاق but the other and the lith ed omit شیخ Firishtah calls him Malik Ashja' ul mulk, but Col Briggs (vol IV, p 91), apparently following the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, calls him Shooja ool-Moolk Bayley, of course, calls him Shujā'-ul-Mulk

² The name of the place is مال Mal, and نال Nal in the MSS and پال Pal in the lith ed. In the lith ed of Firishtah it is مال Mal, but Col Briggs calls the Rāja the Ray of Poloh. The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī does not give the name of the Rāja, but calls him the Rājah of Bānsbālah. Firishtah's account of the information of the intended night attack, and the skirmish with the men who were in ambush, agrees word for word with the text. The account in the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī is somewhat different. Ugar Sēn is not named, but is probably included in "some relatives of Mēdimi Rāo". It is also said that the Musulmāns were greatly outnumbered but they fought bravely and defeated the Rājpūts (Bayley, p 272).

³ The lith ed of Firishtah gives the same version of the message as the text, but Col Briggs says that "there were certain conditions so extravagant, that Muluk Eiaz determined to continue the siege". The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī,

message to Malik Ayaz I am sending ambassadors to wait on the Sultan and I shall be enlisted among his adherents Do you abandon the siege Malik Ayaz made some polite speeches which had really no meaning to the messengers and devoted all his energy to the capture of the fort and carried the mines so far that it became a matter of to day or to morrow

At this time¹ Sharzali Khan Sharwani came from Sultan Mahmud Khalji and delivered a message to Malik Ayaz to the effect that if there was any necessity for help and reinforcement he would at once come to render it Malik Ayaz was delighted and asked him to come As Sultan Mahmud was bound by ties of gratitude to Muzaffar Shah he came to Mandor bringing Silahadi Purabia with him Ranjinda was frightened at the coming of Sultan Mahmud and sent Medium Ray to Silahadi with the following message It is right that one should favour one's own community It is right therefore that he should not hold himself excused from rendering his duty to his community and at present² he should exert himself in bringing about a treaty of peace

After some days things came to such a pass that the garrison was reduced to the greatest straits Qawam ul mulk advanced his battery

Bayley page 273 gives the terms of the message in some detail but I do not find anything extravagant in them

¹ The name is mentioned only in the Tabaqat and in Firishtah It is Sharzah in the MS of the Tabaqat and in the lith ed of Firishtah In the lith ed of the Tabaqat it is Sher The MS of the Tabaqat has Sarwanī but the lith eds of both the Tabaqat and Firishtah have Sharwanī

The name of Silahadi is written as شلادی in both MSS and in the lith ed of the Tabaqat but in the lith ed of Firishtah it is سلہدی In the Mirat-i-Sikandar Bayley page 23 he is called Silahadi a Tuar Rajput by tribe but Bayley says in a note that the derivation of Silahadi's tribe is only in MS A and there also doubtful On an earlier page I ventured a guess in respect of another Silahadi that the name might be a corruption of Salya Deva but it occurs to me now that it is more probably a corruption of Saladri the rocky mountain

The Mirat-i-Sikandar tells a different story about Silahadi It says he was coming from Raisan with one hundred thousand horse to have an interview with Malik Ayaz but Medium Ray went and met him on the way and enticed him over to the Rana

² Firishtah adds سے کوئی مدد نہیں کر سکتے ! i.e. although Silahadi made (every) effort peace could not be effected

and wanted to get into the fort Malik Ayāz, fearing that the victory might be attributed to Qawām-ul-mulk, kept him back that day from engaging the enemy. The *amīrs* of Gujrāt, hearing of this intention, were grieved in their hearts against Malik Ayāz. Mubāriz-ul-mulk and some other commanders advanced the next morning to fight with Rānā Sānkā's troops, without taking his permission. Malik Tughlaq Shāh Fūlādī went and brought them back from the way. There was now a discussion among the *amīrs*, but for fear of the punishment by the Sultān, they could not advance again without the permission of Malik Ayāz. The latter, in spite of the opposition of the *amīrs*, made his soldiers ready, and set fire to the mines. When the bastion was shattered and fell down, it was found, that the Rājpūts having become aware of the state of things, had built another wall opposite to the bastion.

The next day emissaries came from Rānā Sānkā, and said, "The Rānā says that the slave (*i.e.*, he himself) wants to become enlisted among the loyal adherents (of the Sultān), and ¹to send back the elephants which he had seized in the invasion of Ahmadnagar, with his son, for the service of the Sultān. He did not know what was the reason of all this unkindness and harshness on their part." Malik Ayāz, owing to the opposition of Malik Qawām-ul-mulk, gave his consent to the proposed peace and began to settle the terms. The other *amīrs* refused their consent, and waited upon Sultān Mahmūd Khaljī, and inviting him to carry on the war, determined that they should begin the battle on the following Wednesday. A man who was present at the assembly waited on Malik Ayāz, and informed him of all that has passed. Malik Ayāz sent a man that very moment to wait on Sultān Mahmūd Khaljī, and represented to him that His Majesty the Sultān had entrusted the reins of controlling the army in his hands, so that he may carry into effect everything in which he saw its welfare, and now that he (*i.e.*, Sultān Mahmūd) at the instigation and incitement of the *amīrs* of Gujrāt wanted to carry on the war, this slave could not agree to that, for there was a great probability, that on account of the ill-luck, which always attends on perversity and dissension, the hand of hope will not reach the skirts of our object.

¹ This was one of the terms of the previous message of Rānā Sānkā given in the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī (see note 3, page 314).

On the morning of Wednesday which had been selected for the battle Malik Ayaz moved his camp and encamped at Khaljipur and after bestowing robes of honour on the emissaries of Rana Sanka¹ gave them leave to go back Sultan Mahmud Khalji also marched away in the direction of Mandu When Malik Ayaz had the honour of waiting on the Sultan at Champamir he reproved and reprimanded him and gave him permission to go to the port of Dip so that after equipping his retainers he might return and wait on the Sultan after the rains It was also settled that after the end of the rains the Sultan in his own august person should proceed to chastise the² Rana

Malik Ayaz sent one of his trustworthy men to Rana Sanka and gave him this message As friendship has grown up between us it is proper that we should both do everything that may be beneficial and advantageous to each other and as on account of the return of the amirs from that country the noble heart of the Sultan has become heavy and he wishes that the shadow of his conquest should be cast over that country and he should punish the insurgents This will cause much evil to that country It is right and proper that he should send his son on the wings of peace with tribute and much beautiful presents so that the inhabitants of that country might be preserved from the assaults of the Sultan's wrath Sultan Muzaffar came from Chāmpānir to Ahmadabad in the month of Muharram of⁴ 928 A H (December 1521 A D) so that he might advance towards Chitor after making the necessary preparations In the

¹ Firishtah agrees with the text but the Mirat-i-Sikandari and the Cambridge History of India say that Malik Ayaz concluded peace with Rana Sanka He could not have done so without the Sultan's express order and it appears from what happened later that the Sultan intended to carry on the war Col Briggs (vol IV p 93) says A suspension of hostilities was accordingly agreed on until communications could be received from the king But this is not mentioned by Firishtah

The Mirat-i-Sikandari Bayley page 75 says that in consequence of his displeasure the Sultan did not give Malik Ayaz the usual robe of honour at his departure

² One MS has Sanka after Rana but the other MSS and the lith ed do not have it

⁴ The year is 15 A D in the Cambridge History of India page 31 and 929 A H 153 A D in the Mirat-i-Sikandar Bayley page 75

course of some days he collected and equipped an army at Ahmadābād, and encamped at the reservoir of Kānkiā, and there was a¹ delay of three days at this place for the mustering of the troops. At this time news came that Rānā Sānkā had sent his son with much tribute to wait on the Sultān, and the son had arrived at the town of Mahiāsa. After a few days, when he waited on the Sultān, and presented the beautiful things (which he had brought), the Sultān forgave his father's offences, and presented to him a princely robe of honour, and having² cancelled the mustering of the army, he spent some days in the neighbourhood of Jhālāwāī in seeing the country and hunting, and then went to Ahmadābād. There he again³ bestowed a robe of honour on the son of the Rānā, and bade him farewell. After that he himself went to⁴ Kaparbhānj.

In this year 7930 A.H., 1524 A.D. (the Sultān) rode out from Chāmpānīr, in order to chastise some rebels and refractory persons.

¹ The word 'تُوقِّف' delay, is to be found in only one of the MSS, but is not in the other or in the lith. ed. I have, however, inserted it as it appears to be required.

² The MSS and the lith. ed. have 'فَلَمَّا' instead of 'فَلَمَّا' This is so clearly a mistake that I have had no hesitation in substituting 'فَلَمَّا' for 'فَلَمَّا'. I find the lith. ed. of Firishtah has the correct word. The text-edition has the reading in the MSS.

³ One MS has 'بِهِ' instead of 'بِهِ'

⁴ Firishtah lith. ed. says he went to Saikhōj, but no other historian mentions either Kaparbhanj or Saikhōj سرکیج in the text edition.

⁵ Firishtah also says so, but the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 273, says, "When the Sultan heard of Malik Aīāz's death, he said, 'The life of Malik Aīāz has come to its close. It would have been better, if he had been killed fighting against the Rānā, for then he would have been a martyr'."

⁶ The MSS and the lith. ed. of the Tabaqāt have 'بِرْبَرِگ' but Firishtah lith. ed. omits 'بر'. Col. Briggs also has "some" without any qualifying adjective, but the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī has "to his eldest son Ishāk".

⁷ Firishtah agrees almost word for word, but Col. Briggs changes the year to 929 A.H., and says, he marched to Champanore and "caused the town of

and halted for some days between the towns of Mahrasa and Harsol He entirely rebuilt the fort of Mahrasa and then returned towards Ahmadabad On the way ¹ he heard that the member of the harem (of the Sultan) who was most beloved of him had died The Sultan and the Shihzada grieved sorely and they went to her grave and performed the mourning rites After the termination of the period of mourning they came to Ahmadabad with sorrow stricken hearts and grief laden minds - The Sultan passed most of his time in indulging in his grief One day Khudawand Khan who was distinguished among the *amirs* and the *ta'irs* for his intellect and wisdom waited on the Sultan and represented in clear language the advantage and benefit of patience and freed him from grief and pain As the rainy season had commenced he induced the Sultan to take a trip to Champanur The Sultan remembered the breezes of Champanur and went there

One day Alam Khan son of Sultan Sikandar Ludî Badshah of Dehli represented to the Sultan that ² Sultan Ibrahim son of Sultan Sikandar had owing to his inexperience drawn his blood drinking sword out of the scabbard and had put the great *amirs* to death and those who had escaped the sword had sent repeated letters and petitions and had asked this slave (*i.e.* himself) to come As this *fâqîr* had

Mahrasa to be repaired The *Mirat-i-Sikandari* Bayley page 276 agree generally with the text The Cambridge H story of India does not ment on the e matters at all

¹ Firishtal copies the Tabaqat almost *te batim* Col Briggs and the Cambridge H story of India do not mention the death The *Mirat-i-Sikandari* Bayley page 6 says On the way his chief wife Bhu Rani mother of prince Sikandar Khan died which would imply that she was travelling with the Sultan The *Mirat-i-Sikandari* praises her right judgment her great influence in the affairs of the kingdom her motherly care of high and low and the singular firmness of her judgments

The *Mirat-i-Sikandari* says he fell ill and after his recovery went to Champanur or as Bayley calls the place Muhammadabad It does not mention Khudawand Khan's advice and admonition

² This long winded and highly metaphorical request is copied by Firishtal Alam Khan was a son of Bahul Ludî and not of Sikandar Ludî as stated in the text and he was therefore an uncle of Ibrahim As stated in the text his later career is narrated in the section about Dehli Col Brigg (vol IV p 95) calls him Julal Khan

attended on Youī Majesty for a long time in the hope that by the advantage of the attention of this great family he would arrive at greatness, now that time has come, that the star of his good fortune would ascend from the *nādn* of defeat, and the image of hope should shine in the mirror of success, he hopes that the wing of (the Sultān's) generosity and the shadow of his kindness, should be spread over the head of this *fāqī*, so that his ancestral dominion should come into his possession' Sultān Muzaffar sent him back with a detachment of troops and gave him some money He advanced towards Dehlī to fight with Sultān Ibrāhīm A full account of his adventures has been given in the section about Dehlī

In the year 931 A.H.¹ (1524 A.D.) the Sultān went through Chāmpāni to Īdāi On the way Shāhzāda Bahādur Khān complained about his meagre income, and his large expenses, and prayed that his allowance may be made equal to that of Shāhzāda Sikandar Khān The Sultān delayed in fulfilling his expectations on account of certain objections, and made a promise for a future consideration Shāhzāda Bahādur Khān was pained and discouraged at this, and went away to Ahmadābād without obtaining the Sultān's leave He went from there to the country of² Māl The Raja of Māl whose name was

¹ Bayley (p. 277) gives 1525 as the corresponding year of the Christian era, but Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 96) has 1524, and the Cambridge History of India, page 321, has, "late in 1524"

² As regards Māl see note 2, page 314 M. Hidayat Hosain in the text-edition has مال for مالہ Firishtah lith. ed. does not here give the name of the Rāja, but calls him the Rāja of Māl, but the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī gives the name as Rāwal Udi Singh (as Bayley transliterates it) and describes him as Rājah of Dūngarpūr Bayley, however, says in a note that the Tabakāt "calls him the Rājah of Pāl", and goes on to say that "Pāl seems to have been used in those days, as a kind of general name given to a congeries of petty hill states, of which the rulers were Hindūs and probably all or nearly all Rajpūts They seem to have included Dūngarpūr, Bijanagar, Bānsbālah and others" (Bayley, page 277) Col. Briggs calls the Rāja Oody Singh the Raja of Poloh, and the Cambridge History of India (p. 321), apparently following the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Udaī Singh of Dūngarpur The account of the travels of Bahādur Khān as given by Firishtah agrees almost word for word with that in the text and by Col. Briggs, the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī and the Cambridge History of India also agree generally, but the last two do not mention the pilgrimage to the tomb of the holy Khwājah at Ajmēr

Udai Singh considered the arrival of the Shahzada a very great blessing and rendered him services of various kinds. Then when the Shahzada went to the country of Chitor Rānā Sāṅkā came forward to welcome him and presented him with articles of every kind as tribute. He submitted. This country belongs to your servants and whatever you order will be obeyed. The Shahzada out of his noble spirit did everything to please him but after rejecting his prayer proceeded to go on pilgrimage to the tomb which is the resting place of illuminating rays of his Holiness Khwājih Muīn ud dīn Hasan Sunjari may his soul be sanctified! After performing the pilgrimage he proceeded to the country of Miwat where Hasān Khan Miwati advanced some stages and carried out the rites of hospitality and entertainment and from that place he went towards Dehli.

It so happened that at this time His Majesty Firdus Makani Zāhir ud dīn Muhammad Bahār Būdshah had come to Hindustān with the desire of conquering the country and had encamped in the neighbourhood of Dehli. Sultan Ibrahīm having gained power and help from the arrival of Shahzada Bahādur Khan treated him with the greatest respect and honour. One day the Shāhīzāda mounted his horse and with some of the Gujrāt warriors went to the battlefield and fought with some Maghul soldiers and both parties exerted themselves with great bravery. The Afghan amirs who were the roughly disgusted with Sultan Ibrahīm wanted to do away with him and place Sultan Bahādur on the throne. Sultan Ibrahīm hearing

¹ One MS and the 1st ed have مهدو سلطان, but the other MS has بھدرو سلطان
The name of the Shahzada is omitted in the text edition

² One MS and the 1st ed have بادار حاں but the other has بادار اے
This is apparently a mistake. The word موالی is in both MSS after بادار اے but not in the 1st ed but I have inserted it

The Mirat-i-Sikandari (Bayley p. 18) gives a different version of the according to which Bahādur Khan with some of his own men pursued a party of Moghals who were carrying off some of Sultan Ibrahīm's men as prisoners and on coming up with them slew some of them and returned with the men he had rescued.

⁴ He is called Sultan in the MSS and in the 1st ed and also in the 1st ed of Fir shtah in this place though further on he is again called Shahzada

this had treacherous thoughts in his mind, and Shāhzāda Bahādur Khān perceiving this started towards ¹ Jaūnpūr

When the news that Bahādur Khān had gone to Dehlī, and Firdūs Makānī Bābar Bādshāh had arrived in those parts with the Maghūl army reached Sultān Muzaffar, ² he on account of the separation from his son became depressed and sorrowful, and ordered Khudāwand Khān to send letters and petitions to summon the Shāhzāda. At this time there was a great famine in Gujrāt, and the people suffered great distress. Sultān Muzaffar, owing to the love which he had for the people, ³ began a complete recitation of the great book (*Qurān*) and of the six canonical books of Hadīs (سنّة مساجد) The great and Holy God taking account of the true and pious intention of the Sultān removed the calamity from his people. At the same time, the Sultān fell ill, and his illness increased from day to day. One day he in great sorrow spoke of Shāhzāda Bahādur Khān. Someone taking advantage of the opportunity informed him that the army was divided into ⁴ two factions. One of them wanted the succession

¹ The Cambridge History of India, page 321, says that he possibly selected "this town in response to an invitation received from the local nobles, who are said to have offered him the throne". This is also stated in the *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī*, Bayley, page 279, but it also appears from the *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī* that he was about to go to Jōnpūr, when he heard of the death of his father, and went off to Gujrāt.

² Bayley, page 279, says that Sultān Muzaffar was exceedingly vexed on hearing that Bahādar Khān had gone to Dehlī, and then says in a note that according to the *Tabakāt-i-Akbarī*, "he distinctly stated, as his reason that he was afraid lest Bahādar Khān by fighting against the Moghals, might involve the country of Gujrāt in hostilities with the latter people". There is nothing like this in the *Tabaqāt* as far as I can see.

³ I suppose, as a pious act, which would avert the calamity from his people. The actual words are سرور در تیم مساجد و مساجد سے دعوے کرو۔ The *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī*'s account is different. It says, on the authority of the *Tārikh-i-Bahādar Shāhi*, that Sultān Muzaffar lifted up his hands in prayer to God, and said, "Oh Lord, if for any fault of mine my people are afflicted, take me from this world, and leave my people unharmed, and relieve them from this drought". This reminds one of Bābar's act of devoting himself for affecting the recovery of Hūmāyūn from his illness. But in this case Sultān Muzaffar offered himself up, not for the sake of his dear son, but for relieving the distress of his subjects.

⁴ One MS. inserts *و* after *فیض*

of Shahzada Sikandar Khan while the other was inclined towards Latif Khan Sultan Muzaffar on hearing this said Has any news come from Shahzada Bahadur Khan? Intelligent and wise men have inferred from this that he wished to make Shahzada Bahadur Khan his heir He then called Sikandar Khan to his presence and gave him some advice in the matter of his brothers and then gave him leave to retire ¹ Then he went to the *haram sera* and again came back outside and rested for a moment After a moment he heard the call of Friday prayer He said I do not find the strength in me to go to the masjid He sent the men who were there to the mosque and said the midday prayer After he had finished he rested for a moment and then passed away into the mercy of God The period of his reign was fourteen years and nine months

AN ACCOUNT OF SULTAN SIKANDAR SON OF SULTAN MUZAFFAR SHAH

As the inevitable happened to Sultan Muzaffar Shahzada Sikandar Khan by the exertions of Imad ud mulk Sultan and Khudawand Khan and Fath Khan son of Fath Khan sat on the throne of the empire He sent the body of his father to the town of Sarkhej and performed the rites of mourning

¹ This is a very simple and as it appears to me a very graphic and impressive word picture of the passing away of a good man Fishtah as usual copies the sentences almost word for word but he adds the day and date which were Friday the 2nd Jamadi ul awwal 93 A.H. Fishtah also says that he died in his forty second year and was a pious Musalman and a good calligraphist That he always copied the Quran and as the copies were finished sent them to the two sacred places That many great men from Iran Turan Rum and Arabistan came to Gujrat in his reign but he gives the name of only one namely Mulla Mahmud Sawash who was a great calligraphist and came from Shiraz Col Briggs gives the 3rd Jumadil Awwal 93^o 17th February 155 as the date of his death and says he died in his 55th year (vol IV p 97)

The Mirat-i-Sikandari describes the death scene at somewhat greater length Bayley page 81 and it also describes his character giving many anecdotes extending over many pages The Mirat-i-Sikandari says Bayley page 81 that Sultan Muzaffar died on the 2nd Jumadi ul akhir 93 A.H. (156 A.D.) but places the accession of Sultan Sikandar (page 307) on the 2nd Jumadi ul akhir 93 A.H. 7th April 156 The Cambridge History of India (p 3^o) has the 7th April 156 as the date of Sultan Muzaffar's death

On the 3rd day,¹ at the end of those nites, he proceeded to Chāmpānīr. When he arrived in the town of² Batūh, he³ went on a pilgrimage to the tombs of the holy men of the place. He heard that⁴ Shāh Shaikh Jiū, who was one of the descendants of Qutb 'Alam Shaikh Burhān-ud-dīn, had said, that the kingdom would pass to Shāhzāda Bahādur Khān, he attributed false speaking to Shāh Shaikh Jiū, and spoke unseemly words about him. When he arrived at Chāmpānīr, he showed favour⁵ to his own servants, and conferred fiefs on them and did not show any kindness whatever to the *amīns* of his father and grandfather. Owing to this reason all the *amīns*⁶ were sick at heart, and thoroughly vexed, and waited for what might appear from the womb of divine providence.⁷ Simā 'Imād-ul-mulk Sultāni, who was one of the Muzaffar Shāhi slaves, and the slave of the mother of Sikandar Shāh, was very much aggrieved in his heart.

¹ The text in both MSS and in the lith ed is as I have got it, but Firishtah lith ed has دریں اور بھرپور میں بھرپوری کے لئے۔ This makes better sense. Firishtah begins the account of the reign by saying that there were two factions, the larger one in favour of Sikandar Khān, and the smaller in that of Latif Khān, but as Sultān Muzaffar had appointed Sultān Sikandar to be his heir, the great nobles took his side, and Latif Khān being unable to assert his claim went away to his fief of Sultānpūr and Nadarbār.

² نتوہ and نتوہ in MSS M Hidayat Hosam has adopted the former in the text edition.

³ Firishtah agrees but the Mīrāt-i Sikandāri, Bayley, page 307, says that "he went away without caring to visit the tombs of the holy men at Batōh".

⁴ The name is شاہ شیخ جو and شاہ شیخ حون in the MSS, and شاہ شیخ حون in two places in the lith ed. In the lith ed of Firishtah it is شاہ شیخ حون، and Col Briggs (vol IV, p 98) has Shah Sheikhjee. The Mīrāt-i-Sikandāri, Bayley, page 307, has Shēkh Jiū.

⁵ Firishtah explains کہ دوکران ایام شاہزادگی بودند، i.e., who were his servants, during the time when he was a Shāhzāda.

⁶ The word اُمیّہ, which I have inserted in the text, is in one MS, but not in the other MS or in the lith ed.

⁷ The prefix اُمیّہ occurs in both MSS, but not in the lith ed. Firishtah lith ed calls him 'Imād-ul-mulk Habshī, and the Mīrāt-i Sikandāri, Bayley page 308, calls him, "'Imād-ul-mulk Khush-kadam, who was a king in his own way". The meaning of the last clause is not clear. The Cambridge History of India, page 322, calls him "Imād-ul Mulk Khush Qadam".

Some of those who had been honoured by Sultan Sikandar also now began to commit improper acts. The hearts of the soldiers and the *raiyats* now became altogether averse (to Sultan Sikandar) and they prayed to God for his destruction. One day Sultan Sikandar arranged a special *darbar* and conferred robes of honour and seventeen hundred horses on the *amirs* and the chief men of the kingdom but as most of these were bestowed on undeserving persons the people applied their energies to the coming of Shahzada Bahadur Khan and hoped for his return. Sultan Sikandar becoming cognizant of what was happening became anxious and worried about his final destiny. At this time also he came to know that Shahzada Latif Khan who was in the neighbourhood of Nadirbar and Sultanpur had thoughts about seizing the throne and was waiting for a suitable opportunity. On hearing this news he conferred the title of Sharzah Khan on ¹ Malik Latif Khan Bariwal and appointed him to attack and put down Latif Khan. ² Malik Latif Khan went to the border of Nadirbar and came to know that Latif Khan was in the ³ hilly country of Munka Bham and the jungle of Chitor. Malik Latif without waiting at all entered the jungle of Chitor and the Raja of the jungle relying on (the density) of the forest and the roughness of the country came forward to meet him. Malik Latif with a number of noted chieftains was slain in the battle and as the road of retreat was closed the Rajputs and *kolis* attacked the army from behind and slew seventeen hundred men.

¹ He is called Malik Latif Khan Bar wal in the VSS as well as in the lith ed Fir shtah lith ed has Malik Latif Khan Bar dar Col Briggs (vol IV p 99) has Mullik Luteef w thout any suffix The Mirat-i-Sikandar al o calls him Malik Latif wh le the Cambridge Hi tory of India (p 3 ~) says that the force against Latif Khan was under Sharza Khan

One MS. on its Island

³ There is some difference in the readings. One MS has در کوھستان مونکا بھم instead of در کوھستان مونکا بھم و حمل حدور. The other has the same except that it has در کوھستان مونکا بھم instead of در کوھستان مونکا بھم و حمل حدور. The lith ed has در کوھستان مونکا بھم و حمل حدور. Col Briggs (vol IV p 99) has had gone to Chattoor. The M rat i Sikandar Bayley page 308 has had set himself up in the hill country of Sultampur and Nandarbar with the support of Bhum Rajah of Munka and the Cambridge History of India page 32 has he retired into Baglana. I have adopted the reading in the first MS.

The people of Gujrat, considering this defeat to mean an omen of the downfall of Sultan Sikandar, awaited further results. Sultan Sikandar appointed ¹ Qaisar Khan with a large army for the punishment of those wretched people.

While these things were happening, some of the Muzaffari amirs who were noted for their wickedness said to 'Imād-ul-mulk, "Sultān Sikandar wants to put you to death, as there are relations of sincere attachments between you and us, we have informed you." As 'Imād-ul-mulk made himself ² intoxicated with what those men of evil destiny told him, (he determined) that by any means that might be possible he would remove Sultan Sikandar from the way, and would raise one of the ³ infant sons of Muzaffar Shāh on the throne, and himself carry on the political and revenue administration of the country. One day Sikandar rode out on his horse 'Imād-ul-mulk completely armed his retainers and followed him with the intention of murdering him, but found no opportunity. On the way, some persons disclosed the state of things to Sultan Sikandar, but he, in his simple-mindedness, said in reply, "The people want that I should harass the amirs, and particularly the slaves of Muzaffar Shāh. 'Imād-ul-mulk is one of our hereditary slaves. How should he attempt such a wicked act?" In spite of what he said, however, he became grieved and pained at what he had heard. He told one of his intimates and confidants, that it is repeated among the common people from time to time that Bahādur Shāh is coming from Dehli to conquer Gujrat, this becomes the cause of worry to their minds.

It so happened, that on that very night, he saw in a ⁴ dream His Holiness the leader of the wayfarers in the path of the faith, Sayyid

¹ The Cambridge History of India, page 322, says that the choice of Qaisar Khan shows "either ignorance and folly of the king, or the treachery of the nobles, for Qaisar Khan was Latif's principal adherent". This may be correct, but I have not seen anything anywhere in support of this statement.

² The word is *جوسا* in both MSS and in the lith ed. Firishtah who, as usual, copies a great deal from the Tabaqat has the word *جوہا* here instead of *جوسا*.

³ The word is *عطفاء*, minor sons, and as a matter of fact only Nasir Khan

⁴ In the account of the dream in the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī (Bayley, p. 308), Shāh 'Alam and Shēkh Jīū are the only two mentioned, and Sultan Muzaffar is

Jalal Bubbari and Shah Alam and a number of other Shaikhs Sultan Muzaffar was also in attendance on them Sultan Muzaffar was saying Son Sikandar rise from the throne Shaikh Jui was also saying Rie It is not your place Bahadur Shah is the heir to the throne When he awoke Sultan Sikandar immediately sent for a man and reported to him what he had seen in the dream He became very agitated on account of the dream and in order to keep his mind occupied mounted to go and play *chaugān* The fact of the dream became known to some people After a *pas* or *pahar* he went to the palace and had some food and went to rest As the *amirs* and the Sultan's particular attendants went to their houses Imad ul mulk with some of the men of that group (i.e. those who had told him that the Sultan wanted to put him to death) and two of Sultan Muzaffar's slaves and another *Habshi* slave went to the palace This was on the 19th Sha'ban 932 A.H. (May 30th A.D. and April 12th A.D. 1526)

Imad ul mulk¹ said to the men who were with him Look at this palace for it is one of the wonders of the age When they arrived on the bank of the reservoir they met Nasrat ul mulk and Ibrahim son of Janhar who were there They at once drew their swords from the scabbards and rushed towards them Nasrat ul mulk and Ibrahim also placed their hands on their swords but the wounds inflicted by them were of no avail and they were both slain From that place the assassins went to Sultan Sikandar's bed chamber Suvid Ilm ud din was seated before the bed and was keeping

said to have declared Surely it is not fated that Sikandar Khan should descend from the throne but Shah Jui said Yes it is even so

¹ The story has a flavour of unreality The men had surely seen the palace before but Firishtah says the same thing and he agrees generally as to the incidents of the day on which Sultan Sikandar was murdered Col Brigg (vol IV p 100) gives the name of Bala ool Mool Dar ool Mook and Seif Khan as the men who accompanied Imad ool Mook least the two Turki slaves and one Abyssinian and he says that Sikandar Shah awakened by the noise rushed out to ascertain its cause when the assassin put him to death The Mirat-i-Sikandari (Bayley p 311) has a somewhat different account but I need not repeat it here According to it the Sultan was actually murdered by one Bahdur or Balidar as Bayley transliterates the name

² One MS inserts *عمر* after *علاء*

guard When suddenly those men rushed in, the Saiyid on seeing what was happening, became agitated, but placed his hand on his sword and wounded two men, but he himself became a martyr The assassins then inflicted two or three wounds on Sultān Sikandar, while he was still on the bed The Sultān, the victim of these attacks, in great fear and alarm jumped up from the bed and stood on the ground, when one of them smote him with the sword of ¹ cruelty, and made a martyr of him His rule lasted for ² two months and sixteen days

³ AN ACCOUNT OF NASIR KHĀN ENTITLED SULTĀN MAHMŪD, SON OF SULTĀN MUZAFFAR

As Sultān Sikandar became a martyr, 'Imād-ul-mulk in concert with Bahā'-ul-mulk forthwith brought Naṣīr Khān out of the harem, and placing him on the throne gave him the title of Sultān Mahmūd The *amīrs* of Sultān Sikandar fled (on account of their suspicions and fears) in different directions, and their houses were plundered and sacked The martyr Sultān's body was sent to *mauda'* Halōl, one of the dependencies of Chāmpānīr, and was deposited in the earth The *amīrs* and the chief men of Gujrāt had to come out of necessity to offer their congratulations 'Imād-ul-mulk in accordance with the customary law gave royal robes of honour to the *amīrs* and the great men, and comforted them, and also conferred titles Titles

¹ The words appear to be حُكْمُ الْحَسْنَى and حُكْمُ الْجُنُونِ in the MS The second word appears to be حُكْمُ الْجُنُونِ, hardship or cruelty

² The MSS have two months and sixteen days The lith ed has ten months Firishtah lith ed does not mention the period, but Col Briggs has three months and seventeen days, from Jumad uol-Awul 3rd to Shaban 19th The Mīrāt-i Sīkandarī (Bayley, p 317) makes it only one month and sixteen days from the 28th Jamādi-ul-ākhīr to Sha'bān 14th, but Bayley says in a note that some MSS and the Tārikh-i-Alfi make it two months and sixteen days, but it appears that, according to the Mīrāt-i-Sīkandarī itself, Bayley, page 281, Sultān Muzaffar died on the 2nd and not on the 28th Jamādi-ul-ākhīr, and that Sultān Sikandar was assassinated on the 19th Sha'bān, two months and sixteen days was the correct period

³ The heading I adopted is that in both the MSS In the lith ed it is ذِكْرِ سَلَطَانِ سِكَانْدَارِ مَهْمُودِ الْمُحَمَّدِ، سَلَطَانِ مَهْمُودِ الْمُحَمَّدِ, which is quite incorrect

were conferred on one hundred and eighty one persons but the stipends and emoluments of the *amirs* were not increased. Most people waited for the arrival of Sultan Bahadur and made every effort by sending messages and emissaries to summon him. They were angry at the leadership and eminence of Imad ul mulk who had been one of the Sultan's slaves and ¹ did not lower their heads in obedience and submission to him. Khindawand Khan and Taj Khan more specially sought to be ahead of the others in this matter. Imad ul mulk on account of his ancient and recent enmity attempted to injure them. Taj Khan having put the girdle of endeavour and energy on his loins advanced with a well equipped army drawn from his own caste and tribesmen to bring back Sultan Bahadur. Imad ul mulk in great distress wrote a letter to Nizam ul mulk Dakni sent him much money and summoned him to come to the boundary of Sultnpur and Nadarbar. He also wrote a letter to the ² Raja of Mal and summoned him to the border of Champaur and the Raja on account of his being in the vicinity collected his forces and came to the neighbourhood of Champaur (Imad ul mulk also) owing to his great caution and far sightedness sent a petition to His Majesty Firdus Makan ³ Babar Badshah to the effect that if he would send one of his many powerful armies he would present the

¹ The whole of the sentence from درود نمی اور دادا وار مسری is omitted from one of the MSS. It is also omitted in the text edition.

Firi hitha says that Nizam ul mulk kept the *zabut* but passed the time with negligence. Col Briggs (vol IV pp 101-10) has presents consisting of jewels and money. Contrary to what is stated in the text and in Firi hitha the Mirat-i-Sikanilar Bayley page 318 says that Imad ul Mulk wrote to Imad ul Mulk. He had sent to come to Sultnpur and Nadarbar and wrote to Raja Sikuk and he neared the neighbouring *anjir* and also wrote to Babar.

² See note "a" page 314

³ One MS has Humayun Bidshah here by mistake but a few lines further down it has Babar Bidshah. Firishtah's account of the petition to Babar agrees generally with the text but he says that Imad ul mulk suggested that if one of Babar's army would come to Dip ho (Imad ul mulk) would present a *kror* of *tankas* towards the expenses. Col Briggs explains this by saying that it was intended that Babar should send the force down the Indus to haul at Dari and he adds that the letter to Babar never reached its destination having been intercepted by the ruler of Dongurpoor (vol IV p 10)

fort of Dip, and one *krōi* of *tankas* in cash towards the expenses of His Majesty's servants

The *thānadāi* of Dūngarpūr, having received information that 'Imād-ul-mulk had sent a petition to Bābar Bādshāh, and had asked His Majesty to come to Gujrāt, sent a letter to Tāj Khān and Khudāwand Khān, and the *amīrs* of Gujrāt sent a man to Bahādur Shāh and summoned him¹ The messenger sent by the *amīrs* waited upon Sultān Bahādur in the neighbourhood, and presented to him their petition Sultān Bahādur was sad and grieved at his father's death, and performed the mourning ceremony He gave Pāyinda Khān Afghān, who had come from Jaunpūr to take him there, permission to go back, and although the latter dilated (on the splendour) of the empire of the eastern country, and incited him to go there, he turned his face towards Ahmadābād They say, that men came at one and the same time from Jaunpūr and Gujrāt to summon him He said, he would leave the choice to his horse, in whichever direction he would take him The horse started towards Gujrāt When he arrived in the neighbourhood of Chitōr, soldiers arrived one after another from Gujrāt, and they brought the news of the assassination of Sultān Sikandar, and the accession of Nasīr Khān Sultān Bahādur was pained to hear of it, and starting from there encamped at Chitōr There Chānd Khān and Ibrāhīm Khān, sons of Sultān Muzaffar, came to him He was pleased and delighted at meeting his brothers Chānd Khān took leave of him and remained at Chitōr, but Ibrāhīm Khān chose the service of his brother, and accompanied him In a short time after passing Chitōr,² Udaī Singh, Rāja of Māl, and some adherents

¹ The account in Firishtah agrees generally with that in the text, only he calls Pāyinda Khan Afghān Pābind Khān, and says he came from the Afghāns of Jaunpūr He is also clearer about Bahādur's leaving the choice between Gujrāt and Jaunpūr to his horse According to him Bahādur said, he would ride out, and then let go the reins As to Chānd Khān and Ibrāhīm Khān, he says they were with Rānā Sānkā, being probably fugitives from Gujrāt Col Briggs (vol IV, p 102) says that Chand Khan and Ibrahim Khan first gave Bahadur the news of the assassination of Sultan Sikundur, and he also says clearly that they had fled to the Rana after that event

² Firishtah lith ed here calls Udaī Singh, Rāja of Mālpūr, but Col Briggs (vol IV, p 102) has Raja Oody Sing of Poloh as before

of Sikandar such as Malik Sarwar and Malik Yusuf and Latif and others came and entered Sultan Bahadur's service.

Sultan Bahadur sent Malik Taj Khan with a *farman* conveying assurances of his favour to Taj Khan and the other *amirs* and gave them news of his ¹ approach. Taj Khan on seeing the letter advanced from Danduqa with a great force to join the service of Sultan Bahadur and he bade farewell to Latif Khan son of Muzaffar after giving him a sum of money to pay his expenses (telling him) now that the heir of Muzaffar's and Mahmud's kingdom had arrived it was not advisable that he should remain there. Latif Khan with a heart which was swaying and with eyes which were shedding tears went as a suppliant to Fath Khan who was a cousin (uncle's son) of Sultan Bahadur. When the Sultan arrived at Dungarpur Khurram Khan and other Khans hastened to welcome him and the *amirs* and *ardars* of all the provinces turned their faces towards him. Imad ul mulk on hearing this news and being directed by these adherents began to collect troops. He began to empty the treasury and sent a number of men with an army ready to fight and fifty elephants under the command of Abd ul mulk to the town of Mahrasa so that they might on their arrival there close the roads to the coming and going of the people and permit no one to go to Sultan Bahadur. When Sultan Bahadur arrived in the town of Mahmundabad the *amirs* who had joined Sikandar and who had fled for fear of their lives came and obtained the honour of the service (of Sultan Bahadur). The men who were with Abd ul mulk fled from Mahrasa. On the following morning when

¹ The word طے is omitted in one MS.

It would appear that Sh. Iza la Latif Khan was with Taj Khan and this is stated expressly by Firishtah as he says طے میرٹ سکندر بادل page 36 says that when Bahadar came to Dungarpur Taj Khan left Dhandukah to wait upon him. Just then prince Latif Khan arrived at Dhandukah and solicited the help of Taj Khan offering to place the administration of the country to his hands. Taj Khan told him that he had already promised his support to Sultan Bahadur.

² There is a difference in the readings here. One MS has کسی پس سلطان بادر. The other omits the word Sultan. The lith. ed. has کس ملارمپ سلطان بادر. I have adopted the first reading which is also the reading in the lith. ed. of Firishtah but he substitutes Sh. Iza la for Sultan.

the Sultān arrived at Mahrāsa, Tāj Khān, with the royal umbrella and the other insignia of royalty, came and saw the Sultān, and the latter with great pomp and power encamped in the city of Nahrwāla¹ Pattan on the 26th of the auspicious month of Ramadān in the year 932 A H, August 15th N S, 1526 A D From that place he advanced towards Ahmadābād after² assuming the insignia of royalty On the 22nd of the month, he performed the pilgrimage to the tombs of the great Shaikh̄s and his royal ancestors, and then entered Ahmadābād

'Imād-ul-mulk in his agitation and confusion paid a³ year's wages to the soldiers in advance, and invited them to fight⁴ Sultān Bahādur had after three or four days left Ahmadābād with great pomp and splendour During this interval most of the *amīrs*, after taking much money from 'Imād-ul-mulk, joined the Sultān⁵ Bahā'-ul-mulk and Dāwar-ul-mulk who were the actual murderers of Sultān Sikandar sought for a disagreement with 'Imād-ul-mulk, and joined the Sultān's service The latter, considering it desirable in the cu-

¹ The word سُنْنَتْ Pattan is left out in one MS

² The word is اعلان in both MSS, اعلام in the lith ed, and in the lith ed of Firishtah The 26th of Ramadan 932 A H corresponds to August 3rd, 1526 A D, according to Col Briggs and August (without any date) 1526 A D according to Bayley Col Briggs's date is according to the old style The date of the assumption of the royalty would accordingly be 15th of August (N S), 1526 A D, and the place Nahrwāla The Cambridge History of India, page 323, gives the 11th July, 1526, and Ahmadābād as the date and place respectively of the accession

³ One MS has رِزْقِ الْمُلْكِ, the other has only يَكْسِالَةِ The lith ed has مَوَاحِدِ يَكْسِالَةِ Firishtah also has يَكْسِالَةِ مَوَاحِدِ I have, therefore, retained the reading in the lith ed Firishtah adds that 'Imād-ul-mulk also sent an emissary to Shāhzāda Latif Khān, so that he might with the latter's aid be able to fight with Sultān Bahādur

⁴ This sentence is not in the lith ed but is in both MSS There is, however, a slight difference between the two readings One MS has اباده سا while the other has اراده سا I think the latter is correct It appears from Firishtah that he went from Ahmadābād to Muhammadābād, and سا means leaving and not entering

⁵ Baha ool Moolk and Dar ool Moolk were mentioned by Col Briggs as two of the men who attacked and killed Sikandar Shah See note 1, page 327

cumstances of the time tried to please them and endeavoured to comfort (their²) hearts The period of the rule of Sultan Mahmud Nasir Khan did not exceed four months

¹ AN ACCOUNT OF THE ACCESSION OF SULTAN BAHADUR SHAH

As the day of the Id ¹ Ramadan of the year 932 A.H. was according to the selection of astrologers fixed as the time of the accession of Sultan Bahadur he sat on the throne of his great ancestors (on that day) by the exertions of the amirs and the great men of the country and raised the standard of empire. The rites of making offerings of loyalty and of wine offering were carried out and (the hearts) of the amirs and of the great ³ men and of the commanders of the army were gladdened by increases in their stipends and by addition to their titles and by grants of money and horses and robes of honour.

In the beginning of Shawwal he moved from that place and advanced towards Champaunir. At the first stage of the journey Mu'azmi Khan with a number of other respected leaders hastened to wait on him and received favours and kindness. When he started from that station on the way he ⁴ conferred the title of Shams ul mulk on Nuh

¹ The heading I have in the text is the h + hng in both the MSS. with the difference that one has Sh at the end + hln the other omit it. The heading in the hth ed سلطان بہادر بن سلطان مظہر دکر سلطان بہادر بن سلطان مظہر دکر This is in re like the heading of other reigns

According to the Mirat-i-Sikandari Bayley page 37 Bahdur Shah assumed the royal insignia at Nehrwala on the 11th Ramazan 93 A.H. August 10 6 and the formal accession took place at Ahmadiyah Col Briggs (vol IV p 193) says he was formally crowned at Nehrwala Iuttan on the 26th Rumzan 93 A.H. August 3rd 156 A.H. The Cambridge History of India page 3 J says he ascended the throne on July the 11th 156 at Ahmadiyah

² The words و اعیان are not to be found in one MS

⁴ There is a difference of readings here. One MS has the reading I have accepted. The other MS and the hth ed have دوح بن يوسف والد و حسن بن داد الملك راجي سمس الملك خطاب داد Apparently there is some mistake for one title could hardly be conferred on two persons. I have consulted Firishtah and the Mirat-i-Sikandari but have not received any help from either. There is no mention of the fact in either. Firishtah after mentioning the arrival of Muzaffar Khan goes on to say that the درک river Butrak was in such flood etc. The Mirat-i-Sikandari Bayley page 331 at once takes Sultan Bahadur to the

bīn Yūsuf-ul-mulk, and when news came that the river of Bātrak was in such flood, that it was critical to cross it, Sultān Bahādur halted at the town of ¹ Sahvunj, and left Tāj Khān on the bank of the river, that he might send the army over in different bodies one after another. The next day a number of the *amīrs* of Chāmpānī, who had taken their ² salaries from the treasury, came and joined him. Sultān Bahādur owing to the nobility of his spirit made a present of that ³ money to them. When Sultān Bahādur arrived at the bank of the river Mahindrī, at the fort of Khānpūr, his army commenced to cross over.

'Imād-ul-mulk sent men towards Barōda and in other directions, so that they might raise the dust of rebellion and keep the Sultān occupied with it. But the latter rapidly crossed the river, and advanced towards Chāmpānī. When he arrived in the neighbourhood of the city, Dīā'-ul-mulk, son of Nasir Khān, ⁴ came and saw him. The

Mahindrī Bayley in a note on that page says that the Tabakāt-i Akbarī is rather fuller at this place, and makes a quotation from it, but the grant of the title on Nūh *bīn* Yūsuf ul mulk or on Husain *bīn* Saif-ul mulk is not mentioned in it. Col Briggs (vol IV, p 105) does not mention the Bātrak, but says that Bahadur Shah was compelled to halt at the Saburmutty on account of the heavy rain, from which one might infer that the Bātrak is probably another name of the Saburmutty. Bayley in the quotation from the Tabakāt calls it the Wātrak.

¹ The name is written as سوچ in both MSS and سوچ in the lith ed and سوچ in the lith ed of Firishtah.

² The word is ماعناء in one MS and in the lith ed. It is مال in the other MS and also in the lith ed of Firishtah. I have not before this seen the word ماعناء in respect of the stipends of *amīrs* and soldiers. The word ordinarily in use is مول علی. It is not clear in what way the *amīrs* had taken the *māhiāna* or *māl*, but it may be inferred from what he says in the next sentence, that there was something reprehensible or wrong about it.

³ The lith ed adds دریان بیارود but neither the MSS nor the corresponding sentence in Firishtah have those or any similar words.

⁴ One MS has امیر سلطان ناو دید ۸۵۷ The other has امیر سلطان ناو دید ۸۵۸ The word دید has evidently been misplaced from before سلطان to after ناو, and امیر has been written امیر. The lith ed has only امیر. The account given in the Mirāt-i Sikandarī (Bayley, p 331) is different. It does not mention Dīā-ul-mulk at all, but says the Sultān crossed the river with four hundred horsemen and some elephants, before the rest of the army, and sent Tāj Khān with three hundred

Sultān told him Go in advance and convey this order to your father that he should surround the house of Imad ul mulk and seize him He also sent Taj Khan very quickly with some other Khans to attack Imad ul mulk and he himself mounted to follow him Taj Khan went with great quickness and surrounded Imad ul mulk's house The latter threw himself from the wall of the house and took shelter in the house of Shah Jlu Sadiq His house was pillaged and his sons taken prisoner It so happened that Sultan Bahadur crossed in front of the house of Khudawand Khan The latter came out of his house and rendered homage After that his slaves seized Imad ul mulk and brought him before the Sultan The latter ordered that Imad ul mulk and Saif ul din and the other murderers of Sultan Sikandar should be hanged The title of Imad ul mulk was conferred on Raft ul mulk son of Malik Tukil who was one of the Muzaffar Shahi slaves and he was made the Irād-i Mumālik (the head munshi of the kingdom)

⁴ Abd ul mulk fled from Broda but on the way the kohls plundered all his equipage and things Sultan Bahadur appointed Shamsher ul mulk to seize Abd ul mulk and he appointed Nizam ul mulk to attack Muhsin Khan The rebels fled and sought the protec-

horsemen in advance to seize Imad ul mulk Of course the Talachitah says that Taj Khan was sent later to attack Imad ul mulk

¹ One MS has کوڑ کوڑ which I think would be better; but as the other MS the lith ed and the lith ed of Imaul Fal all have کوڑ کوڑ I have retained it

² It appears from Imaul Fal that he was seized in the house of سرنا طاحن طای و ندہ دوسٹ کندھہ مسددی who according to the Mirat-i-Sikandari Bayly page 31 was not the man that had cursed Sultan Sikandar but was the head keeper of the dārān

³ Col Briggs (vol IV p 106) says that Imaul Moolk was also executed but this does not appear very clear The actuals orders about the mode of putting him at Imaul Fal are سرنا طاحن طای و ندہ دوسٹ کندھہ مسددی As regards Imad ul mulk however Mr Abu Turab says on page 3 of his Tarikh-i-Gujarat that در معدن دربار در مصلن طارو سرنا طاحن طای و ندہ دوسٹ کندھہ مسددی i.e. in the plain of the darbar in the baīr his slum was fayed while he was still living from his head to the nails of his toes

⁴ Imaul Fal agrees generally with the text but Col Briggs (vol IV p 106) says that the fugitives sought refuge with Oodly Singh Raja of Ichch This partly agrees with the Mirat-i-Sikandari which says that Abd ul mulk and Muhsin Khan fled to the hill country of Fal Bayly page 333

tion of Rāy Singh, and the troops sent against them¹ returned after plundering their goods and chattels. After two or three days news was brought that² the son of 'Aīz-ul-mulk and Shāh Jīū Sadiqī and a number of the murderers of Sikandar Shāh had been slain in the house of Qadī Khān³ Bahā'-ul-mulk taking advantage of an opportunity fled from Chāmpānī. On the way, the *shahna* (police superintendent) of Dēhī seized him, and brought him before the Sultān. As he had inflicted a wound on Sultān Sikandar, and the wound which⁴ 'Ilm-and-dīn had inflicted on him was still flesh (*i.e.*, unhealed), Sultān Bahādur ordered that he should be slain, and then hanged. The three other men, who were among the murderers of Sultān Sikandar, were all (to use the quaint phraseology of the original) placed at the mouth of the cannon and sent into the air, or as one would say in ordinary language blown up at the mouths of cannon. In short, in a little while, all the murderers of Sultān Sikandar were put to death with great torture.

It so happened that on the day on which Sultān Bahādur entered Chāmpānī, Latif Khān, son of Muzaffar Shāh, at the instigation of (some) *amīns*, also came to the city and for some days remained concealed there. Qaisar Khān and Alf Khān and some other *amīns* sent a message to⁵ Latif Khān that it was not fitting that he should remain there any longer and he should in any case⁶ conceal himself in some other corner. He became hopeless and scratching the⁷ back of his

¹ One MS has instead of مراجعت نموده مراجعت نموده.

² The MSS have what I have got in the text. The lith ed agrees, with this difference that it has instead of ر عرض الامک بسر عرض الامک. The lith ed of Firishtah has سر عرض الامک. This appears to be correct. No person of the name of عرض الامک is mentioned anywhere else.

³ He was one of the murderers of Sultān Sikandar, whose services Sultān Bahādur had at first thought it advisable to accept, but who, now according to Firishtah, became doubtful of his safety and fled. See also note 5, page 332.

⁴ One MS has عالم الدین.

⁵ One MS omits the Khān after Latif.

⁶ The words are باید بوساده in one MS and in the lith ed. They are باید بوساده in the other MS. I have accepted the latter, as it is more correct grammatically.

⁷ The word دس is not to be found in one MS and in the lith ed, but is in the other MS, and also in the lith ed of Firishtah. I have retained it, as

beid¹ went to the country of Mīl The Rāj of Mīl did not show any favour to him Add ul mulk and Muhaifiz Khan then joined him and they went from there to Munka and there they passed the time in wandering about in the hilly country

In short Sultan Bahadur now commenced to attend to the welfare of the *raiyats* and of the soldiery and made all the people and all sections of the community participants in his boundless largesses He increased the stipends of the soldiers generally by ²ten twenties and ten forties and gave them one year's wages and made them contented and thankful He also gave to the *fāqirs* who lived round the tombs in Sirkhet and Brituk and Risulabad happy by giving them stipends and allowances

it is the back of the head that one scratches when in a quandary سرخوردان appears to be a Persian idiom

¹ Firishtah 11th ed says that Latif Khan went to the country of Mīl but does not say what happened to him there or whether he afterwards joined Add ul mulk and Muhaifiz Khan Col Briggs says he went to Pololi The Mirat-i-Sikandari (Bayley p 333) does not appear to mention the fact that Latif Khan came to Champanir and remained concealed there but says Azd ul mulk and Muhaifiz Khan fled to the country of Pal and joined Latif Khan The Cambridge History of India page 33 says he fled to Palanpur

The name is موتکا in the MSS and in the 11th ed The 11th ed of Firishtah has موتکا Col Briggs says vol IV page 106 that Azd ul Mulk and Mohafiz Khan fled to Mutwar and in a note on the same page he gives the boundaries of Mutwar as between the Verbudda and Tapti rivers N and S and Little Ood poor and Choly Maheswur F and W The Mirat-i-Sikandari does not give the name of the place but Bayley in a note on page 334 in which he refers to the Tabakat says that Latif Khan fled to the hill country of Bonga

² The meaning is not quite clear it apparently means doubled and quadrupled but this is not likely Firishtah 11th ed uses تا سی ۲۵ between تا ۲۵ and تا ۴۵ This would be 300 per cent None of the translations refers to this The Mirat-i-Sikandari Bayley page 333 says that The Sultan now opened the hand of bounty and like a cloud rained down gold and jewels and allowances and favours all round but there is no mention of the proportion by which the wages of the soldiers were increased It appears from page 334 however in connection with the allowances to Ghazi Khan that تا ۲۵ does mean twofold and consequently تا ۴۵ and تا ۷۵ also mean threefold and fourfold

¹ And as at that time, the fort of Chāmpānī was the capital of Gujārāt, and the Sultāns ascended the throne there, he on the 15th of Dhī-qa'dah, at the moment chosen by the astrologers, adorned and decorated a jewelled throne, inlaid with gems, in the manner of the old Sultāns near the eastern *darbār*, and on the date previously mentioned, which was in the year 932 A.H., he placed the crown on his head, and according to the custom of his ancestors, sat on the throne. The great men and the *Shāhīs* and the *amīrs* and the *Khāns* spoke words of congratulations, and carried out the ceremonies of making loyal offerings and wave offerings. On that day, a thousand persons had the distinction of robes of honour being conferred on them, and a number of people were honoured by the grant of titles. ² Ghāzī Khān was then appointed to the government of Nadarbār and Sultānpūr, and although his allowances had been increased by ten-twenty (*i.e.*, double) at the accession at Ahmadābād, it was again doubled now.

At this time ³ news came that Latif Khān had, at the instigation of 'Add-ul-mulk and Muhāfiz Khān, gone to the hills of ⁴ Āwās in the vicinity of Sultānpūr and Nadarbār, with the intention of creating a disturbance and raising a revolt. Sultān Bahādūr ordered that an army should be sent, which would in co-operation with Ghāzī Khān crush and destroy him. ⁵ At this time, the date of the accession on

¹ This second coronation is mentioned by Firishtah lith ed and very briefly by Col Briggs (vol IV, p 106). The Mirāt-i Sikandarī (Bayley, p 334) also mentions it briefly after mentioning the famine.

² It appears from the Mirāt-i Sikandarī, Bayley, page 334, that the Sultān ordered Tāj Khān to command the army against Latif Khān and his adherents; but Tāj Khān represented that Ghāzī Khān son of Ahmad Khān was the best man for the work, and the latter was then appointed to the *sūbah* of Nandarbār.

³ According to the Mirāt-i Sikandarī, Bayley, page 333, the famine occurred before the receipt of the news of Latif Khān's revolt, and the appointment of Ghāzī Khān, or at least the famine is mentioned there before the revolt.

⁴ The place is so named in the MSS., in the lith ed., and in the lith ed. of Firishtah, Col Briggs (vol IV, p 106) calls it the Ahwas hills. They do not appear to be mentioned in the Mirāt-i-Sikandari.

⁵ The MSS. and the lith ed. have the text as I have it, but in the corresponding passage of Firishtah there is the word *وَنْجَدَ* before, and the word *أَوْ* after the word *وَنْجَدَ*. This is, I think, a better reading. The date of the accession on the 'Id-ul duha was the anniversary of the accession at Ahmadābād which took place on that day.

the *Id ud duha* arrived. On this day the Sultan arranged a grand festive assembly and again bestowed on many of the *amirs* robes and belts and daggers and swords and in this way made them pleased with him.

It so happened that at this time a famine took place and (the Sultan) ordered Hushiyar ul mulk who was the treasurer to attend at his stirrups so that at the time when he was riding he should give a ¹ *Mu affari* to everyone who should ask for help. The Sultan rode out every day twice to play *chaugan* and in every city many alms houses were established for *fagirs* and poor people and the Sultan endeavoured with all his energy to ameliorate the condition of the *raiyats* so that in a short time a new grandeur and splendour appeared in the country of Gujrat.

A considerable time had not yet elapsed when the men who had been creating disturbances began to move again. Shuja ul mulk fled and joined Latif Khan and Qaisar Khan who was one of the great *amirs* of Muzaffar Shah sent a number of his retainers with him. As Qaisar Khan and ² Ulugh Khan had been in agreement with Imad ul mulk in the matter of the murder of Sultan Sikandar and were afraid of suffering the punishments for their acts they did not abandon their hostile attitude. The loyal *amirs* having come to know of this informed the Sultan. ³ The latter sent Ulugh Khan with a well

¹ The Mirat-i-Sikandar Bayley page 333 says a gold ashrafi. The Sultan riding out to play *chaugan* is mentioned in this connection I suppose to indicate that the *Mu-affaris* were given away on these occasions.

هُمْ هُمْ در درس دار احوال بوانا کو سس مددود appears to be defective. Either there should be the preposition & before هُمْ or the words هُمْ هُمْ should be omitted. These words are omitted in the corresponding sentence in the lith ed of Firdausi.

² One MS and Firishtah lith ed and Col Briggs and the Mirat-i-Sikandari have ال حاں so I have taken that name though the other MS and the lith ed have ال ف حاں

³ There is apparently some misstatement in the sequence of events. Apparently Ulugh Khan had already been sent in command of the army sent against Latif Khan when the loyal *amirs* made the representation in the matter but the difficulty is that it is said that Qaisar Khan and Ulugh Khan were put into prison. Probably Ulugh Khan was recalled or he had not started although the troops he was to command had. The Mirat-i-Sikandari Bayly page 33.

equipped army against Latif Khān. Some of the loyal adherents of the Sultān represented to him, that as Qaisai Khān and Ulugh Khān had combined with 'Imād-ul-mulk in the murder of Sultān Sikandar, and now they were again awakening the rebellion, which had fallen asleep, by sending letters, etc., it was not right that they should be in that neighbourhood. The Sultān was considering this matter, when news came to Tāj Khān that Ulugh Khān and Qaisai Khān had summoned Latif Khān to Nādōt by a road which was not well known and they were about to join him. Tāj Khān reported all this to the Sultān in private, and took an oath on the word of God (*i.e.*, the *Qurān*) that there was no untruth in what he was saying. The next day, when the *amīns*, according to daily custom, came to salute (the Sultān), Qaisai Khān and Ulugh Khān were put into prison.¹ Dāwai-ul-mulk who had escaped by means of an excuse, was arrested. Diā'-ul-mulk and Khwājah Bābū who were suspected of associating with the conspirators were also imprisoned, they were brought into the public audience hall, with their heads uncovered and their hands bound. The men of the city assembled in multitudes and plundered their houses. Diā'-ul-mulk placed a robe round his neck, and made humble supplication, and Bābū agreed to pay² fifty lakhs of *tankas* as the ransom of blood. Sultān Bahādur gave up the idea of putting them to death and ordered them to be released. His kingdom was now purified from the weeds of disturbance and rebellion.

In the beginning of the year 933 A.H., 1527 A.D., a body of *silāhdārs* (troopers), whose numbers reached³ ten thousand, made a

says that Kaisai Khān and 'Ulugh Khān and Dāwai ul Mulk were all ordered to be beheaded. Bayley in a note says that Firishtah says that 'Ulugh Khān's innocence was established. Firishtah nowhere, as far as I can see, says so. Like the author of the *Tabaqat* Firishtah only says that Qaisai Khān and Ulugh Khān were put into prison, but does not say anything about what happened to them later.

¹ The name is written as دوار المک and مدار المک in the MS., and داور المک in the lith ed.

² One MS. has here by mistake سیاھ سیاھ helpless, as an adjective to Bābū instead of سیاھ سیاھ fifty.

³ The number is ten thousand in both MSS. and in the lith ed. But Firishtah lith ed. has two thousand. Col Biggs (vol IV, p 107) makes it a large party headed by nearly two thousand officers. According to Firishtah they

complaint on a Friday that they had not received their allowances and did not allow the *Khutba* to be read Sultan Bahadur excused the offence on account of his innate forbearance and ordered the payment of their allowances These men had intended to go to Latif Khan and they had also instigated others to do so

At this time a petition came from Chazi Khan to the effect that Latif Khan has come to Sultanpur with a large force and has raised the standard of hostility I went and met him and after the battle Add ul mulk and Muhamfiz Khan fled and Ray Bhim with his brothers fell on the battlefield and Latif Khan was wounded and taken prisoner Sultan Bahadur immediately on hearing this news sent Muhib ul mulk and a body of other amirs so that they might properly and kindly attend to the condition of Latif Khan and bring him to his presence after placing ointments on his wounds but as he was mortally wounded he died on the way He was buried in the village of Halol one of the dependencies of Champaur by the side of Sultan Sikandar In the course of the same year ¹ Nasir Khan who had received the title of Sultan Mahmud also died The Sultan appointed a number of beadsmen (*ja'eb*) at his brothers tombs and ordered the daily distribution of cooked and uncooked food there

In the same year also news came that Ray Singh Raja of Mal on hearing of the execution of Qusar Khan sought an opportunity

made their complaint in the *Jama Masjid* and this is also indicated by the fact mentioned in the text that they prevented the reader of the public prayers to read them Firishtah also does not attribute the act of the Sultan to his forbearance but says he knew they intended to go over to Latif Khan and therefore ordered their allowances to be paid as a matter of policy Their intention of going over to Latif Khan is also mentioned in the text

¹ This was a young king who was placed on the throne by Imad ul mulk after the murder of Sultan Sikandar The Cambridge History of India page 33 says that he was secretly put to death but I do not know the authority on which this statement is made Neither the Tabaqat nor Firishtah nor the Mirat-i-Sikandari says so though it is quite possible that the young prince was secretly murdered

The reason of the hostility of Ray Singh on hearing the news of the execution of Qasar Khan and of his invading the Sultan domion and of sacking the town of Dahud is not at all clear nor is clear why Ray Singh should have seized a lot of the properties of Dina ul mulk the son of Qasar Khan The Cambridge History of India page 393 says that it was the murder of the

and sacked the town of ¹Dahūd, and much property belonging to Dīā'-ul-mulk, son of Qaisar Khān fell into his hands. The Sultān on hearing this news became anxious, and wanted to advance in person Tāj Khān, however, submitted to him, that at the beginning of a reign, many occurrences like this take place, and His Majesty should not at all allow any distress or pain to lodge in his heart. If this slave is commanded to undertake this service, he would with the divine favour and the auspiciousness of His Majesty's attention, chastise that turbulent man, the Rāja of Māl, as he deserves. The Sultān immediately conferred a robe of honour on him, and sent one *lakh* of horsemen with him for the punishment of Rāy Singh, the Rāja of Māl. Tāj Khān

child Mahmūd II, that alienated Udaī Singh of Pālanpur, or as he is described in the text and in Firishtah, of Rāy Singh, Rāja of Māl. But it is not clear why this Hindū chief should have taken the murder of the young Musalmān prince so much to heart as to put his country into such danger by raiding the territory of the powerful Sultān of Gujrāt. The text both of the Tabaqāt and of Firishtah make it clear that it was on hearing of the execution of Qaisar Khān, قتل ویصر خان, that he sought an opportunity and sacked Dahūd. In respect of Nasir Khān both the Tabaqāt and Firishtah had used the word, وفات, death. So that when they speak of the قتل ویصر خان, the name قصیر خان cannot be a mistake for قصیر خان. The Mirāt-i Sikandarī, Bayley, page 335, does not directly connect the raid by Rāi Singh of Pāl, as he is called there, either with the execution of Kaisar Khān or the death of Nasir Khān but it connects it indirectly with the former and not in any way with the latter. The Muāt-i Sikandarī does not mention the fact of the property of Zīā ul-mulk being taken in the text, but Bayley in a note on page 336 quoting from the Tabakāt says that Rai Singh "made his attack on hearing of the execution of Kaisar Khān, apparently because he supposed that that showed disunion in Balūdar Shāh's camp". This is not a very cogent reason, but I mention it for what it is worth. Later on in the same note Bayley calls Zīā ul-mulk, the son of Nasir Khān, and that Rāi Singh's son afterwards came in and submitted and was honoured with a dress (*Khil'at*). Both these statements appear to me to be incorrect. The Tabaqāt and Firishtah both calls Dīā ul mulk, the son of Qaisar Khān. There is no Nasir Khān mentioned anywhere, about this time except the young prince, who certainly had no sons. As to the visit of Rāy Singh's son to the Sultān, it will be seen from the text that it was Rānā Sānkā's son and not Rāy Singh's, who came and paid a visit to the Sultān. The 11th ed of the Tabaqāt, however, says that it was Rāy Singh's son. Probably Bayley had some MS before him, that also said so.

¹ مہد in the text

¹ invaded the country of Mal and began to devastate it. Ray Singh then with great humility and distress submitted a petition for the pardon of his offences through the intervention of Sharf ul mulk who was one of Sultan Muzaffar's amirs. It did not however meet with acceptance and Taj Khan penetrated into the country and stretched his hands to plunder and ravage it and did not leave anything undone in devastating it. Ray Singh chose a difficult position and prepared to fight there and Taj Khan standing firm and strong met him. A large number of active and strong men were killed on the side of Ray Singh and - only one man was killed on the side of the Muslims. Taj Khan remained one month in the country of Mal after which he hastened to the service of the Sultan.

In the month of Rahī ul awāl of the same year Sultan Bahadur left his capital with the object of hunting. At this time a number of the *raiyats* of Kanbayet came and made complaint of the acts of the officer in charge of the town. The Sultan sent Taj Khan to arrange the affairs of that neighbourhood and issued an order for the dismissal of the *darogha* of Kanbayet. When he arrived in the neighbourhood of Champaur the son of Rana Sanka came to render homage and after staying there for some days and after being made happy by favours and kindness received permission to leave.

In the year 934 or 1528 the Sultan cast the shadow of conquest over the countries of Idar and Bakar and having in a short time conquered those countries returned to Chumpinir. He then went with a small retinue to rebuild the fort of Baliraj and after

¹ There is a little difference in the readings. One MS has در امداد سعادت داد **حرانی** بهاد *i.e.* having invaded the country began to devastate it. The other has only در امداد *i.e.* invaded the country. The lith ed has در امداد *i.e.* I have adopted the first reading as it gives reason for R. y. Singh's humility. Firishtah also has the same reading.

finishing his work there, went to Kanbāyet. One day, when he was amusing himself on the coast, a ship happened to arrive from the port Dip. The men, who came in it, reported, that a ship belonging to the *fīrangīs* had been cast ashore by the wind. Qawām-ul-mulk had seized the property on board the ship, and was ¹ causing the *fīrangīs* the hardship of being made slaves. On hearing this news after breaking his ² fast the Sultān travelled to Dip by road. Qawām-ul-mulk hastened to meet him, and produced the *fīrangīs* before him. He invited them to accept Islām, and having made a large number of them Musalmāns, raised the standard of return.

In the same year ³ a letter came from 'Ādil Khān, governor of Āsir, who was a nephew (sister's son) of Sultān Bahādur, the purport

¹ The meaning of the words which are دار مقتله و دار in the MSS (though the word دار is written as دار in one of them) is not quite clear but I suppose my translation is correct. Fīrishtah has the word دار instead of دار. Col Briggs (vol IV, p 109) says the crew had been made prisoners.

² The word is اونار in both MSS and اونار in the lith ed. Fīrishtah says the Sultān became very pleased on hearing the news, and agrees generally as to the facts of the incidents, and Col Briggs (vol IV, p 109) says in the text that all the Europeans taken on this occasion were circumcised and became Mahomedans, but in a note he says that "The Portuguese historian states that they resisted being converted and were eventually released. James de Mesquita was the name of the officer, and his whole crew consisted of only sixteen men in a boat. It is certain that James de Mesquita was with Bahadur Shah afterwards, at the siege of Chittoor, and was employed by him as his envoy to Nuno de Cunha in the year that Bahadur Shah lost his life". This incident does not appear to be mentioned in either the Mirāt-i Sikandarī or the Cambridge History of India.

³ The tenor of the letter is rather vague and disjointed. Fīrishtah lith ed agrees generally but the names of the party are somewhat different. 'Ādil Khān is called Mīrān Muhammad Shāh, Nizām ul mulk Bahri Burhān Nizām Shāh Bahri, Barid Bidari Qāsim Barid and 'Imād ul mulk, 'Alā ud dīn 'Imād Shāh, and instead of the three hundred elephants mentioned in the Tabaqāt, Fīrishtah says some elephants, دار مسلسل جنگ, were carried away as plunder. Col Briggs's account is similar to Fīrishtah, but he calls Mīrān Muhammad Shāh "Meeran Mahomed Khan". The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 340, generally agrees, but says that the confederacy against 'Imād ul-Mulk Gāwēlī or Mīrān Muhammad Khān consisted of besides Nizām-ul Mulk and Barid, Khudāwand Khān Pāthrī, and 'Ain ul-Mulk and others, but it says nothing of the looting of the elephants and the taking of the fort of Māhūr, but Bayley mentions them.

of which was this. As Imad ul mulk Kawil had prayed with humility for help from this *faqir* and Nizam ul mulk Bahri and ¹ Mihl Band of Bidar had forcibly entered into the country Kawil the *faqir* went to help and reinforce Imad ul mulk and a great battle took place. The *faqir* drove away the men in front of him. Nizam ul mulk Bahri who was in ambush attacked and defeated Imad ul mulk and carried away as plunder three hundred elephants belonging to the *faqir*. The *faqir* has now come relying on the generosity of Your Majesty. Whatever noble order is issued by you will be entirely for the welfare of all and he (I suppose Nizam ul mulk Bahri) has violently taken possession of the fort of ² Mahur which is the greatest fort in Kawil. An order was issued to the following effect. Last year a petition came from Imad ul mulk and Malik Amul mulk the governor of Nahrwali in accordance with orders went and amicably settled the matter between the parties. Now that this violence has been perpetrated by Nizam ul mulk therefore in accordance with the saying—the offender is a tyrant—he is the tyrant and Imad ul mulk the victim of his oppression and it is a duty incumbent on the energy of all merciful people to help the oppressed. In the month of Muharram in the year 935 A.H. September 1228 A.D. the Sultan advanced with an immense army with the object of conquering the Deccan and encamped in the town of Baroda and a long time abode there for the mustering of the troops.

⁴ About the middle of that year 935 A.H. 1229 A.D. Jam Iruz the ruler of Thatha had to leave his country owing to the growing power of the *Arghuns* and came and joined Sultan Bahadur

in a foot note. The account of the Cambridge History of India page 34 is somewhat similar but it says in addition that in case of the quarrel with the possession of the town and district of Patli on the Godavari which belonged to the ruler of Berar by right but were coveted and had been annexed by that of Almadnagar (Alu al din Imad Shah).

¹ مددوں دری in the text-edition

The word is علا in in MS but عالہ in the other and in the litho.

² The word is مکاروں in one MS

⁴ Kirshital's account agrees but he does not name the *Arghuns* but substitutes Maglul. Col Briggs (vol IV p. 110) calls them *Arghoon*. Muzaffar Silandari does not mention the allowance of twelve *lakhs* of *tankas*.

The latter showed kindness to him, and fixed a stipend of twelve *lakhs* of *tankas* for his personal ¹ expenses, and promised that, "God willing I shall give you your hereditary dominion after recovering it from the Maghuls."

As the fame of the grandeur of Bahadur Shah, and the report of his imperial gifts spread in the inhabited fourth part of the world, the Rays from near and far turned their faces to his threshold, which was a seat of prosperity. The ² nephew of the Raja of Gwaliar with a body of *Punjabia* Rajputs came, and were enlisted among his special attendants. ³ Bahrun, son of Prithi Raja, nephew of Rana Sankar, also came with some notable Rajputs, and entered his service. Some Dakini *sardars* also came and attained to the good fortune of an audience (of the Sultan). All of them, in accordance with their status and position, obtained a share in his favours and gifts.

As a long time elapsed (in the Sultan's) residence in Champaranir, Imad-ul-mulk sent his son Ja'far Khan to wait on the Sultan, and represented that, owing to his arrogance and pride, Nizam-ul-mulk Bahrir had no inclination towards a treaty of peace. If the Sultan would once advance into the Deccan, the object of this slave would be attained. The Sultan granted his prayer, and decided to invade the Deccan. About this time, Ja'far Khan submitted, that if the Sultan permitted, he would like to go and see the city of Ahmadabad and the country of Kanbeyet, and would soon come back to attend on the Sultan. His prayer was allowed, and he had arrived in Kanbeyet, when he was informed, that the Sultan had moved out of Ahmadabad to carry out his expedition into the Deccan, and had

¹ The word حرف is left out from one MS

² His name is given in the Mirat-i-Sikandari, Bayley, page 343, as Nai Sing Dero brother's son of Man Singh, Raja of Gwaliar

³ The name is بھر or بھر in the MSS., and مس in the lith ed., and بھر in the lith ed. of Firishtah. Col Briggs calls him Sreeputty Ray (evidently mixing up the names of the father and the son), nephew of Rana Sankar. The Mirat-i Sikandari says that it was Prithi Raja, nephew of Rana Sankar and not his son who came. Following the Tabaqat and Firishtah, I have adopted Bahrun as the name of the Rajput chief, son of Prithi Raja, who came. Of all the names it is the only one which has any similarity to a Hindoo name. M Hidayat Hosain has راجہ نے بھر دی in the text-edition

encamped in the town of ¹Dabohi Jafar Khan waited on the Sultan there The Sultan halted there for some time and again returned to ³Muhammadabad and passed the rainy season there ⁴He then in the year 937 A H marched towards Bakar and Idar and he sent Khudawand Khan and Imad ul mulk from the village of Khanpur with a well equipped army and many elephants to Bakar and himself proceeded towards Kanbayet He spent one day at Kanhayet and then embarked in a ship for the Dip At the latter place all the stuffs and other merchandise which were in the ships that arrived from the various ports round about were put into various store houses Among these things there were one thousand and six hundred maunds of roses (or rose water) from Damascus He also showed very great kindness to the body of Rumis (Turks) who had ⁵come with Mustafi

¹ The name of the town is دروہی in one MS and درلری in the lith ed In the other MS the name of the town is not mentioned It appears from the Virat i Sikandari Bayley page 344 that the names of the two stations in the Sultan's march were the town of Dabohi and the village of Dharoli I have adopted the name of Daboh M Hidayat Hosain has درلوہی in the text edition

² Bayley says in a note on page 343 of his History of Gujarat that the Tarikh-i-Alfi Firishtah and the Tabakat-i-Akbar say very little about this campaign He gives a very brief summary of what the Tarikh-i-Alfi and Firishtah say but none of what is said in the Tabakat What is said in the Tabaqat is so mixed up with other matters and with accounts of more or less aimless wanderings that it is difficult to give any summary I have not attempted to give a summary of what Firishtah the M irat-i-Sikandar and the Cambridge History of India say about it but have confined myself to a translation of the text

³ M Hidayat Hosain has adopted سیف الدین in the text edition

⁴ Firishtah mentions these after giving a brief account of the campaign His account of these journeys agrees generally with that in the text but he says that instead of buying sixteen hundred *mans* of roses or rose water of Damascus he bought sixteen hundred *mans* of موز و پسته pistachio nuts and dried grapes Col Briggs does not mention these purchases and I cannot find any mention of them anywhere else

⁵ Firishtah says that they had come بارم سارم i.e. as merchants and it is not clear why they were in such helpless condition and could not go back to their own country

Sanka for protection and made him the medium for his entering the service (of the Sultan) It so happened that the Sultan had at that time gone to Banswala on a hunting expedition Ratan Sen sent emissaries there and with great humility and meekness prayed for the pardon of Jaga's offences The Sultan acceded to his prayer and sent for Jaga He then laid the foundation of a noble mosque in the ¹ village and *ghat* of Karchi and gave that town (Karchi) to Prithi Raj and divided the rest of the territory of Bakar between Prithi Raj and Jaga in equal shares

He remained there for some days with the object of hunting when scouts brought the information that Sultan Mahmud Khalji Ratan Sen which the author of the Cambridge History of India has correctly trans literated into Vikramaditya

¹ The name of the village is دکھنات کرھی Dakhat Karhi in one MS and دکھناب کرھی Dakhnat Karji and دکھاب کرھی Dakhat Karji in the lith ed In the lith ed of Firuztah it looks like لہاب کرھی Lahab Karhi Col Briggs (vol IV p 113) says that the King having caused a mosque to be built in the village of La'y Ghat gave it over in perpetuity to Jugut Ray Whether the mosque or the village was given in perpetuity to him is not clear and in any case the statement differs from that of Firuztah who says the Sultan gave the town to Prithi Raj It appears from the Mirat-i-Sikandari Bayley page 348 that *valis* of Ratan Rajah of Chitor waited upon the Sultan at the pass of Karchi I think therefore that the correct reading is موضع دکھاب کرھی the village and *ghat* of Karchi and I have adopted this U Hidayat Hosain has در موضع دکھاب کرھی in the text edition

² There must be some mistake here Pars Ram and not Prithi Raj was the Raja of Bakar Prithi Raj appears to have been Raja of Dungarpur It is not at all clear why he should have got half of Bakar to the exclusion of Pars Ram and his son the former of whom had entered the Sultan's service and the latter had become a Musalman The Cambridge History of India page 35 says in a few words what happened to Baker (as it calls it) and Banswara It says he led an expedition in to Baker and Banswara The Rana Ratan Singh II who had succeeded Sangrama after the battle of Sikri interceded for the two chief and Bahedur stayed his hand I am afraid this does not give much information of what actually happened and what information is given is not accurate There is no mention of the division of Bakar whether it was between Prithi Raj and Jaga or between Pars Ram and the latter There was also no expedition into Banslak or Banswarah The Mirat-i-Sikandari says definitely that the Sultan left his army behind and went to Banwala on a hunting excursion and nothing appears to have been done in respect of him or of the Raja The names Ratan Singh and Sangrama are also both incorrect

said to Darya Khan On various occasions the glad tidings of a visit have reached my ears If Sultan Mahmud comes and meets me I shall certainly not give an asylum to the fugitives from his courts He then granted permission to the ¹ ambassador of Sultan Mahmud to return after bestowing favours on him Then he marched towards Banswala and when he arrived at the *ghat* or pass of Karchi Ratan Sen and Silhadi hastened to wait on him On the first day the Sultan bestowed on them thirty elephants and one thousand five hundred robes of honour made of stuff of woven gold thread After a few days Ratan Sen obtained leave to go to Chitor but Silhadi having elected to enter the Sultan's service stayed on

Sultan Bahadur depending on the promise of Sultan Mahmud Khalji proceeded towards Sambla and determined that if Sultan Mahmud came he would perform the ceremonies of receiving and hospitably entertaining him and then go as far as Kanbayet and the pass of Devla and after bidding him farewell there returned to the capital At this place Muhammad Khan Asiri came and waited upon him ² When the latter arrived at Sambla he waited for ten days for Sultan Mahmud After that Darya Khan again came from Sultan Mahmud and informed him that his master had fallen from his horse while hunting and had broken his right arm and it was not fit that he should come in his present condition The Sultan said

¹ The word is سانبلہ in both MSS and in the 1th ed of Firishtah but سانبلی in the 1th ed of the Tabaqat

The name is ¹ Sanbha in one MS ² Sanbla in the other MS and in the 1th ed of Firishtah and ³ Sandla in the 1th ed of the Tabaqat Col Briggs (vol IV p 114) has Tandla and the Mirat-i-Sikandari Bayley page 350 has the village of Sambalih ⁴ Sanbla in the text is apparently a mistake for Sambla

² The Cambridge History of India page 36 gives a very good summary of the matters in dispute at this time between the Sultan of Gujarat and Malwa but unfortunately ends with a mistake when it says Sultan Mahmud owed his tenure of his throne to the capture of Mandu from rebellious Rajputs by Mahmud Begarha It needs scarcely be said that it was Sultan Muzaffar and not Sultan Mahmud Begarha who captured Mandu from the rebellious Rajputs (see pp 318 319 of the Cambridge History of India itself) It may also be mentioned that ماندھا should be transliterated as Mandu and not as Mandu

"As he has broken his promise several times, if he does not come I shall go myself" Darvā Khān again said, "Chānd Khān son of Sultān Muzaffar is with Sultān Mahmūd. If the latter comes and Your Majesty demands the surrender of Chānd Khān, it would be very difficult to give him up, and it would be impossible to withhold him. In truth that is the reason why he cannot come" Sultān Bahādūr said "I have relinquished the idea of demanding the surrender of Chānd Khān. Please go and tell Sultān Mahmūd, that he should come soon" When the emissary of Sultān Mahmūd received leave to go back, Sultān Bahādūr travelled ¹ slowly along, and waited for Sultān Mahmūd's arrival. When he arrived at Dibālpūn, it became known that Sultān Mahmūd wanted to confer the title of Sultān Ghīvās-ud-dūr on his eldest son, and he sent him to the fort of Mandū whilst he himself should leave it and seclude himself somewhere else, and he had no desire to meet Sultān Bahādūr. ² Some of the *amīrs* of Sultān Mahmūd, who were aggrieved with him on account of his disagreeable behaviour towards them, came and saw Sultān Bahādūr, and several of them represented to him, that Sultān Mahmūd was passing the time with idle excuses, and did not intend voluntarily to come, and Sultān Bahādūr's army should without delay begin the siege of the fort (of Mandū)

Sultān Bahādūr then started from that place, and encamped at ³ Sūdpūr, and at that station, Shaizat-ul-mulk fled from the fort of Mandū, and hastened to wait on him. The next morning the army moved from that place, and encamped at the village of Dilāwarah. When the Sultān arrived at Na'leha, he directed the different detachments to take up their position for the siege. Muhammad Khān Āsūr

¹ M Hidayat Hosain has selected مباری طی مبارل می سوہن in the text-edition

² Col Briggs (vol IV, p 114) says, "the delay which this arrangement involved gave the Guzerat courtiers an opportunity of again misrepresenting the conduct of Sooltan Mahmood Khiljy". This is not quite correct. It was the Mālwa and not the Gujrāt *amīrs* who complained of Sultān Mahmūd's conduct, and it does not appear that even they misrepresented it.

³ This clause appears in one MS where the place is called سوہن پور and in the lith ed where it is called سور پور, but not in the other MS or in Firishtah. Neither Sūdpūr nor Sūrpūr is mentioned in any other history.

was posted to the west at the battery of ¹Shahpur and ²Ulugh Khan to Bhilpur. He sent the *Purabia* contingent to ³Pahlwania and himself took up his quarters in the *mahals* (palaces) at ⁴Muhamadpur.

On the 9th Shaban 937 A.H. at the time of the true dawn the standards of Bahadur Shah rose above the horizon of the fort of Mandu. At that very moment Chand Khan son of Sultan Muzaffar got out of the fort and fled. Sultan Mahmud armed himself and with the few men that he had came out to give battle but as he ⁵did not see that he was sufficiently strong to do so he went into the palace

¹ The name is سَلَةْ بَرْلَ Shihpur in both MSS and in the 1th ed of Firishtah. It is سَلَةْ دُورْ Shihpur in the 1th ed of the Tabaqat. The Mirat-i-Sikandari Bayley page 301 has the trenches at Shihpur.

² The name is عَلَغْ حَلْ Ulugh Khan in both MSS. The 1th ed of Firishtah has لِعْلَمْ Luqm in which is certainly incorrect but Col Briggs (vol IV p 115) improves it by making it Lokmun Sing. The 1th ed of the Tabaqat has الْفَ حَلْ Alf Khan and the Mirat-i-Sikandari has الْفَ خَان Khan. As to the name of the place the MSS have بَهْلَ بَرْلَ Bhilpur and بَهْلَ سَلَلَ Pahlpul. The 1th ed of the Tabaqat has بَهْلَ بَرْلَ Bhilpur and that of Firishtah بَهْلَ بَرْلَ Bahlpur. Col Briggs has Seetulpoor and the Mirat-i-Sikandari Bayley page 301 Bahloolpur.

³ The MSS have سَلَوَانَهْ Pahlwania and the 1th ed has بَهْلَوَانَهْ Bhagwana. The 1th ed of Firishtah has سَلَوَانَهْ Sahlwana. Col Briggs has Julwara and the Mirat-i-Sikandari has Bahalwanah. 'A' Hidayat Hoain has adopted سَلَوَانَهْ Sahlwana in the text edition.

⁴ The MSS have دَرْ مُحَمَّدْ Muhamadpur and دَرْ مَاهْمُودْ Mahmudpur while the 1th ed has مَهْمُودْ آبَادْ Mahmudabad. The 1th ed of Firishtah has مَهْمُودْ بَرْلَ Mahmudpul and Col Briggs has Mahomedpoor while the Mirat-i-Sikandari Bayley page 301 does not state where the Sultan took up his quarters but says that on the "9th Rajah he advanced his camp to Mahmudpur."

⁵ The date is the 9th Shaban in the MSS and in the 1th ed and also in Col Briggs but the 1th ed of Firishtah has the night of the 9th Shaban and the Mirat-i-Sikandari Bayley page 301 has the same date. The Mirat-i-Sikandari describes how Sultan Bahadar himself with some great men effected an entrance into the fort by climbing a steep and high hill on the side of Sangar Chitor. The exploit was something like that of Humayun who six years later in 942 A.H. captured Champanir by climbing a steep hill by driving spikes into it (See translation vol II pages 54-55.)

⁶ One MS has دَارَسْ but the other and the 1th ed have دَارَسْ

¹ to slay his wife and children. Sultan Bahādūr's soldiers surrounded the *mahal* (palace) and sent a message that there was full assurance of safety to the inmates and to the *amīns* and no one would interfere with the property or the honour of any single person. Some of Sultan Mahmūd's loyal adherents made him refrain from the slaughter of his family, and told him, whatever unkindness the *Bādshah* of Gujrāt might show to him, his kindness and generosity would be greater than those of others. There was also a strong likelihood, that he would follow the example of his father and would leave the kingdom of Mālwa in the possession of Sultan Mahmūd & servants. About this time, Sultan Bahādūr ascended to the top of *La'l Mahal*, and sent a man to wait on Sultan Mahmūd. The latter came with seven of the *amīns*. ² Sultan Bahādūr received him with respect and courtesy, and embraced him, and tried to please him. Then when they began to converse with each other, Sultan Mahmūd showed a little harshness in his language. This displeased Sultan Bahādūr, and a silence fell on the meeting. Then Sultan Mahmūd and his son were placed under arrest, and sent to Chāmpānī, and Bahādūr Shāh took up his residence

¹ Wishing apparently to follow the Rājpūt rite of *jauhar*, but Firishtah says دوامیہ رعایت احوال عیال و اطفال برگشته حاب مصلح حود شفاقت, from which it would appear that he intended to look after his family and children, and not to kill them. As to what happened later, Firishtah follows the Tabaqāt almost *verbatim*. But the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 352 says that "the plunder and the killing and the making of prisoners went on for one watch and then a proclamation of quarter and safety was made". The date according to Mirāt-i-Sikandarī was the 9th (and not the 29th) Sha'bān, 937 A.H. 28th March, 1531 A.D. Col. Briggs gives the date of the 9th Shaban, February 26th and the Cambridge History of India, page 327, has March 17th.

² Firishtah leaves out the show of courtesy and respect and the embrace, but says that Sultan Bahādūr was inclined to forgive Sultan Mahmūd, but when he asked the latter, why he had not come to meet him, he gave a harsh reply, after which things happened as stated in the Tabaqāt. The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī's version (Bayley, pp. 352, 353) is somewhat different. It says that Sultan Mahmūd sought safety by asking for quarter and mercy, and came out with seven sons to wait on Sultan Bahādūr. He was placed in the custody of trustworthy guards, and on the 12th Muḥarram he was sent to Gujrāt. This last date can scarcely be correct, as there is an interval of four months between Sha'bān and Muḥarram. The account given in the Cambridge History of India, page 327, appears to be a brief summary of that in the Tabaqāt.

at Mandu He gave permission to most of his *amirs* to go back to Gujrat to their own *jagirs*

After the rains Sultan Bahadur ¹ went to see Burhanpur and Asir and there Nizam ul mulk Dakini joined his service ² He conferred on him the title of Muhammad Shah and then returned to Mandu About this time it became known that Silhadi ³ Purabia was not inclined to come and wait on the Sultan for the reason that he had in the time of Sultan Mahmud Khalji taken some Musalman women and in fact even some of the members of Sultan Nasir ud din's harem into his own house and had kept them there Sultan Bahadur ordered that whether he came or not it was incumbent on him (*i.e.* the Sultan) that he should release the Musalman women from the disgrace of *Lufr* (heathenism) and the wretchedness of the slavery of *Kafirs* and should give condign punishment to Silhadi For this purpose he sent ⁴ Muqbal Khan to Champanir so that he might go there and guard the fort and send Ikhtiyar Khan with artillery and troops and treasure Ikhtiyar Khan came with a large army and joined the Sultan in the town of Dhar on the 20th Rabī ul akhir 938 A H Sultan Bahadur ⁵ proclaimed that he was going back to Gujrat

¹ There is a slight variation in the reading in the MSS One has سر اسپر و سر در هاندرو و سر در هاندرو while the other has سر در هاندرو و سر در هاندرو which is incorrect

² Firishtah says that he did so because he wanted that Nizam ul mulk Dakini or as Firishtah calls him Burhan Nizam Shah Bahri would help him in the war with Humayun which he intended to carry on but as a matter of fact the opposite of this happened for Nizam ul mulk sent an emissary to Humayun and wanted him to come and attack Gujrat The Cambridge History of India page 37 does not mention this but it describes the interview between Bahadur Shah and Burhan Nizam Shah

³ The suffix *Purab ja* is omitted in one MS The Cambridge H story of India page 37 does not mention anything about Silhadi having taken Musalman women into his house but says that he showed no disposition to fulfil his promise to return

⁴ It appears that Sultan Bahadur gave out that he was going to Gujrat and went away as if on a hunting excursion to Dibalpur etc so that Silhadi might not take fright and go away to Ratan Sen son of Rana Sanga This is expressly stated in the Mirat-i-Sikandari

⁵ He is also called حملہ مغلیب Khan by Firishtah but is called Mukarrab Khan (مکرب حملہ) in the Mirat-i-Sikandari Baylev page 36 and is there described as brother of Ikhtiyar Khan

and went to Mandū, so that after making the necessary preparations there, he might commence his march towards Gujrāt. He left Ilktiyār Khān in charge of the government of Mandū, and encamped at Na'leha on the 25th of the month of Jamādi-ul-āwwal. At this time Bhūpat, son of Silhadi, submitted to the Sultān, "As the sublime standards are advancing towards Gujrāt, if this slave obtains permission to go to Ujjain, he would bring Silhadi to wait on Your Majesty after giving him assurances of safety." The Sultān gave him permission, but with great caution himself advanced towards Ujjain by successive marches. On the 15th of that month, he arrived at the town of Dhū and leaving the army there went away to ¹ Dibālpūr, Banharia and Sa'dulpūr, as if on a hunting excursion.

Silhadi on hearing this news left Bhūpat at Ujjain, and came and waited on the Sultān. ² Amin Nasir who had been sent to summon him told the Sultān in private, that he had brought Silhadi, by deceiving him with a promise of the grant of Kanbāyet and a ³ krōr in cash.

¹ About Dibālpūr there is no dispute, it is spelt دیبالپور in the MSS and in the lith ed., but the Mirāt-i Sikandari calls it Dipālpūr. The second name is بانهاریا Banharia and تھاریا Taharia in the MSS, and in the lith ed. It is not mentioned in the lith ed. of Firishtah or in the Mirāt-i Sikandari Col Briggs (vol IV, p 117) calls it Bensrode. The third place is سعدلپور Sa'dulpūr in the MS and in the lith ed. of Firishtah. In the lith ed. of the Tabaqāt it is راسولپور Rasūlpūr. Col Briggs calls it Shoojalpoor. It is called 'Adlpūr in the Mirāt-i Sikandari, Bayley, page 357, and Bayley says in a note "The Tab Akbarī calls it Sādhpūr".

² This man's name is variously given. Both the MSS call him امین نسیر Amin Nasir, while the lith ed. has امیر نسیر Amir Nasir. Firishtah lith ed. has Amīr Nasīr, and Col Briggs has Ameer Nuseer. The Mirāt-i Sikandari Bayley, page 356, calls him Malik Amin Nas, and it is said there, that Nas was probably a nickname, and means, among other things, one who is beginning to be corpulent. The Cambridge History of India, page 327, calls the man Nassan Khān, and says that he had been sent to Raisen and brought Silhadi to the court. According to the other historians he was sent, but Silhadi came only on receiving his son's message.

³ One MS has تک after کرور, but the other MS and the lith ed. do not have it. Firishtah says the same thing but in a different order. According to him Silhadi had no wish to submit to the Sultān, and would not have if he had not been deceived by the offer of Kanbāyet and a krōr of tankas. The Mirāt-i-

As Silhadi had no thought of remaining in allegiance to the Sultan and wanted to give up his fort and to go to Mewar if he now got permission to leave ¹ it would be difficult to see him again The Sultan then started from Sadulpur for Dhar and talked with the *amirs* and his other adherents about seizing Silhadi When he arrived at the camp he left the army outside and took up his residence in the fort of Dhar He took Silhadi with him When the Sultan got inside the fort the men who had been directed to seize Silhadi came and took him with the two other *Purabis* who were with him into custody At this time one of Silhadi's attendants raised a clamour and placed his hand on his dagger Silhadi told him Do you want to kill me The man replied I wanted to do it for your sake but as it causes injury to you now I can smite myself so that I might not see you in captivity and striking his dagger under his abdomen went to ² hell When the news of Silhadi's arrest was spread about the Gujrat army and the populace of the city plundered his camp and killed a large number of his followers and his elephants and horses and equipage were seized for the Sultan's government Those who escaped the sword fled and joined Bhupat

Towards the end of the day Sultan Bahadur sent ⁴ Imad ul mulk to attack Bhupat He left Khudawand Khan to accompany the camp and in the morning himself started towards Ujjain Imad ul mulk told him at this time that before his arrival Bhupat had received the news of Silhadi having been seized and he had fled and gone to Chitor Sultan Bahadur conferred the government of Ujjain

Sikandar Bayley page 357 says the promise was to give him the port of Kam bhat and lakh of tankahs and one hundred Arab horses

¹ There are slight variations in the reading The MSS have دندن او ار محالس while the lith ed has دندن او را محالس and Firishtah lith ed has دن او طار دنگر محالس

² The word *jamdhari* a kind of dagger was used once before describing the attack on Iker Muhammad Khan by one of the Rajputs who came as ambassador to him from the Raja of Sirohi

³ The word is حکم in both MSS and in the corresponding passage of Firishtah but it is عدم non existence in the lith ed

⁴ Firishtah calls him Rafi ul mulk who had the title of Imad ul mulk The Cambridge History of India page 398 calls him Imad ul Mulk Malikji son of Tawakkul

on Dāiyā Khān, who was one of the old *amīrs* of Mālwa, and had formerly come as the ambassador to Sultān Bahādur and advanced towards Sārangpūr. He bestowed Sārangpūr on Mallū Khān, son of Mallū Khān, who had in the time of Sultān Mu'azzaf gone away from Mandū, and ¹ had entered the service of and who in the reign of Shēr Khān had assumed the title of Qādir Shāh, and had the public prayers read and the coin struck in that country in his own name, some account of him will be written before long. And having given permission to ² Habib Khān the ruler (*valī*) of Āshṭa to go back to Āshṭa, himself marched towards Bhilsa and Rāisīn. Habib Khān went to Āshṭa, and took possession of it, after slaying a large number of the *Pūnābias*. When the Sultān arrived at Bhilsa, it became known (to him), that it was eighteen years since the time when all vestiges of Islām ³ had disappeared from that country and the rites of heathenism had gained currency there. At this time spies ⁴ informed the Sultān, that when Bhūpat, the son of Silhādī,

¹ The words in the MSS and in the lith ed, as well as in the lith ed of Firishtah who copies the Tabaqāt closely, are ملازم شد و دار without specifying the person whose servant he had become, but, according to the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 358, he had from the time of the Sultān's (i.e., Sultān Bahādar's) accession been in continuous attendance upon him, this explains his having become a *mulāzim*. It appears that he was a servant of the Khaljī Sultāns of Mālwa, who afterwards assumed the title of Qādir Shāh, and ruled in Mandū, Ujjain, Sārangpūr and Rantambhōr.

² The readings in the MSS are حاڻ اڻهه والي را and الله ، حاڻ والي را and in the lith ed حاڻ حاڻ والي را I have changed the sequence to حاڻ والي را، حاڻ اڻهه والي را.

³ The language in one MS and in the lith ed is اٿار اسلام اريں ديار کوچ کرد. The "marching away" of the vestiges of Islām appears to me to be inappropriate. The language in the other MS is اٿار اسلام اريں ديار بوطرف شده instead of اٿار اسلام اريں ديار بوطرف شده. It appears from the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 358, that "Bhilsah which had been converted to Islām by Sultān Shams-ud-din of Dehlī", but having been eighteen years in the possession of Silhādī, "Muhammadan law and custom had been set aside for idolatry".

⁴ The reading in one MS is دفع سماڻان رساید، and in the other اعليٰ سماڻان رساید، but the lith ed has neither اعليٰ سماڻان nor رساید.

went to Chitor¹ Lakhman Sen the brother of Silhidi had strengthened the citadel of Raisin and was making preparations for a battle and was waiting for reinforcement from Chitor

² Sultan Bahadur waited at Bhilsa for three days for the erection of mosques and other houses for pious purposes (سماں حضر دران) and marched from there on the 7th of Jamadi ul awwal of that year and encamped at a distance of two *lakhs* from the town on the bank of the river. On the morning of Wednesday the 8th of the aforesaid month he had the kettle drum of victory beaten and set up his position on the ³ bank of the reservoir of Raisin. The army had not yet arrived when the *Punjabia* Rajputs divided themselves into two detachments and sallied out of the fort. Sultan Bahadur with the few men that he had with him attacked them himself ⁴ hewing down two or three men into halves from their waists. The army of Gujrat arrived one after another from behind and completely routed the

¹ The name is لکھمن سن Lakhman and لکھمن سن Lakhman Sen in different places in the MSS and لکھمن سن Lakhman Sen in the 1th ed. It is لکھمن Lakhmar in the 1th ed of Firishtah. Col Briggs has Lokmun Singh and the Mirat : Sikandari Bayley page 360 has Lakhman Sen. The Cambridge History of India page 3² has Lakhman Singh. I think Lakhman Sen is the correct form of the name and I have adopted it.

² Firishtah agrees as to what Sultan Bahadur did at Bhilsa but he does not mention his encamping on the bank of the river and he says that he set up his نارگیل in on the 8th of the Jamadi ul awwal. The Mirat : Sikandari Bayley page 358 says the Sultan left Bhilsah on the 17th Jumadi ul akhir and proceeded by successive marches to a river two *lakhs* from Raisin. On the next day he pitched his camp on the bank of the tank near the fort of Raisin. In spite of these contradictions about the date the Cambridge History of India page 3² says that Bahadur was attacked as he approached the town on January 26.

³ Both MSS have براہن نارگیل براوراحت and Firishtah 1th ed has براہن در حوض رائسن but I prefer در حوض رائسن which is in the 1th ed and which agrees with the Mirat : Sikandari. M Hidayat Hosain however has followed the MSS in the text edition.

⁴ Firishtah agrees but Col Briggs (vol IV p. 119) says Bahadur Shah slew ten men with his own hand and Bayley in a note on page 358 ascribes as in the other cases Col Briggs's statement to Firishtah.

infidels. The *Pūrabīas*,¹ being struck by the bravery and courage of Sultān Bahādūn took shelter in the fort. The Sultān forbade his soldiers from continuing the fight, and postponed it for the following day.

The next day he marched from that place, and fixing on the fort as the centre, distributed the batteries (among the different commanders), and commenced the construction of covered passages. Within a short time these reached a place whence they commanded the garrison. The Sultān went there himself, and leaving Rūmī Khān with the artillery, returned to his quarters. Rūmī Khān brought down two of the bastions of the fort by firing from his cannons. He also dug a mine from another side, and setting fire to it blew down some yards of the wall on that side. Silhādī seeing the weakness of the *Pūrabīas*, and the great strength of the enemy sent a message to the following effect, "This slave wishes to be dignified with the nobility of Islām, and after that if he gets leave, he would² go above, and after evacuating the fort, make it over to the representative of the Bahādur Shāhī government." The Sultān was delighted on hearing this news, and summoning Silhādī to his presence, repeated to him the words expressing the unity of God. When Silhādī accepted the faith, the Sultān gave him a special robe of honour, and sent him various kinds of food from the (royal) kitchen. He then took Silhādī with him to the foot of the fort.

Silhādī summoned Lakhman, his brother, and said to him, "As I am now included in the community of Musalmāns, Sultān Bahādūr will, either on account of a feeling of communal favour, or on account of his noble spirit, raise me to a high rank. It is fit that after surrendering the fort to the adherents of the Sultān, I

¹ The actual words in the MSS and in the lith ed are گریتہ گوش the meaning of which is not quite clear to me.

² The meaning is not quite clear. The words are عالی و قدر in both MSS and in the lith ed of Firishtah, but they are omitted from the lith ed. of the Tabaqāt. The meaning probably is, "Going up into the fort". It would be remembered that he was a prisoner in the Sultān Bahādūr's camp, and it appears from the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 359, that he informed the Sultān, "Having obtained the friendly offices of some of the chief nobles"

should hind the girdle of service strongly and should continue to render him service¹ His brother then told him privately that now that it is not right according to their religion to shed your blood and Bhupat is coming to their assistance bringing the Rana and forty thousand men with him something should be done so that there might be a delay of a few days longer in the capture of the fort Silhadi having applauded this opinion said to the Sultan Let this matter be postponed today Tomorrow after two watches (*pas*) of the day the fort would be evacuated and made over to the servants of the Sultan

Sultan Bahadur then left that place and returned to his residence and waited for two watches of the (next) day to pass When a moment elapsed after the appointed time Silhadi again represented to the Sultan If you order this slave would go near the fort and having ascertained the state of things would report Sultan Bahadur made Silhadi over to trustworthy men and sent him to the neighbourhood of the fort Silhadi went to the fallen bastion and began to give advice to the people in the fort He said Oh ye careless Rajputs! take note of the Sultan He would immediately come out of the battery and put you all to death His object was this that they should immediately rebuild the bastions Lakhman gave no reply and Silhadi returned in a state of fear That night Lakhman

¹ According to thi the plan of deceiving the Sultan first originated with Lakhman and according to the *Mirat-i-Sikandari* Bayley page 360 Silhadi informed the Sultan that he was willing to become a Musalman as he was afraid that the Sultan's attack would be successful and all his people would be slaughtered but according to the Cambridge History of India page 3⁹⁸

Silahdi conciliated Bahadur by perfidiously feigning to accept Islam and thus obtained permission to meet his brother ostensibly with the object of arranging for the surrender of the fortress but when he and Lakhman Singh met they agreed to await the relieving force expected from Chitor

This is on the face of it somewhat contradictory If they agreed to await the arrival of the relieving force (only) when they met Silhadi could not have perfidiously feigned to accept Islam and have met his brother

² The relieving force is said to have been forty thousand in the MSS and in the lith ed of *Firishtah* and in Col Briggs a translation It is four thousand in the lith ed of the *Tabaqat* The *Mirat-i-Sikandari* Bayley page 360 makes it forty or fifty thou and picked horse and artillery and innumerable infantry

sent two thousand *Pūrabīas* with a ¹ son of Silhadi to the station where Bhūpat was ² Silhadi's son began to fight, and the Gujrāt army having exerted themselves beyond the power of man, killed many of the Rājpūts, and sent the head of Silhadi's son with the heads of other Rājpūts to the Sultan.

When Silhadi received information of the death of his son, he fainted. Sultan Bahādur now became aware of the real state of things, and made Silhadi over to Burhān-ul-mulk, so that he might be kept in prison in the fort of Mandū. At this time news came, that Bhūpat was bringing the Rānā with him from Chitōi. As he knew that the Sultan had arrived *jarīda*, or with a small force, the Rānā with great audacity came along by successive marches. The Sultan said, 'Although I may have only a small force with me still in accordance with the saying, that one Musalmān is equal to ten *Kāfirs*, I shall meet them.' The Sultan's ³ wrath became violent on hearing the news of the Rānā's approach and he immediately sent Muhammad Khān the ruler of Burhānpūr, and 'Imād-ul-mulk Sultanī for their chastisement. When Muhammad Khān and 'Imād-ul-mulk arrived in the town of ⁴ Sarīsa, news came that the Rānā and Bhūpat had arrived near the town of ⁵ Kahrār. Muhammad

¹ The MSS as well as the lith ed say simply سر ساھدی Silhadi's son, but Firishtah has Silhadi's younger son (رکوچک), and Col Briggs has Silhuddy's youngest son. He is called a younger son of Silhadi in the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 361, and Silāhdī's youngest son in the Cambridge History of India, page 328.

² He was apparently intercepted by the Gujrāt army. The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 361, gives a different version of the incident. According to it, "A younger son of Silhadi's made an attack upon a royal post in the town of Barsiah with two thousand horse. But the Musalmāns were victorious, and the infidel fled to his elder brother, Bhūpat."

³ One MS has فوج عینی but the other MS and the lith ed have فوت عینی

⁴ The name of the town is سرسا Sarīsa in one MS and looks like سیرسہ in the other. In the lith ed it is سرسا Sirsa. Firishtah and Col Briggs do not give the name of the place, but say they had not gone far when they met Poorunmal. The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 361, has Barsiah. The Cambridge History of India does not give the name of the place.

⁵ The name is کھرار Kahrār and Khīrār in the MS. It is Kahrār in the lith ed. Firishtah lith ed has کھرلا Kehrla. Col Briggs does

Khan and Imad ul mulk arrayed their troops for battle and advanced towards them and when they arrived in the vicinity of Kahrar Puran Mal another son of Silhdhi ¹ appeared there with two thousand *Purabia* Rajputs Muhammad Khan advanced to attack the fort but Puran Mal fled without fighting and some of the *Purabias* who were under him were taken prisoner Muhammad Khan and Imad ul mulk submitted a report to the Sultan to the effect that Puran Mal had fled and joined the Rana and the latter had arrived quite near and although the force under him was beyond any computation still relying on divine help and the auspicious fortune of His Majesty they would not hold themselves excused from making all efforts to attack him.

On receiving this report the Sultan left Ikhtry ir Khan and other amirs to carry on the siege and marching very rapidly traversed in the course of a night and a day seventy *Milas* *karohs* and shone like a flash of lightning in the neighbourhood of Kahrar Muhammad Khan went a part of the way to receive him and brought him to his own quarters.

The spies of Rana and Bhupur took them the news that the Sultan had on the preceding night joined his army and his troops which were like swarms of locusts and ants would arrive almost immediately The Rana on hearing this news retired and sat down one stage behind (his previous camp) In the morning Sultan Bahadur advanced one stage beyond Kahrar At this place two Rajputs came as emissaries with the object of making inquiries and delivered the following messages from the mouth of the Rana The Rana was one of the servants of the threshold and his object in coming to these parts was that he would advance his foot by way of intercession

not give the name of the place The Mirat-i-Sikandari Bayley page 361 has Kharod while the Cambridge History of India page 38 has Kamkera

¹ The word is طالب in one MS and in the 1st ed and طاح in the other MS Firishtah 1st ed also has طاح According to the MSS and the 1st ed of the Tabaqat as well as the 1st ed of Firishtah and the Mirat-i-Sikandari Bayley page 361 and the Cambridge History of India page 38 the force under Puran Mal was two thou and men but Col Briggs (vol IV p 121) makes it ten thousand cavalry

and ask for the 'pardon of Silhādi's offences' The Sultān said, "At present ² his forces and grandeur are greater than mine. If he had submitted a petition ³ without fighting, ⁴ he would of course have attained his object. When those two Rājpūts went back, and reported that they had seen the Sultān with their own eyes, the Rānā and Bhīpat in spite of all their great strength and pomp fled, making ⁵ three or four stages into one. At this time, news came that ⁶ Ulugh Khān with thirty-six thousand horsemen, and the elephants and artillery of Gujrāt had arrived in the neighbourhood. The Sultān owing to his great bravery, did not wait for the arrival of Ulugh Khān, but pursued the enemy for seventy *kmōhs* with only the troops that

¹ The word is استھانی, and looks like ارمغانہ in the MS. It is استھانی in the lith ed. I have retained the latter though Firishtah has ارمغانی. Of course استھانی and ارمغانی have the same meaning, the latter has been used by M Hidayat Hosain in the text edition.

² The words are میت و شوکت in one MS and in the lith ed., and میت و شوکت او in the other MS. I think the latter reading is better and I have adopted it. The Sultān was addressing the emissary but the force and grandeur he was referring to was not theirs but the Rānā's.

³ The reading in one MS and in the lith ed is دعہ کر دے but in the other MS it is دعہ ناکر دے. This latter is the correct reading and I have adopted it. Firishtah lith ed also has دعہ ناکر دے.

⁴ The reading is مطلوب سے in both MSS and in the lith ed and also in the lith ed of Firishtah, although it is misplaced there before مطلوب. I think سے would be better, and I have adopted it, but M Hidayat Hosain has retained مطلوب in the text edition.

⁵ Both MSS and the lith ed of Firishtah have چار چھوٹے سے but the lith ed of the Tabaqāt has چار چھوٹے. The making of three or four stages into one shows the rapidity of their flight.

⁶ The name is الع خان Ulugh Khān in the MSS and in the lith ed of Firishtah, but the lith ed of the Tabaqāt has حان ال خان Alf Khān, and Col Briggs (vol IV, p 121) has Aluf Khan. The Mirāt-i Sikandarī has Alaf Khān, but Bayley in a note, page 362, says there is the usual confusion between Alaf and Ulugh. The Cambridge History of India does not mention the arrival of the reinforcement, or the name of the commander. The number of horsemen is thirty six thousand in the MSS and in the Muāt-i Sikandarī but it is thirty thousand in the lith ed of the Tabaqāt, and in the lith ed of Firishtah, and also in Col Briggs's history.

he had with him The Rana however got into Chitōr and the Sultan leaving the punishment and castigation of the Rana to the next year returned to Raisin and on arriving there made the siege closer than before

About the end of Fārmadan when Lakhman became hopeless of receiving reinforcement and saw destruction before his eyes he came forward with humility and submission and submitted a representation that if the Sultan could summon Silhadi to his presence and would draw the pen of forgiveness across the page of his offences and would give him assurance of safety this slave (that is he himself) would evacuate the fort and ¹ would surrender it to him The Sultan after much consideration reminded himself that his object in undertaking the expedition was to free the Musalman women from the dis grace of *kufr* (heathenism) If their (*i.e.* Lakhman's and Silhadi's) prayer is not acceded to it is likely that there should be a *jauhar* and those helpless women would all be killed Considering all this he granted Lakhman's prayer and summoned Silhadi to his presence from the fort of Mandu Burhan ul mulk hastened from Mandu bringing Silhadi with him

After Silhadi had come Lakhman hastened to wait (on the Sultan) and having obtained a *farman* granting assurance of safety (to Silhadi) went up to the fort The Sultan detailed a body of soldiers to guard the fort Lakhman brought down the families of the other Rajputs from the fort but kept his own family and those of Taj Khan and of the principal Rajputs in the fort He again represented to the Sultan that there were about ³ four hundred women who pertained to Silhadi and Rani Durgawati the mother of Bhupat had a prayer that as Silhadi had become one of the special slaves of the Sultan

¹ One MS and the lith ed have سلیمان سلمان but the other MS has عصمان عصمان The lith ed of the *Tabaqat* omits the passages from عصمان to عزیز اور عزیز Firztauh lith ed in the corresponding passage has عصمان عزیز عزیز

² It is not clear how Taj Khan got mixed up with the Rajputs Col Briggs (vol IV pp 1-1 1-) says that Taj Khan who had come to negotiate on the part of Lokman was permitted to return to the fort

³ The *Mirat-i-S Landa* Bayley page 363 makes the number seven or eight hundred

if he was allowed to come to the fort, and to take down the members of his own family from it, the latter would be protected from the taunt of being taken down by strangers. The Sultan sent Malik 'Ali Shēr with Silhadi to the fort and when the latter arrived there, Lakhman and Tāj Khān asked of him, "What would the Sultan grant to them in exchange for the fort of Rāisīn, and the country of Gōndwāna?" Silhadi said "At present the town of Baroda with its dependencies has been determined upon for our residence and it is likely that the Sultan would out of his generosity exalt me (more)"

Rānī Dungāwati and Lakhman and Tāj Khān said, "Although the Sultan would show us favour and kindness still for many generations this country has been in our possession in reality if not in name, like an empire and now fate has ordained that we should all be (again) together. The right way of bravery is this, that we should perform *jauhar* of our women and children, and should ourselves fight and be slain, and there should be no further longing left in our hearts." Silhadi was much moved by Rānī Dungāwati's words and assumed an attitude of rebellion and revolt. Although Malik 'Ali Shēr offered much friendly counsel it was of no avail. (Silhadi) said in reply to Malik Shēr, "Every day one *kiō* of betel leaves, and some seeds of camphor are consumed in my house and every day ¹ three hundred women put on new garments. If we are killed with our women and children, what honour and glory! He then arranged for the rite of *jauhar*, and Rānī Dungāwati taking her ² daughter-in-law who

¹ The word is سیصد، but I suppose it means three hundred, and not thirteen hundred, or three thousand. The 11th ed. is defective here, having مل instead of مان and leaving out the words سیصد رن. There is a slight difference in the MSS. also, one has سیصد رن هر دو رن، but the other has سیصد رن دارم. Silhadi's ideas of his own pomp and grandeur were rather curious.

² The word is عروس، which ordinarily means a bride but it can only mean a daughter in law here. The 11th ed. of Firishtah, however omits the word عروس، and makes Rānī Dungāwati herself the daughter of Rānī Sānkā. The passage in the Mirāt i Sikandarī is doubtful. It is said there according to the translation, that a daughter of the Rānī, who was the wife of Bhūpat was among the seven hundred women who were burnt Bayley, page 365, in a note says that the word wife may be a mistake for mother. I think, however, that the account in the Tabaqāt is correct.

was the daughter of Rana Sanka with (her) two children by the hand got into the *jauhar* and they with seven hundred beautiful women were burnt¹ Silhadi with Taj Khan and Lakhman then armed themselves and coming out fought with the Dakmi infantry who had gone up to the fort When the news reached the camp the Gujrat army galloped up to the fort and sent that ill fated band to hell while of the army of Sultan Bahadur only four foot soldiers attained to the happiness of martyrdom

About this time Sultan Alam the ruler of Kalpi came as a sup phant to Sultan Bahadur against the assaults of the armies of² His Majesty Jinnat Ashiani Sultan Bahadur granted the forts of Raisin and Chanderi and the territories of Bhilsa as a *jagir* to him He also appointed Muhammad Khan the ruler of Asir to capture the fort of Kakrun which in the time of Sultan Mahmud Khalji had come into the possession of the Rana and himself started on an expedition to hunt elephants He captured many elephants and after meeting out their deserts to the rebels of the³ hilly country of Kanur made it over to⁴ Ulugh Khan He also took possession of Islamabad and Hushangabad and the whole of the country of Malwa which was in the possession of *zamindars* and granted them as *jagirs* to the amirs

¹ The Cambridge History of India page 38 says that the Rajputs showed little of their usual spirit although they were all slain the losses of the Muslims amounted to no more than four or five It appears however from Firishtah that the total number of Rajputs was not more than one hundred and according to the Mirat-i-Sikandari they offered a stout resistance

Fir hisb agree with this and the Mirat-i-Sikandari gives an account of Sultan Alam from which it appears that he was placed in charge of Kalpi by Nizam Ali Khalifah Babar's *naib* He ruled Kalpi well during Babar's lifetime but after his death he rebelled against Humayun and then sought shelter with Sultan Bahadur The Cambridge History of India page 38 however says that He had fled from his principality before Babur

² The name is كوجہ کالور in one MS and in the lith ed and كوجہ کلو in the other MS Firishtah lith ed also has كوجہ کلو but the Mirat-i-Sikandari Bayler page 368 has the fort of Kanur and the Cambridge History of India page 38 Kanur M Hidayat Hosain has adopted كوجہ کالور in the text edition

³ The name is الف حمل and السعان in the MS and الف حمل in the lith ed Firishtah lith ed has الف حمل and the Mirat-i-Sikandari and the Cambridge History of India page 39 have Alp Khan

of Gujrāt, and to his own trusted adherents. When Muhammad Khān, the ruler of Asīr, was advancing towards Kākīūn, Sultān Bahādūr also arrived in that neighbourhood with great rapidity.
¹ A man of the name of Rām, who was the governor of the place on behalf of the Rānā, evacuated it, and fled. Sultān Bahādūr occupied himself there for four days in festive assembly and entertainment, and granted rewards and favours to each one of the men who were near his person. He then sent 'Imād-ul-mulk and Ikhtiyār Khān, who were among his great nobles, to capture the fort of ² Mandisōr, and himself went to Mandū. The governor of Mandisōr, who was an officer of the Rānā evacuated it ³ and fled, and in the course of one month the forts of Kākīūn and Mandisōr came into the Sultān's possession.

The Sultān advanced from Mandū to Chāmpānī. Information came at the latter place, that the ⁴ firangīs had come to the port of

¹ The MSS have رام نامی, while the lith ed has رام نامی. The lith ed of Firishtah has رام حی نامی. The name is not given either by Col Briggs or in the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī or in the Cambridge History of India. It would appear from Col Briggs and the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī that Muhamad Shāh had not yet succeeded in capturing Gāgrūn, but when Sultān Bahādūr appeared, the place was evacuated (Bayley, pp 367, 368).

² The name is دستور Dastūr, and دستور Dastūr in the MSS and looks like دمتوور Damtūr in the lith ed. Firishtah lith ed has رسوئر Rasūr, and Col Briggs has Runtunbhore (vol IV, p 123). The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 368, and the Cambridge History of India have Mandisōr or Mandasor, which I have adopted.

³ There is some difference in the readings. One MS has ملعه را حالی گذاشته گردید. The other has the same, but inserts بانتر between گذاشته and گردید. The lith ed has حالی کرده گذاشته گردید. Firishtah lith ed has the same reading as the first MS, and I have adopted it.

⁴ With reference to this, see the footnote in Col Briggs, vol IV, page 123, from which it appears that according to Faria e Souza (tome I, part iv, chapter iv) it was one of the greatest efforts made by the Portuguese, but it appears to have failed entirely. The fleet consisted of four hundred vessels, on which were embarked three thousand six hundred European soldiers and ten thousand native soldiers, besides seamen and Lascars. The Mahomedans under Moostufa Khan the Governor of Diū or Dip so completely repulsed the attack that the Portuguese had to return to Goa. Bayley also in a note, on page 369, says that it was a very important struggle, and he hoped to discuss it more

Dip and had raised the standard of power. The Sultan advanced towards Dip and when he arrived in its neighbourhood (he heard) that the *firangis* had fled and a great cannon which exceeded in size all other cannon in India came into his possession. The Sultan had it conveyed to Champanur by means of a special machine. He then determined to seize Chitor and marched from Dip to Kanhayet and from there to Ahmadabad. Here he went on pilgrimage to the tombs of the holy Shaikhs and of his great ancestors. He collected troops and with the artillery of Dip and Gujrat advanced towards Chitor.¹ At this time Muhammad Zaman Mirza fled from the court of His Majesty Humayun Badshah and came as a suppliant to the Sultan. When the latter arrived at Chitor the Rana shut himself up in the fort and the period of the siege was prolonged to three months. On many occasions brave men prepared for combat came out from the two armies and performed gallant deeds. On most of these occasions victory and triumph fell to the lot of the Gujratis. In the end the Rana came forward with humility and paid a large subsidy and making the crown and the - jewelled belt which he had taken from Sultan Mahmud Khalji the ruler of Malwa and some horses and elephants the ransom of his life turned the Sultan back to Gujrat.

This victory and the coming of Muhammad Zaman Mirza and the gathering together of the descendants of Sultan Bahul Lodi in his service became the cause of the increase of Sultan Bahadur's pride. It also became the cause that set on move the chain of hostility with His Majesty Muhammad Humayun Badshah. In order to carry out this intention he conferred favours on Tatar Khan son of Sultan Ala ud din son of Sultan Bahul Lodi who was distinguished above

fully in an appendix on Portuguese affairs in his second volume. The Cambridge History of India page 39 only mentions Bahadur's visit to Diu and says nothing whatever about the attack by the Portuguese.

¹ Muhammad Zaman Mirza was a prisoner in the fort of Biana and fled from there in the year 940 A.H.

About this belt see Note on page I 4 of Col Briggs's History vol IV from which it appears that it was sent with Bahadur Shah's family to Medina and it eventually found its way in the shape of a present to the Grand Seignior Soliman the Magnificent.

all his equals in manliness and bravery, and paid ¹ thirty *krōrs* of gold to Burhān-ul-mulk, the governor of the fort of ² Ranthambōr, so that in concert with him and with his advice the money might be spent by Tātāī Khān in collecting an army. Within a short time about forty thousand horse assembled round Tātāī Khān. He began to make incursions on the outskirts of the dominions of His Majesty Jinnat Āshīānī. In the year 941 A.H. repeated ³ letters came from

¹ The actual words in the MSS., and in the lith. ed. are, سی کروڑ در, which means thirty *krōrs* of gold coin (probably *Muzaffarīs*) and Firishtah has definitely سی کروڑ مطہری thirty *krōrs* of *Muzaffarīs*. Col. Briggs, however, has three crores of rupees and says, in a note, three millions sterling. The *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī* (Bayley, p. 382) does not mention the amount, but it says that thirty (not forty as in the text) thousand horse were placed under Tatāī Khan Lodi to march to Delī by way Bāīnah.

² The MSS. and the lith. ed. have در علی حاکم فلعة ری, Burhān ul mulk, the governor of the fort of Ranthambōr, but Firishtah lith. ed. has در علی حاکم فلعة اسیر, Burhān ul mulk the governor of the fort of Asir, while Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 125) has Imad ool ool Mook, the governor of Runtunbhoro. The *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī* does not mention Burhān ul mulk or 'Imād ul mulk. The Cambridge History of India, page 330, has Burhān ul Mulk, governor of Ranthambhor.

³ The MSS. and the lith. ed. of Firishtah have برق تاباقات حاکم, but the lith. ed. of the *Tabaqāt* has تاباقات حاکم I have adopted the former reading.

⁴ It appears from the *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī*, Bayley, page 375, that several letters passed between Humāyūn and Bahādar about the extradition or expulsion of Muhammad Zamān Mirzā. In the first letter Humāyūn urged Bahādar to act in an amicable spirit, in the second he expressed surprise at Bahādar's unfriendly conduct. A copy of the third letter is given in Mīr Abū Turāb's *Tārīkh-i-Gujarāt*, and a translation of it in Bayley's *History of Gujarat*. A copy of the fourth letter, which was Bahādar's reply, is also given in the *Tārīkh-i-Gujarāt* and a translation of it by Bayley. It appears from the *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī*, Bayley, page 380, that Bahādar's replies were written by Mullā Mahmūd Munshi, who had been formerly in Humāyūn's service, but had done something which had greatly incensed the latter, and he had accordingly fled and taken refuge with Sultān Bahādar. The drafts of these letters by this man were in rude and insolent language, but Bahādar's ministers, who were wise and prudent men, had all the insulting expressions erased before the letters were sent. The last draft was, however, brought by the Munshi to the Sultān when he was drunk, and he directed it to be despatched at once, and it was sent accordingly, when the Mumshi had affixed the Sultān's seal to it. Next morning when the ministers and the other *amīrs* saw the draft they were surprised at its insolent language,

Humayun Badshah to Sultan Bahadur to the effect that even if he does not send Muhammad Zāmān Mirza to his presence he should at least expel him from his own dominions. Sultan Bahadur on account of his great pride and self glorification did not send a satisfactory reply. In addition to this Tatar Khan attacked Biana and seized it. His Majesty Jinnat Āshiani sent Hindal Mirza to crush him. When the Mirza arrived in the neighbourhood of Biana the men who had gathered round Tatar Khan dispersed and not more than two thousand horsemen remained with him. Owing to his great shame and remorse that he had spent such a large sum of money upon his faithless soldiers he could not go and wait on the Sultan and ask him for further help. Having no alternative left he decided on a battle and when the two armies met he made an onslaught on the centre of Mirza Hindal's army and was with the three hundred men who were with him slain and the fort of Biana came into the possession of Mirza the royal officer.

His Majesty Jinnat Āshiani took this victory to be a good omen and advanced to crush Sultan Bahadur. It so happened that the latter had at this time again advanced to seize the fort of Chitōr with a large army and all the appliances for the capture of fort. When the news of the defeat and death of Tatar Khan and of the advance of His Majesty (Humayun) reached him at the foot of the fort of Chitor he became extremely anxious and had a conference as to the course he should adopt. The opinion of most of the amirs was to the effect that he should raise the siege of Chitor and advance to meet Humayun but ¹ Sadr Khan who was the greatest of his nobles submitted We are besieging the Kafir if a Badshah of the Musalmans comes to attack us he would be supporting and helping the Kafir and ² such an act would be talked about among Musalmans.

A messenger on a swift horse was at once sent to intercept the letter but he was unable to do so and the letter reached Humayun and was the direct cause of the war between the two sovereigns.

¹ It is curious that although he is called the سرگیر امری he has never been mentioned before Firishtah 11th ed has by mistake حیدر خان Haidar Khan. The Cambridge History of India page 330 has Sadr Khan one of his officers.

² One MS has by mistake اس امر دوڑا ملاب

till the day of the resurrection It is right for Your Majesty's benefit, that we should not abandon the siege, and there is a strong likelihood that he (*i.e.*, Humāyūn) would not attack us during this time" When His Majesty Jinnat Āshīānī encamped at Sārangpūr, and the facts of this conference were reported to him, he halted there for a few days, so that Sultān Bahādur having erected covered ways, took the fort of Chitōr by force and violence, and put a large number of Rājpūts to death

When Sultān Bahādur after his mind had been freed from all anxieties about the conquest of Chitōr advanced to fight with Humāyūn Bādshāh, the latter also having had the drum of departure beaten, prepared to meet him, and the two armies met each other in the vicinity of Mandisōr While the tents had not yet been fixed, Sayyid 'Alī Khān and Khurāsān Khān, who were the commanders of the vanguard of Sultān Bahādur's army, fled from the army to His Majesty the Humāyūn Bādshāh, and united with the main body The Gujratis on seeing this were heartbroken Sultān Bahādur then took counsel with the *amīns* and the leaders of different groups as to the way in which the war should be carried on Sadr Khan said, "We should fight a drawn battle tomorrow,¹ for the troops have gained strength and courage from the capture of Chitōr, and their eyes have not yet been frightened by the power and grandeur of the Mughal army"² Rūmī Khān, who was the officer in-charge of the artillery of Sultān

¹ The MSS have *چڑاکہ لسکریان*, while the lith ed has *چڑاکہ لسکریان*, while the lith ed of Firishtah has *چڑاکہ لسکریان*

² Rūmī Khān's statement that cannon and muskets do not come into action in a battle appears to be preposterous on the face of it, and it is strange that his advice was accepted by Sultān Bahādur, and acquiesced in by the other leaders None of the other histories says anything about the treachery of Rūmī Khān, but the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 383, and the following pages, gives a circumstantial, and what appears to me, a convincing account of such treachery It appears that Sultān Bahādar had given a promise to Rūmī Khān, that he would place him in command of the fortress of Chitōr, but after it was taken, the ministers and nobles were jealous and strongly objected, and the Sultān could not keep his promise at the time Rūmī Khān was deeply offended, and he wrote secretly to Humāyūn, and informed him that if he would march in that direction the defeat of Sultān Bahādar might easily be compassed, "for", he wrote "the Sultān places entire reliance on my judgment, and I will contrive a way for the success of the Emperor's army" The words within inverted

Bihadur submitted that cannon and muskets¹ do not come into use in a battle and the artillery which has come into the possession of this government is such that it is not known whether any sovereign except the *Qaisar of Rūm* (the Sultan of Turkey) has anything like it. On this account it is advisable that a ditch should be dug around the army and skirmishes should be fought every day and bold warriors of the Mughal army would come and deliver attacks all round the camp and would be killed by the discharges of cannon and the muskets.

Sultān Bahladur approved of this plan and a ditch was dug round the camp. At this time Sultān Alīm Kalpiwāl on whom Sultān Bahladur had conferred Rūsim and Chāndri and that *suba* as *zagirs* came with a large army and joined the Gujrat camp. For two months the two armies sat face to face and the Mughal troops ruled round the camp and shut up the way of the ingress and egress of grain. After some days had elapsed in this way a great scarcity made its

commas are also within inverted commas in Bayley's history from which it would appear that the writer had seen the letter and was quoting from it but unfortunately no reference has been given

¹ The Tarikh-i-Gujarat (Denison Ross p 14) however says something which is slightly different and which if correct makes the advice less absurd. It says what Rumi Khan said was ماں بوب و یعنی سوار دارم ابھا را کار بفرصانم و سناہ حود را و مدد ریخ هر دور طرح چنگ ادا چند معمول ابرا دو بروئی and further on تکسیں دفتم As a matter of fact however much use does not appear to have been made of the cannon and muskets.

The Tarikh-i-Gujarat (p. 14) says અંગ વિજાની Sir Denison Ross the editor of the Tarikh-i-Gujiat says *araba* means an enclosed camp or *ariba* although in the dictionary it only means a cart or wagon.

³ Firishtah's account explains better how it was that the Mughal army suffered such small loss from the cannon and muskets of the Gujratis and was still able to blockade the camp.

⁴ A graphic but what appears to me to be a somewhat exaggerated account of this scarcity is given in the Mirat-i-Sikandari Bayley page 384 On the same and also on the next page a further instance is given of Rumi Khan's treachery It appears that a leader of Banjara's came and told Sultan Bahadar that he had brought a mill on bullock loads of grain but could not bring them into the camp for fear of the Moghals Sultan Bahadar accordingly sent out five thousand men secretly at night to escort the Banjarahs but Rumi Khan wrote and informed Humaiun and the Gujarati escort was defeated and the grain was intercepted and taken into the Moghal camp

appearance in the Gujrāt army and all the fodder that was in the neighbourhood was entirely exhausted. Owing to the attacks of the Mughals, no one had the power, that he should go to a distance from the camp and bring grain and fodder. Sultān Bahādūr saw that his remaining there any longer would result in his capture. Therefore one night he came out from behind his pavilion and, with five of his trusted *amīrs*, one of whom was the governor of Bahlānpūr and another¹ Mallū Qādū Khān, governor of Mālwa² fled towards Mandū. When his army came to know of his flight³ each man fled in a (different) direction.

His Majesty Jinnat Āshīānī Humāyūn Bādshāh⁴ pursued (Sultān Bahādūr) to the foot of the fort of Mandū, and on the way many men were killed. Sultān Bahādūr shut himself up in Mandū and after some time⁵ Hindū Bēg Qūlchīn and a number of other Mughal *amīrs* got into the fort from the⁶ bastion of the seven hundred steps. Sultān

¹ One MS omits Qādūr

² A somewhat different account of the circumstances attending and immediately proceeding Sultān Bahādūr's flight is given in the *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī* Bayley, pp 385, 396. The date of the flight is given as the 20th Ramazān 941 A.D., 25th March 1535 A.D. The Cambridge History of India page 331 gives 25th April, 1535, as the date of the flight. The *Tārīkh-i-Gujarāt* (pp 17, 18) has a rather incoherent account of Sultān Bahādūr's proceedings immediately before his flight.

³ One MS and the lith. ed have هر کدامی but the other MS has هر کدامی , I have adopted the former

⁴ One MS and the lith. ed have تعمق در راه , the other MSS have تعمق فرموده در راه I have adopted the latter reading

⁵ The names are هندو بیگ قولچین and هندو بیگ فوجین in the MSS. In the lith. ed it is هارون بیگ قولچی, which is incorrect. In the lith. ed of Firishtah it is Hindū Bēg without any suffix. The name does not appear to be mentioned in the *Tārīkh-i-Gujarāt* the *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī* or the Cambridge History of India.

⁶ The words are ار مرچل in the MSS and in the lith. ed Firishtah lith. ed has incorrectly نظر نظر معاشرہ , i.e., with seven hundred men, and Col Briggs says that "Hindoo Beg and seven hundred Moguls who entered the fort at night along with his followers". The *Tārīkh-i-Gujarāt* (p 17) says the Mughals got into the fort ار مرچل , i.e. from the direction of the path of the seven hundred steps. The Cambridge History of India (p 331) says, "A division escaladed the walls of the fort at night". The *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī*

Bahadur was asleep when there was a great noise and the Gujratis in great dismay took the path of flight Sultan Bahadur with five or six horsemen went away in the direction of Champanir Sadr Khan and Sultan Alam governor of Raisin and that *suba* took shelter in the citadel of ¹ Sunkar and after two days they asked for assurances of their lives being spared and waited on Jinnat Ashiani Sadr Khan was taken into the latter's service but Sultan Alam as he had been guilty of improper behaviour had by order of Humayun his sinews cut off (i.e. he was hamstrung) Sultan Bahadur sent the treasure and jewels which he had at Champanir to the port of Dip and himself went to Kanhayet When His Majesty Jinnat Ashiani in pursuit of him arrived at the foot of the fort of Champanir he marched from there and proceeded towards Kanbayet on wings of speed Sultan Bahadur took ² fresh strong horses and went on to the port of Dip His Majesty Humayun arrived at Kanbayet the very day that Bahadur started for Dip and leaving Kanhayet he ⁴ took possession of Champanir Ikhtiyar Khan Gujrati the governor of the fort occupied himself in defending it but his Majesty Jinnat Ashiani seized it by a ⁵ plan which has been described in the narrative of his history Ikhtiyar Khan took shelter in the citadel of the fort which was called Mulia and in the end after praying for quarter acquired the honour of serving His Majesty As he was distinguished by great excellence and accomplishments above all the other amirs of Gujrat he was enlisted among the courtiers of Humayun's special *majlis*

(Bayley p 387) ascribes the capture of Mandu to the treachery of Rumi Khan It says that the latter wrote to Bhupat son of Silhadi who had charge of one of the gates to revenge the wrongs of his family by throwing it open and the Moghals entered by it

¹ Written as سونکار and سونگر in the MSS and سونگر in the lith ed

One MS and the lith ed have سعید حسین but the other MS has شعیل شعیل M Hidayat Hosam has adopted سعید حسین in the text edition

² The actual words are اسنان نار و در in the MSS as well as in the 1th ed of Firishtah but the lith ed of the Tabaqat has by mistake اسنان نار در و در

⁴ The MSS have سبل کردند and سبل حرموددہ سبل کردند The lith ed has سبل کردند سبل کردند I have adopted سبل کردند

⁵ See ante Translation vol II pp 54 and 55 See also note 55 page 303

All the treasures of the Sultans of Gujrat, which they had collected in the course of many long generations, fell into his hands and were distributed among the soldiery¹ by shieldfulls.

As much booty had fallen into the hands of Humayun's soldiers, no one that year paid any heed to the collection of the revenue and in the beginning of 910 A.H., in spite of the fact that His Majesty continued to be at Champaun, repeated petitions were sent by the *rā'iyyats* of Gujrat to Sultan Bahadur, to the effect that if he would appoint one of his² servants to collect the revenue, the proper amounts would be remitted into the treasury. Sultan Bahadur deputed his slave 'Imād-ul-mulk who was noted for his great bravery and the excellence of his powers of management, with a large army for³ collecting the revenue. When 'Imād-ul-mulk began to collect troops, and arrived in front of Ahmadābād, according to a statement about fifty thousand men had already collected round him. From that place he deputed officers to all the neighbouring countries to collect the revenue. When this news reached Jinnat Ashkānī, he⁴ entrusted the guarding of the treasure to Tardī Bēg Khān, who was one of the great *amīrs*, and a man on whom he reposed his trust and himself advanced towards Ahmadābād. He sent Mīrzā 'Askarī with Yādgār Nāshī Mirzā and Hindū Bēg one stage in advance of him. In the neighbourhood of Mahmudābād, which is twelve *kanōhs* from Muhammadābād, Mīrzā 'Askarī had a severe battle with 'Imād-ul-mulk, and the latter was defeated,⁵ and many Gujātis were slain.

¹ The words in the MSS. are در ده سپر دا 'کریان and در ده سپر ده لشکریان. The lith. ed. has در سپر بلکه کریان. I have not been able to find out in any other history how the money was measured and distributed. Firishtah in the corresponding passage simply says در بر لشکریان تھے۔ میں نہیں

² One MS. and the lith. ed. and the lith. ed. of Firishtah have بیکی ار عمار مال، but the other MS. has بیکی ار متعلقان، I have adopted the former.

³ Both MSS. and the lith. ed. have فرستاد، but Firishtah in the corresponding passage has which is better, and the *Tārikh-i-Gujarat* (p. 25) has تحریل مال واحدی

⁴ According to the *Tārikh-i-Gujarat* (p. 27) the treasurer was entrusted to Maulānā Mahmud Lālī who is said to have been حاوی or tutor, and the fort to Tardī Bēg.

⁵ Firishtah copies the language of the *Tabaqāt* almost word for word, but here he says عباد الالک شہرت باعثہ سا گھروانیل درد، ار بقتل رسید، from which it

After that His Majesty encamped in front of Ahmadabad and made over the government of that place to Mirza Askari and Pattan Gujrāt to Yādgar Naṣir Mīrzā and Bahrōj to Qasim Husain Sultan and Baroda to Hindu Beg Qulehīn and Champanir to Tardī Beg Khan and himself went to ³Burhanpur From thero he went to Mandu

⁴ At this time Khan Jahan Shirazi who was one of the amirs of Sultan Bahadur collected an army and took possession of Nausari and Pūmī Khan having joined him from the port of Sorath then marched towards Bihroj Qasim Hosain Sultan finding that he was not strong enough to meet them went to Tardī Beg Khan at Champanir and disturbances and rebellion commenced over the wholo of Gujrāt At this time Chadansar who was one of the amirs of Mirzā Askari fled and went to Sultan Bahadur and invited him to advance to Ahmadabad The details of this ⁵ brief statement have been narrated in their proper place All the amirs ⁶except Tardī Beg Khan now

would appear that Imdūd ul mull was himself slain though this is not expressly stated anywhere else The battle and most of the incidents narrated here were narrated previously in the history of Humayun's reign see translation vol II p 57 A rather long account of the battle with some irrelevant matter is given in the Tarikh-i Gujrāt (p 27) but the purport of it agrees with that given in the Akbarnama

¹ This distribution of governments has already been mentioned in the history of Humayun's reign (translation vol II p 58)

² The MSS and the 11th ed all have بارودرہ but I have as before adopted the present spelling Baroda but M Hidayat Hoain has retained بارودرہ Barodra in the text-edition

³ The Cambridge History of India page 333 says Humayun marched to Burhanpur Muhammad Shah or Muhammad Khan Isrī wrote to him to spare his little kingdom and invited the other rulers of the Deccan to form a league for their mutual defence but Humayun's operations were confined to a military promenade through Khandesh

⁴ See ante translation vol II page 58 The conduct of Rumi Khan contradicts to some extent the accounts given in the Mirat-i Sikandari of his treachery against Sultan Bahadur The Tarikh-i Gujrāt (p 29) describes in some detail how Humayun's governors vacated or were made to vacate their various districts or fiefs

⁵ See ante translation vol II page 59 The Tarikh-i Gujrāt does not appear to ment on the incident

⁶ Both MSS have سید بردی سیک حل but the 11th ed has بفرار بردی سیک حل

assembled in Ahmadābād Sultān Bahādur advanced into ¹ Gujrāt 'Askarī Mīrzā and Yādgārī Nāshī Mīrzā and all the *amīns* agreed among themselves, that as it was difficult or in fact impossible to meet and withstand him, and as Jinnat Āshīānī was in Mandū, it would be most advisable to seize the treasure which was in Chāmpānī, and advance towards Āgra, and having taken possession of those districts, ² lead the public prayer in the name of Mīrzā 'Askarī At the same time the rank of *vazārat* should belong to Hindū Bēg, and the other *Mīrzās* should go and take possession of any province which they might think of On this decision they relinquished the country of Gujrāt for nothing, Gujrāt which had been acquired with so much trouble and hardship They advanced towards Chāmpānī Tārdī Bēg Khān having obtained information of the wicked design of the *Mīrzās* and the other nobles endeavoured to strengthen the fort

³ The *amīns* started from Chāmpānī in the direction of Mālwa and commenced to tread along the desert of disgrace and shameless-

¹ He was at Dip, which was in Sōrath

² The Cambridge History of India, page 333, says, “'Askari Mīrzā at Ahmadābād was meditating his own proclamation as King of Gujrāt” This appears to me to be totally incorrect 'Askari Mīrzā and all the other Mughal nobles were giving up the possession of Gujrāt, and were marching towards Āgra He could not, therefore, think of proclaiming himself as the king of Gujrāt He wanted to proclaim himself as *Bādshāh* of Dehlī The Cambridge History of India further goes on to say that Mīrzā 'Askari and others besieged Tārdī Beg at Chāmpāner This is scarcely correct Neither the *Tabaqāt* nor Firishtah says so, and even the *Tārikh-i-Gujrāt* which gives, on page 31, the negotiations between the *Mīrzās* and Tārdī Beg Khān does not say so The *Tārikh-i-Gujrāt* which has been edited by Sir Denison Ross is slightly incoherent, for instance, the sentence beginning with درین ایام and ending with سخاپایر است , on the page referred to is incomplete The punctuation is peculiar There are two marks, a * and a — , and it is not clear what they exactly represent, but whether the sentence referred to ends with سخاپایر است where there is the dash mark or with کردہ اب و گرفتہ تو , where there is the star mark, there is no verb to سخاپایر , and if the sentence begins and ends with the star mark then it curiously jumbles up two totally unconnected matters

³ Both the MSS have no nominative to the verb کردی سروع, but the lith ed had امیراں, and Firishtah in the corresponding passage has میرايان I have adopted the reading of the lith ed

ness When Sultan Bahadur found Gujrāt unguarded he advanced towards Champanir to crush Tardī Beg Khan The latter took with him such portion of the treasure of Chāmpānir as he could and commenced to retrace his steps to Āgra Sultan Bahadur halted at Champanir for ten days and occupied himself in arranging the affairs of that neighbourhood As in the times of the power of Jinnat Āshiani he had owing to his great distress and weakness asked for help from the firangis he knew for certain that they would come and knowing that the ports of Gujrāt were unguarded and being afraid that they should come under the possession of the firangis he started from Champanir and advanced towards Sōrath and Junagarh so that on the arrival of the firangis he might turn them back by any means that might be possible ¹ He had been engaged for some days in travelling about and hunting when news came that five or

¹ The circumstances attending Sultan Bahadur's death are given in the different histories in a way which mainly agrees with the text Fīrī htah copies it almost word for word Col Briggs (vol IV pp 13–141) reduces the number of Europeans to four or five thousand but otherwise agrees He however gives extracts from Farīyah a Souza's History of the Portuguese in Asia and also from the Mirat Iskundry to give the two opposite versions of the incidents connected with Sultan Bahadur's death The Portuguese version shows that Nuno de Cunha who commanded at Goa but who having been informed by Emanuel de Souza who commanded at Diu had come to the latter place were both convinced that Badur intended to seize and put them to death and to secure the fort of Diu which he when hard pressed by Humayun had given them permission to build and they were also contriving to seize him put him to death As to the actual occurrence the Portuguese version is that Emanuel de Souza was going to invite the king to the fort

He came up with the king's barge and made the offer (invitation?) by means of Ruma Cham (رما چان) The latter cautioned the king but he slighted the warning and invited Emanuel de Souza to come into his barge The latter when doing so fell into the sea but was pulled up and taken to the king At the same time another Portuguese barge came up with some gentlemen on board who seeing Emanuel de Souza hastily got into the king's barge The king suspecting their sudden coming on board and remembering the caution given by Ruma Cham ordered his officers to kill Emanuel de Souza James de Mesquita understanding it flew at and wounded the king Emanuel de Souza was killed and there was a bloody fray Finally Badur attempted to escape by swimming but he was in danger of drowning Then Tristan de Paya de Santarem reached out an oar to him to take him on board

six thousand *fiangīs* had arrived in *gharābs*. When they arrived at the port of Dip, and heard of the restoration of Sultān Bahādur to power, and of the return of His Majesty Jinnat Āshiānī, they became ashamed and repentant—about their coming. They agreed among themselves, that by any deception that might be possible they should take possession of Dip. Their chief, in accordance with this plan, feigned illness and spread a report about it. His object was that he might not have an interview with Sultān Bahādur. The latter sent men one after another to summon him, and got (the same) reply. In the end thinking that the *fiangīs* were afraid of him he got into a barge, with a small number of men, to go and reassure them. The *fiangīs* finding the opportunity which they had been seeking, planned to act treacherously. The Sultān perceiving this, tried to get back into his barge. At the time when he was stepping into it, from the *gharāb* of the *fiangīs*, the latter separated the two vessels, and the Sultān being unable to get into his own barge fell into the sea, and having sunk once, put his head out of the water. At this time one of the *fiangīs* struck him with a spear and drowned him. The Gujrāt army returned without any delay to Ahmadābād, and the

when a soldier struck him across the face with a halbert, and so others, till he was killed.

The Mirut Iskundry's account is different. According to it the Portuguese built a fort at Dū after obtaining Bahadur Shah's permission to build an enclosure on a *hide* of land, but they cut the cow hide into narrow strips and enclosed a large area on which they built a strong fort. When Bahadur was restored to power, he began to think of a stratagem to expel them and the Portuguese becoming aware of his intention became suspicious. When he came to the neighbourhood of Dū, he sent one Noor Mahomed Khuleel to the Portuguese chief with instructions to persuade the latter to come and visit the king. The envoy when drinking with the Portuguese chief divulged the king's real intentions to the latter. The Portuguese chief told him that he was unable to go on account of his indisposition. The king determined to go on board the Portuguese chief's barge on the plea of inquiring about his health, but really with the object of allaying his suspicions. When he got on board, the Portuguese, according to a pre conceived plan, cut him and his companions down. The date of the murder is given as 3rd Rumzan, 943 A.H., 14th February, 1537 A.D.

The Cambridge History of India, page 334, gives 13th February, 1537, as the date of Sultān Bahādur's death.

port of Dip came into the possession of the *firangis*. This event happened in the month of Ramadan in the year 943 A.H.

The period of Sultan Bahadur's reign was¹ eleven years and nine months.

A NARRATIVE OF MIRĀZ MUHAMMAD SHĀH RULER OF ASIR AND BURHĀNPUR

When Sultan Bahadur picked up the goods of existence his mother Makhduma i Jahan and the *amirs* who had been attending on his stirrups retraced their steps from Dip to Ahmadabad. On the way intelligence reached them that Muhammad Zaman Mirza whom Sultan Bahadur had in the time of the disturbances sent towards Dehli and Lahore that he might create disturbances in northern India and cause dissensions in the Chaghtai army had returned from the neighbourhood of Lahore and had arrived at Ahmadabad. Immediately on hearing of the martyrdom of Sultan Bahadur he commenced weeping and making much lamentation and changed his dress i.e. put on mourning and started towards Dip in order to offer his condolences. When he joined the camp Makhduma i Jahan as far as lay in her power sent the necessary articles for his entertainment and made him put off his mourning garb.² But that fortunate Mirza made his inquiries into the circumstances

¹ One MS has only eleven years but the other MSS and the lith. ed have eleven years and nine months.

The heading is partly obliterated in one MS. In the other it is as I have it in the text. The lith. ed has حکومت سے ۱۵ کی and میراں مسعود سے ۱۵ کی and substitutes حاکم والی for حاکم والی.

² The Tabaqat and Firishtah confine themselves to the above narrative of Muhammad Zaman Mirza's misdeeds but the Mirat i Sikandari and the Tarikh i Gujarat say that he attempted to usurp the throne of Gujarat. Their accounts are however different. According to the Mirat i Sikandari Bayley page 400 he went to the apartments of the Sultan's wives and after offering many condolences he urged that they should adopt him as a son and help him. The ladies said that they never interfered in politics and the question of the Sultan's successor should be settled by the ministers. When his pretensions became known the *amirs* decided that the task of putting him down must have precedence of all other matters and should be entrusted to Imad ul Mulk. There was some opposition to the latter part of the plan by Afzal Khan. Imad ul Mulk however started with a large army for Sorath and when he reached

of the Sultan's mother, and showed his kindness towards her, in this (strange) way, that at the time of his departure he made an attack on the treasury and carried away from it according to a reputed statement, seven hundred chests of gold, and went away to a distance, and twelve thousand horsemen, Mughals and Hindūstānis collected round him.

The *amirs* of Gujrāt became perturbed on beholding this new disturbance, and took counsel with one another about the choice of a *bādshāh*. As Sultan Bahādur had repeatedly expressed his intention of making Mīrān Muhammad Shāh, who was his nephew (sister's son), his heir,¹ everyone agreed to select him as the Sultan, and had

the neighbourhood of U'nah the Mīrzā came out and bravely offered battle, but was defeated and was obliged to take refuge in exile.

The *Tārikh-i Gujrāt* (pp. 36-39) says that Muhammad Zainān Mīrzā hastened to Dib, that he might take his revenge of Sultan Bahādur's murder from the *firanqis*. He then seized the treasure which was being brought from Dib and took possession of it, and, according to the account which is generally believed, there were nine hundred chests of gold. He also had the public prayer read in his own name at Dib. When this news reached Ahmadābād, the *amirs* determined to vacate Ahmadābād, and go away to different places. At this juncture 'Inād ul mulk came to the *majlis* and demanded of Asdal Khān and Iktiyār Khān, who were the *ravīls* of the Sultan, what they intended to do. On hearing their views he reproached them that they could think of lowering their heads before Muhammad Zainān Mīrzā. They say that the people of Gujrāt were too weak to meet the army, which Muhammad Zainān Mīrzā had raised with the treasure he had robbed. He exhorted them to remain quietly at Ahmadābād and allow him to deal with Muhammad Zainān Mīrzā. They agreed. He had at that time only nine horsemen with him. He started from Ahmadābād, and halted at 'Uthmānpur, and made a proclamation of the grant of *jāqir*, etc. to the soldiers. Within one month he had forty thousand horsemen. He then marched against Muhammad Zainān Mīrzā. The latter however took shelter in an entrenchment. His *vakīl*, and the commander of this army Hisām ud dīn Mirak, son of Mir Khalifa, offered battle, and on the 3rd day when he was fighting, Muhammad Zainān Mīrzā escaped from the entrenchment, and fled to Sind.

The Cambridge History of India, pp. 331, 335, says that Muhammad Zainān Mīrzā claimed the throne of Gujrāt on the ground that Sultan Bahādur's mother had adopted him but says nothing further about what happened to him later.

¹ Firishtah agrees generally, and so does the *Mirāt-i Sikandari*. The *Tārikh-i Gujrāt*, however, says that while the *amirs* were engaged in discussing

the *Khutba* read and the *sikka* struck in his name in his absence They sent swift messengers to bring him They also nominated ¹ Imad ul mulk with a large army for the destruction of Muhammad Zaman Mirza The latter fought with him and was defeated

Miran Muhammad Shah whom Sultan Bahadur had sent as far as Malwa in pursuit of the Chaghtai army died of natural causes a month and half after the *Khutba* had been read in his name

AN ACCOUNT OF SULTAN MAHMUD SHAH SON OF LATIF KHAN SON OF MUZAFFAR SHAH

As Miran Muhammad Shah Farūqī passed away from the evil place of the world to the well filled land of the after world and ² except

the matter of Muhammad Zaman Mirza ambassadors came from Miran Muhammad Shah demanding the kingdom on the ground of his appointment by Sultan Bahadur to be his successor and on that of his right of inheritance and kingship

¹ See note 3 page 381

² One MS and the lith ed here call him Muhammad Zaman but the other MS prefixes Mirza to the name and adds retired to the country of Sind

³ Both MSS have *میران* but the lith ed has *مہمود* Firishtah lith ed also has *مہمود* The Cambridge History of India page 33 in order I suppose to be original and quaint calls Mahmud Khan the last remaining heir of Muhammad Karim instead of calling the latter Sultan Muhammad or Sultan Muhammad I The Cambridge History of Ind a also says that Mubarak II who had succeeded his brother in Khandesh and had almost certainly hoped to receive a summons to the throne of Gujarat would not surrender him until a force led by Ikhtiyar Khan invaded Khandesh It appears to me that there are several mistakes in this sentence In the first place Mubarak II did not succeed his father The latter was succeeded by his infant son and after the latter had been put to death by Mubarak he ascended the throne of Khandesh In the second place there is no evidence to show that he had hoped to be summoned to the throne of Gujerat Even the Tarikh-i-Gujarat which has been edited by Sir Denison Ross who is also the author of Chapter XIII of the Cambridge History of India does not say so The Tarikh-i-Gujarat (p 39) says that the emissaries from Khandesh claimed the throne of Gujarat for the infant son of Miran Muhammad Shah but Mubarak II who had put that infant son to death would hardly have the face to claim the throne of Gujarat or had the hardihood to expect a summons to it And finally it does not appear that Ikhtiyar Khan had to lead a force into Khandesh He did not even go there Mahmud Khan was according to the testimony of all the historians brought to Gujerat by Ikhtiyar Khan's brother Muqbil Khan According to the Tarikh-i-

Mahmūd Khān, son of Latīf Khān, son of Sultān Muzaftār, there was no one left to the throne, and he was imprisoned in the custody of Mīrān Muhammad Shāh by order of Sultān Muzaffār, the *amīrs* of Gujrat sent a man to summon him¹ Muhammad Shāh's son raised objections about sending him. The *amīrs* of Gujrat collected an army, and decided to march to Burhānpūr and² he (apparently the son of Mīrān Muhammad Shāh) becoming aware of this sent Mahmūd Khān to Gujrat. He was placed on the throne of Gujrat on the³ 10th Dhī-hijja, 944 A.H. 10th May, 1538 A.D., with the title

Gujrāt, as also according to the *Tabaqat* and *Frishtah*, there was a threat of an army being sent to Burhānpūr, and the *Tārikh-i Gujrat* only adds that tents were sent out.

It is, however, true, as Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 144) says that a Gujerat chief marched to Boorhanpooi to invite Mahmood to the capital.

¹ It appears from the *Mirāt-i Sikandarī* that Mīrān Muhammad Shāh's son was an infant at the time of his father's death. He was, however, placed by the ministers on the throne, and they determined to put Mubārak Khān Muhammad Shāh's brother to death, lest he should rebel against his nephew. They accordingly had him brought to Burhānpūr and made him over to a nobleman of the name of 'Arab Khān. He, however, gained the latter over, and with his help attacked the palace, and placed his nephew in confinement. He then told the *amīrs* that the regency belonged of right to him. They knew that they were helpless. He then put his nephew to death, and was proclaimed as Mubārak Shāh (Bayley, pp. 404, 405).

The *Tārikh-i Gujrat* (pp. 39, 40) says that the ambassadors came to Gujrat, and demanded that as *Khutba* had been read in the name of Mīrān Muhammad Shāh, it should be read also in the name of his son. The Gujrat *amīrs* did not agree to this argument and pointed out that as Mahmūd Khān was living in safety in the fort of Biāwal, they should send him to Gujrat. They also appointed Muqbil Khān, brother of Iktiyār Khān, to bring him, and threatened, that, if he was not sent, they would march to Burhānpūr. When Muqbil Khān went there, Mahmūd Khān was made over to him.

² Frishtah says that it was Mīrān Mubārak Shāh, brother of Mīrān Muhammad Shāh, who raised objection to the sending of Mahmūd Khān. See also the preceding note.

³ The Cambridge History of India, page 335, mentions August 8th, 1587, as the date of the accession. I suppose this is a misprint, for otherwise it is incorrect by 59 or 60 years. The date given in the text agrees with that of Frishtah. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 144), however, makes it "10th Zeekad 944 A.H., April 5th 1538". The Cambridge History of India also gives the new Sultān the title of Sa'd-ud-din Mahmūd Shāh III. This may be correct, but I have seen it nowhere else, and no other *bādshāh* of Gujrat had the first name ending in *dīn*.

of Mahmud Shah ¹ Ikhtiyar Khan Gnrati who had gone to Burhanpur to bring him became all powerful and the reins of the affairs of the kingdom came into his grasp of power

² After a few months in the year 945 A.H. the *amirs* fell out amongst themselves Darya Khan and Imad ul mulk united together and put Ikhtiyar Khan to death Imad ul mulk became *Amir ul umara* and Darya Khan the *razer* ⁴ At the end of that year enmity appeared between them also Darya Khan took Sultan Mahmud out of the city on the pretext of a hunting excursion and went away in the direction of Champanir When Imad ul mulk

¹ Firi hteh al o says that it was Ikhtiyar Khan who went to Burhanpur but see note 1 page 384 from which it would appear that it was his brother Muqbil Khan who went Col Briggs also says that it was Mokbil Khan

² The word *yajir* is omitted in one MS

³ Firi htah agrees generally but he calls Darya Khan Darya Khan Churi and he calls Imad ul mulk's *yajir* Sirameon and Surat Col Briggs does not say that Imad ul mulk and Darya Khan combined together and put Ikhtiyar Khan to death but he says Yekhtier Khan lost his life in an affray The Mirat-i-Sikandari Bayley pages 407 408 gives a circumstantial account of how Ikhtiar Khan was killed According to it the young Sultan was kept practically in confinement by Ikhtiar Khan and Mukbil Khan and the latter's son Lad Khan He was disatisfied but feigned to be totally indifferent Lad Khan one day proposed to him that if he would give the word he would so manage that Darya Khan and Imad ul Mull would go to retire behind the veil of death The Sultan at once rode to the house of Imad ul Mulk and the latter and Darya Khan went to the palace and Ikhtiar Khan Mukbil Khan and Lad Khan were all hanged in front of the audience hall Ikhtiar Khan protesting his innocence to the last moment

The account given in the Tarikh-i-Gujarat (pp 41-42) is not very clear but according to it there was a quarrel between Ikhtiyar Khan and Imad ul mulk and Darya Khan because the young Sultan was kept in charge of Ikhtiyar Khan's brother Muqbil Khan Imad ul mulk and Darya Khan charged Ikhtiyar Khan with disloyalty to the Sultan and with conspiring with the ruler of Burhanpur He stoutly denied it but they appeared to have wrung his neck and buried his body in the garden of the palace where the quarrel took place

The Cambridge History of India page 345 seems partially to follow this version

⁴ As to the quarrel between Imad ul mulk and Darya Khan all the histories appear to agree It appears that most of the nobles were on the side of Darya Khan and Imad ul mulk was deserted by them and by the army he had collected and so had to give in

became aware of these happenings, he began at once to collect his forces, and opening his hands for lavish gifts, got an immense army together, and advanced towards Chāmpānī. After two or three months most of the Gujātī soldiers, who had obtained large sums of money from him, separated from him and united with the Sultān. 'Imād-ul-mulk in his distress agreed to an amicable settlement, and it was settled that 'Imād-ul-mulk should go away to Jhālāwān, and some *parganas* of Sōrath which were in his *jāgīn*, and the Sultān should return to his capital of Ahmadābād.

Again in the year 949 A.H. Daryā Khān advanced towards the country of Sōrath, taking Sultān Mahmūd and a well-equipped army with him, in order to extirpate 'Imād-ul-mulk. The latter came forward to meet him, but after a battle fled and went as a suppliant to Mīrān Mubārak Shāh, ruler of Asū and Burhānpūr. Sultān Mahmūd advanced towards Burhānpūr in pursuit of him. Mīrān Mubārak Shāh assembled his army and came forward to aid 'Imād-ul-mulk. He encountered the Gujāt army in the battlefield, but was defeated. 'Imād-ul-mulk then fled from Burhānpūr, and took shelter with Qādir Shāh, the ruler of Mālwā.¹ Mīrān Mubārak Shāh sought the intervention of the great men of the age, and coming in by the door of peace rendered homage to Sultān Mahmūd. Daryā Khān acquired much power and strength owing to the departure of 'Imād-ul-mulk, and took upon himself the performance of all matters and affairs of the government and revenue administration, and allowed no one else to interfere in them. Gradually things came to such a pass that he made Sultān Mahmūd a puppet and acted himself as the *bādshāh*. Then one night, in concert with² *Jaijīū*, a pigeon fancier, the Sultān

¹ The reason for Mīrān Mubārak Shāh's asking for peace, and doing homage to Sultān Mahmūd is explained by Fīrishtah, who says سالان مدد و دشنه چون کرده تناخت و ناراح مسئول گشت, *i.e.*, Sultān Mahmūd invaded Khāndesh, and occupied himself in plundering and ravaging (the country).

² The name is given as حرسو کدویر نار, and حرس و کدویر in the MSS., and حرسو کدویر نار in the lith ed. It is حرسو کدویر نار in the lith ed. of Fīrishtah. The name does not appear to be mentioned in the *Tārīkh-i Gujrāt*. In the *Mirāt-i-Sikandari*, Bayley, page 416, the man is called Jarjī the bird catcher, and the Cambridge History of India, page 337, has Chīrjī a fowler. I have adopted *Jaijīū*, a pigeon fancier. The way in which the Sultān fled

came out of the citadel of the fort of Ahmadabad and went to Alam Khan Ludi who held Dulqa and Dinduqa as his jagir

¹ Alam Khan Ludi considering the advent of the Sultan a great honour collected his troops and four thousand horsemen gathered round him Darva Khan brought forward a boy of unknown descent and gave him the title of Sultan Muzaffar Shah and collected the army of Gujurat He brought the commanders of the army over to his side by promising to increase their jagirs and add to their titles and advanced towards Dulqa Alam Khan came forward and met him and ² a great battle raged between the two armies At the first onset however Alam Khan defeated the vanguard of Darva Khan's army and advancing into his special detachment fought with great gallantry and courage But when he came out of the battlefield there

to Alam Khan is described in almost identical word in the Tabaqat an Finishtah The Mirat-i-Sikandari Bayley page 416 gives a circumstantial account which differs in various particulars from that in the Tibaqat The Tarikh-i-Gujarat gives some account of what happened before the flight but does not say anything about the flight itself The Cambridge History of India's account is somewhat different حرب حدو in the text edition

¹ One MS has معمرم عالم حل but the other MS and the lith ed have عالم حل لودی Finishtah also has and I have adopted it

² دلکش مکھول السی is the description in the MSS and in the lith ed The lith ed of Finishtah has دلکش مکھول الی The Tarikh-i-Gujarat has دلکش احمد آغا سلطان احمد ناہی and the Mirat-i-Sikan Iarl Bayley page 417 describes the boy as a descendant of Sultan Ahmad the founder of Ahmadabad The Cambridge History of India calls him a child of obscure origin It appears that Darva Khan was willing to give up his position and in fact sent in his resignation but was overruled by Tatnaji Muhimz Khan who was a relation of his and a man of much experience and then he produced the pretender and marched out to meet Alam Khan and Sultan Malmud (p 338)

³ The account of the battle as given in the Mirat-i-Sikandari is entirely different According to it Darva Khan was victorious and took possession of Dholkah and both the Sultan and Alam Khan fled After their defeat however large bodies of troops joined him and Darva Khan found his army dwindling away He attempted to enter Ahmadabad but the people shut the gate in his face and attacked him with arrows and musket fire Then the Sultan and Alam Khan advanced to Ahmadabad Darva Khan sent his family and treasures to Champanir and went himself to Burhanpur to bring Miran Mubarak Shah as his ally

were no more than five horsemen with him, and he could not find Sultān Mahmūd, whom he had left with his own troops at the gate. He became perplexed and distressed, but it came into his mind that as after the first attack the vanguard of Daryā Khān's army had fled and gone away towards Ahmadābād, the news of his defeat might have been spread about in the city, and he should therefore betake himself there. Then with the five men who were with him he advanced to Ahmadābād, and going to the royal palace made a proclamation of his victory. When the citizens saw 'Ālam Khān, as they had seen some of the fugitives belonging to (Daryā Khān's) vanguard a moment before, they became sure of Daryā Khān's defeat. They came in a large¹ body, and waited on him. He gave an order, and in a moment the people plundered Daryā Khān's house and having strengthened the gates of the city, sent swift messengers to bring Sultān Mahmūd. The messengers from Ahmadābād came to Daryā Khān, who had after gaining the victory (over the troops that were opposed to him), halted in his camp, and informed him of what was happening at Ahmadābād. He then advanced towards that city. As the families of the *amīns* were in the city, which was in the possession of 'Ālam Khān, most of them separated from Daryā Khān before he arrived there. About this time Sultān Mahmūd also arrived. Daryā Khān then fled towards Burhānpūr and matters turned² upside down. Daryā Khān did not find a resting place at Burhānpūr, and went to Shēr Khān Afgān, and³ was received with favour by him. After the departure of Daryā Khān, 'Ālam Khān took up the post and the work of the *vazīrat*. But he also, owing to his great pride, wanted

¹ One MS has *كَوْنَى* *كَوْنَى* while the other has *كَوْنَى* and the lith ed has *كَوْنَى* *كَوْنَى*. Firishtah also has *كَوْنَى* but I prefer *كَوْنَى* *كَوْنَى*.

² The words are *دَرْعَةٌ وَنِسْمَةٌ*. There are no similar words in Firishtah and the Tārikh-i-Gujarāt. I think the meaning is, that Daryā Khān had defeated Mīrān Mubārak Shāh, and the latter had to sue for peace. The tables were now turned, and Daryā Khān had to go and seek shelter in Burhānpūr.

³ Firishtah and the Tārikh-i-Gujarāt also say so. The latter says he entered the service of Shēr Khān, but the Cambridge History of India, page 339, gives an account of some of his further adventures, and of an unsuccessful attempt made by him and 'Ālam Khān Lodī, who according to the Cambridge History of India had now joined him to place 'Alā-ud-din Fath Khān of the royal line of Sind on the throne of Gujarāt.

to be independent and overbearing like Darya Khan in all respects Sultan Mahmud got the *amirs* to combine with him and attempted to seize him He received warning of this and fled and went to Sher Khan After his mind had been set at rest by the termination of the dissensions of the rebel *amirs* Sultan Mahmud set himself to manage the government of the country to increase the cultivation and to comfort the soldiers Within a short time he restored the country to its original condition He treated the nobles and other great men and the gentry and pious men with kindness and favour He carried on the government till the year 961 A.H without any dissension and any enemy

¹ But in the month of Rabi ul awwal of that year one of his servants who had the name of Burhan and who showed himself to be a man of piety in the eyes of men and devoted most of his time in prayer and worship and always acted as the Sultan's *pesh nama* or leader in the prayers in a hunting excursion murdered him The particulars of this brief statement are these on one occasion the Sultan shut him up between walls on account of some fault committed by him in his service and left an aperture for his breath to pass

¹ Before mentioning the assassination of Sultan Mahmud First let me mention the foundation of the new city of Mahmudabad which however could not be completed by the Sultan and also the erection of the fort of Surat under the supervision of Chadansar Iqbal his Turk slave who had the title of Khud-i-wand Khan The Tuzk-i-Gujarat says that Humayun after his restoration wrote a letter to Sultan Mahmud proposing an alliance and suggesting that Sultan Mahmud should invade Mandu while he himself would advance against others whom he rather vaguely describes as *ماعنی لفظ* or rebellious enemies Accordingly Sultan Mahmud took a muster roll of his troops and جادر سر سردار سردار which I suppose mean invaded Mandu (pp 43-44) The Mirat-i-Sikandari has a long account of Sultan Mahmud's liking for low company and of his conferring the title of Muhafer Khan on Jarji the pigeon fancier and of this man's insolence towards the *amirs* and his getting a *farmaj* from the Sultan for the execution of Ala ud din Lodi and Shuja'at Khan The *amirs* then demanded that Jarji should be made over to them The Sultan refused to do so The *amirs* pretended to accept the Sultan's order but prayed that he would allow them to make their obeisance to him The Sultan held a *darbar* and when Jarji appeared there he was murdered in open *darbar* in the Sultan's presence The *amirs* then made a plan for guarding the Sultan and later of blinding him and dividing the kingdom among themselves (Bayley pp 491-4 3)

through, but after a time released him. The wretched Burhān kept this old grudge concealed in his mind. He united with himself a number of hunters, whose occupation was to hunt tigers, and promised each one of them the rank of an *amīr*. One night when the Sultān had gone to sleep after coming back from hunting, he in concert with his nephew (sister's son) named Daulat, who was in close attendance on the Sultān, tied ¹ the latter's han firmly to the wood of his bedstead, and passed a sword across his throat. That victim (of their cruelty) had placed both his hands on the edge of the sword, so that his hands were also cut, and he was murdered. (Burhān then) kept the tiger hunters hidden in a corner and sent men to summon the great *amīrs*. He also told the musicians that the Sultān had ordered that they should play on their instruments outside the house.

Half the night had passed when he seemed the attendance of Khudāwand Khān and Āṣaf Khān, who were both the *vazīrs*, and took them to a private chamber, and had them murdered. In the same way he summoned twelve of the great *amīrs* and killed them all. Then his men went to summon I'tmād Khān. The latter said, "The Sultān cannot possibly have sent for me at such a time, I have only a little while ago come from attending on him", and he delayed in coming. Burhān sent another man to summon him. His suspicion and alarm became greater, and he did not come. When Afdal Khān, who was one of the distinguished *amīrs* and with whom Burhān had ancient friendship came, Burhān took him to a private place, and told him, "The Sultān is displeased with Khudāwand Khān and Āṣaf Khān, and wants you to take their place, and he has sent this robe of the *vazīrat* for you". Afdal Khān said, "Until I go to the Sultān's presence and see him, I shall not put on the robe". Burhān then took Afdal Khān to the place, where the martyred Sultān was lying, and said, "I have killed the Sultān and the *vazīrs* and all the nobles. I now make you my *vazīr*,

¹ The accounts of the murder as given in Firishtah and the Tārīkh-i-Gujarāt and the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī and the Cambridge History of India agree mainly with that in the text, but there are various differences in details. It was committed on the night of the 12th of Rabī'-ul ḥawwāl the anniversary of the birth of the Prophet Muhammad. The murderer is called Burhān in all the histories, except the Cambridge History of India where he is called Burhān-ud dīn (p. 342).

and will entrust all the power to you Afzal Khan commenced calling him names and made an outcry That wicked man then murdered him also He then conferred titles on each one of a number of obscure soldiers and vulgar men who came that night and gave them hopes of being made amirs He stretched his hands to the public treasure and gave much gold to the people He was occupied till the morning with the giving away of the gold and in the morning placed the royal umbrella over his head and made a general proclamation He then collected all the elephants belonging to the Sultan which were in the city and having distributed the horses in the Sultan's stables among the people of the lower classes made them the supports of his power When it became morning the news of the Sultan's martyrdom spread about Imad ul mulk the father of Chengiz Khan and Ulugh Khan Ulubhi and other amirs collected together and attacked that man of wretched destiny He in accordance with the line

Hemistich

Empire is even for a moment is precious

had the royal umbrella raised over his head and came to oppose them with a mob of common people and a few elephants and at the first assault fell on the dust of wretchedness and was slain by Sherwan Khan A rope was then tied round his leg and he was dragged about all round the bazar and in different parts of the city

The period of the reign of Sultan Mahmud was eighteen years and two months and odd days

It so happened that Islam Khan son of Sher Khan the ruler of Dehli and Nizam ul mulk Bahri the ruler of Ahmadnagar died during this year by natural death and a poet has composed the following couplets giving the date of their death

¹ The manner in which Burhan met his fate is described in much the same manner in *Ishratih* and the other histories The account in the *Tarikh-i-Gujarat* (p 40) is very circumstantial The encounter with Sherwan Khan is somewhat differently narrated in the *Mirat-i-Sikandari*

² According to *Ishratih* the year was 961 A H and his own father Maulana Chulam Ali Hindu Shah was the writer of the couplets The couplets are also given in the *Tarikh-i-Gujarat* but the name of the author is not mentioned there and there are slight variations in the wording (p 49)

Couplets

Three sovereigns died in the course of a year,
 Through then justice, was *Hind* (India) the seat of peace
 One Mahmūd Shāh, of Gujrat Sultān,
 Who like his grandeur, youthful was,
 The other Islām Khān of Dehli Sultān,
 Who in his reign, was a Lord of Conjunction great
 The third was Nizam-ul-mulk Bahri,
 Who in the Deccan, held sovereign sway
 Of the date of the death of these sovereigns three
 If they ask thee 't was "the death of monarchs great"

Sultān Mahmūd was ¹a virtuous ruler, and possessed pleasant manners. He spent most of his time in the society of learned and pious men, and on great days, such as the day of the death of His Holiness the Prophet, may the blessings of God and His peace be on him ¹ and on the dates of the deaths of his own ancestors, and on other auspicious days, he gave food to *faqīrs* and other deserving persons. He held the ewer and the basin in his own hand and washed the hands of the men ² And *sarīsāf* and all pieces of cloth, which were intended for his own garments, were first made into ³ table-cloths for *darwishes* and *faqīrs*, and afterwards fashioned into wearing apparel for him.

¹ The actual words are بادشاہ یک بھاد و مددیدہ اطوار ہوں

² The readings in the MSS and in the 1th ed are unintelligible at this place. The MSS have و پارچهائی صراماں و ہر بارچہ ⁴ The 1th ed has the same with the exception that instead of it has سوساف. The corresponding passage in Firishtah has کہ سعہت نوں او مقرر ہوں. The *sarīsāf* و بارچهائی سراماں کے سعہت نوں او مقرر ہوں اول دستار و حامہ درویشان میکرددہ اول دستار و حامہ درویشان This makes sense. It means the *sarīsāf* and other kinds of cloth, which were intended for garments for his own use, were first made into turbans and garments for the *darwishes*, etc. Firishtah has been followed in the text edition except that ہوں has been changed to ہوڈی

³ One MS and the 1th ed have دستار حام، but the other MS has دستار حوان، but see the preceding note, from which it will appear that in the corresponding passage Firishtah has دستار و حامہ

At a distance of twelve *karohs* from Ahmadabad he laid the foundation of the city to which he gave the name of ¹ Mahmudabad and built an arched *bazar* from Ahmadabad to that place. He also established a deer park on the bank of the stream called - Khari nadi and built a wall of burnt bricks adorned with turrets for a distance of seven ³ *karohs*. In this deer park he erected beautiful structures at different places and various kinds of animals were allowed to roam about free in the park and they increased and multiplied by breeding in it. As he was very fond of the society of women he collected a large number of them in his harem. He always hunted and played *chaugan* in the deer park with them. The trees in it were wrapped in red and green velvet. There were many pleasant gardens in it and handsome women were engaged in attending to them.

Whenever any of the women in his harem became pregnant he ordered that she should have a miscarriage and did not allow any of them to have a male child. He had made I tmad Khan the attendant of his harem and had directed him to attend to the direction of the ladies. I tmad Khan had by way of prudence and caution destroyed his own virility by eating camphor. The writer of this book has on various occasions visited the deer park and the buildings in it.

As visits to the tomb (of holy men) by the women and their gathering together on various ⁴ pretexts had become extremely common in Gujrat and immorality and licentiousness had become as it were a matter of habit and custom and there was (in the opinion of the people) no wickedness in such conduct Sultan Mahmud forbade the going of women to these places and their going and coming during days and nights to the houses of people. He also

¹ The town had been built by his ancestor Mahmud Begarma and Sultan Mahmud III took up his residence in it and restored and enlarged it.

² M Hidayat Hosain has کھار بدی in the text edition

³ One MS and the 11th ed have the words بے کروہ between بے and دیوار ارجمند سعید

⁴ One MS has حاد instead of کھار

gave money to ¹ some, and sent them to procure women, and when they brought them before him, he ordered them to be punished and in this way he ² effectively stopped such acts.

³ AN ACCOUNT OF SULTĀN AHMĀD

When Sultān Mahmūd became a martyr and left no son behind him, I'tmād Khān, in order to prevent the bursting out of the flames of disorder and disturbance, produced a ¹ boy of tender years by the

¹ One MS and the lith ed have سد نہ ممکن ہے, but the other MS has سودم which appears to me to be better, and has been adopted in the text edition.

² The actual words are سد اس باب کر دی وہی حوتھیں، which translated literally, would be, had in the best way closed this door. The MSS have حوتھیں, but the lith ed has حوتھیں وہی سد.

³ This is the heading in the MS. The lith ed has دکھل ساہنہ اے۔

⁴ This is the account in the MSS and in the lith ed. Firishtah, however, says that it was Razi-ul mulk, who produced the youth, who was a descendant of Ahmad Shāh II. The Mīrāt-i-Sikandari (Bayley, pp. 454, 455) says, that after the death of Sultān Mahmūd, the amīrs inquired of I'tmād Khān, who was fully acquainted with the late Sultān's domestic affairs, whether the latter had left a son behind him. On his answering in the negative, they inquired whether any of his widows was expecting a child. This also he answered in the negative. They then inquired, whether there was any relative of the Sultān, who was fit to succeed to the throne. He said there was a youth of the name of Ahmad Khān who was living in Ahmadābād. Rezi-ul-Mulk was accordingly sent in a cart with very fast horses. He found Ahmad Khān buying some grain at a shop near his house, and recognising him, brought him at once to Mahmūdābād. The account in the Tārikh-i-Gujarāt (pp. 49, 50) agrees, except that it says that the nobles wanted to know from I'tmād Khān if the late Sultān had even left a daughter behind, so that they might place her on the throne. Here again the answer was in the negative. Then it became necessary to enquire about distant relations, so Radi ul mulk, one of the descendants of Ahmad Shāh, the founder of Ahmadābād, who was five or six generations below him, and was a youth in his twelfth year, was brought forward.

It will be seen that there is considerable amount of divergence among the four historians, who were more or less contemporaneous with the events which they were describing. According to the author of the Mīrāt-i-Sikandari, whose father Shaikh Mahmūd, commonly called Shaikh Mānjhū, was the manager of Sayyid Mubārak's affairs, the name of the youth, who was selected to be the Sultān, was Ahmad Khān, and Razi-ul-Mulk was the name of the man who was sent to bring him from Ahmadābād. Firishtah appears to agree, though

name Radī ul mulk describing him as a descendant of Sultan Ahmad the founder of Ahmadābād and in concert with ¹ Mīrān Sayyid Mubarak Bukhāri and the other amirs who had escaped with their lives from the sword of the ungrateful Burhan placed him on the throne of empire and gave him the title of Ahmad Shah. They comforted the amirs by confirming their jagirs. Itmad Khan kept the affairs of the kingdom in his own hand and left the newly chosen Sultan nothing but the name and having obtained the whole power kept him (confined) in his house.

When five years had passed in this way Sultan Ahmad unable any longer to remain in his state got out of Ahmadābād and went to Mībmudābād to Sayyid Mubarak Bukhāri who was one of the great amirs. Musa Khan Tūlādī and Sadīt Khan and Ālam Khan Ludi and other men collected round him. Shukh Yusuf also went and joined him. The Sultan conferred on him the title of Āzam Humayun. Itmad Khan in concert with Imad ul mulk father of Chengiz Khan and Ulugh Khan and Juhjar Khan Habshi and Iktiyār ul mulk and other amirs of Gujrat with a party of artillery attacked Sayyid Mubarak. The latter although he had a smaller army than Itmad Khan arrayed his troops to meet him in battle. When the battle began a ² cannon ball struck Sayyid Mubarak and he was slain and Sultan Ahmad was defeated. He wandered

he does not give the name of the youth who was raised to the throne but the Tabaqat and the Tarikh-i-Gujarat say that it was Radī ul mulk who was placed on the throne.

The Cambridge History of India (p. 343) does not mention these differences but in its own confident way gives a narrative which differs in some particulars from all of them. It says that one Khalil Shah was at first reported to be a son of the murdered Sultan but on enquiry he could not be produced and the writer surmises that there was a conspiracy to foist a lad of unknown parentage on the throne but the conspirators lost heart at the last moment. This Khalil Shah is mentioned by none of the other historians. Then Razi ul Mulk who was the great grandson of Shakar Khan a younger son of Ahmad I was raised to the throne with the title of Ahmad Shah II.

¹ One MS omits the prefix Mīrān

² Firishtah calls him Āzam Khan Malwi

³ Firishtah also says سید مبارک but the Cambridge History of India page 344 says that Sayyid Mubarak was killed by an arrow.

about in distress for some days in the jungle, and then came and saw I'tmād Khān again. The latter confined him in his house, and did not permit anyone to approach him.

When I'tmād Khān's power increased, 'Imād-ul-mulk in concert with Tātāī Khān Ghūrī attacked his house with ¹ great force, and placing their cannon in position, commenced a bombardment. I'tmād Khān unable to meet them fled towards ² Pāl which is in the neighbourhood of Chāmpānī, and began to collect men from all sides. Then people intervened, and brought about a peace between him and 'Imād-ul-mulk. The districts of Bahīōj and Chāmpānī and Nādōt and the other parganas between the rivers Mahindī and Naibada were allotted to 'Imād-ul-mulk as his jāgīr, and I'tmād Khān came back, and again took charge of the duties of the *valīl* of the Sultān, and endeavoured to guard Sultān Ahmad as before, and they detached a body of fifteen hundred horsemen out of the personal *jāgīrs* of Sultān Ahmad. Other men joined the Sultān and in spite of the fact that I'tmād Khān prevented men from mixing with him, a number of men ³ gathered round him, and for a short time he attained to some grandeur. He thought of getting rid of I'tmād Khān, and held a consultation with his confidants about slaying him. Sometimes, owing to his youthful inexperience he would strike his sword on a plantain tree and say "I have cut I'tmād Khān in two". When the latter became cognizant of these matters he forestalled the young Sultān, and one night put him to death and threw his corpse over the wall towards the river opposite to the house of Wajih-ul-mulk, and spread a report among men to the effect that the Sultān had gone to Wajih-ul-mulk's house at night to carry on an intrigue, and not being recognised, had been killed.

The period of his rule was eight years.

¹ The actual words are راست صرب in some MSS., M. Hidayat Hosam has adopted دهرب راست in the text edition.

² Firishtah also has Pāl, but the Cambridge History of India, page 344, has Hālol.

³ The MSS. have دو را و حبیح شدند, and دادند را و حبیح شدند and the lith. ed. has دادند را و حبیح شدند.

AN ACCOUNT OF SULTAN MUZAFFAR SON OF SULTAN MAHMUD
SON OF ITIMID KHAN

At the end of the year 967 A.H. 1562 A.D. Itmad Khan brought a boy by the name ³ Nānū before the assembly of the amirs of Gujurat and swore that he was the son of Sultan Mahmud. He said that the boy's mother ⁴ Jarlah was an inmate of the ⁵ special harem of the Sultan. When she became pregnant the Sultan made her over to me so that I may bring about her miscarriage. As her pregnancy had passed the fifth month I concealed her in my house and have looked after her up to this day. As the throne of Gujurat was vacant Sayyid Miram the son of Sayyid Mubarak Gujrati took up the imperial crown in the assembly of the great and the nobles and ⁶ placed it on the head

³ This is the heading in the MS. In the lith. ed. the word ⁴ is inserted before the word Sultan.

⁴ The name is نارو in one MS. and in the lith. ed. and appears to be نارو Tonu in the other MS. Firishtah does not give the name. Col. Briggs (vol. IV p. 155) calls him Hubbo which says in a note is the familiar contraction of Hubeeb. The Tarikh-i-Gujarat (p. 6) gives him the name of نارو but a few lines further on نارو Nathu. The Cambridge History of India page 34 calls him Nathu.

⁵ The Tarikh-i-Gujarat (p. 5) tells a curious story about Nathu's father having been a ⁶ راعي or cowherd and his mother having been taken prisoner by Sultan Mahmud that she was kept outside the harem of the Sultan and before the latter could see her and decide whether he would take her into the harem she gave birth to Nathu. As the child was born almost under the shadow of the Sultan's presence it resulted in his having the insignia of royalty for a time.

If this story is correct it is curious that the facts should not have been known to the amirs and Itmad Khan's stories should have received any credence.

⁶ I do not know what حارلا is or whether it is a proper name.

⁷ The word حاصل occurs in one MS. and in the lith. ed. but is omitted from the other MS.

⁸ Firishtah lith. ed. does not mention the coronation but says somewhat inconsistently that the amirs having no other alternative divided the kingdom among themselves and became completely independent. Col. Briggs (vol. IV p. 155) says that the mother of the boy concealed her pregnancy till the fifth month when the medicines given to her to produce an abortion had no effect and the child was born and was brought up privately. Witness were

of that child. He received the title of Muzaffar Shāh, and the *amīrs* offered congratulations and felicitations on his accession.

The duties of the *vazīrī* continued to be entrusted to I'tmād Khān, and he received the title of *Masnad-i-'Ālī*. The great *amīrs* having acquired independence in their *jāgīrs* did not allow anyone to interfere with them. Among them the district of Pattan as far as the *pargana* of ¹Kaiī came into the possession of Mūsā Khān and Shēī Khān Fūlādī. In ²Rādhanpūr and Taiwāra and Tahād and Maujpūr, and some other *parganas*, Fath Khān Balūch was in possession. ³The *parganas*, which were situated between the Sābāimatī and the Mahindī were in the possession of I'tmād Khān, who gave a portion of them to other Gujrātīs. The port of Sōrath and Nāgōt and Chāmpānīr were in the possession of Chengiz Khān son of 'Imād-ul-mulk Sultānī. Rustam Khān who was the husband of Chengiz Khān's sister held Bahīoj Dūlqa and Dandūka were allotted to Saiyid Mirān son of Saiyid Mubārik Bukhānī. Amin Khān Ghūri seized the fort of Junāgañh, and Sōrath, and ⁴kept himself aloof from the other *amīrs* of Gujrāt.

procured to swear to these facts and the evidence being considered sufficient, the boy was crowned. The version of the *Tārikh-i-Gujrāt* has already been given. The Cambridge History of India, page 345, says that I'tmād Khān's history was totally false, but as an heir had to be found, the boy he produced was accepted.

¹ The name is *کریم* in one MS and in the lith ed. It is omitted in the other. Firishtah lith ed has *کاریم*, and Col Briggs (vol IV, p 156) has Kuriy. The Cambridge History of India, page 345, has Kādi.

² Firishtah agrees as to the first two names. He does not mention the third, and calls the fourth مورچپور Mūrchipūr. Col Briggs calls them Radunpoor, Nerad, Telrwara and Moonjpoor. The Cambridge History of India, page 345, does not give the names, but says the whole of the north of Gujrāt as far south as Kādī was in the possession of Mūsā Khān and Sher Khān and Fath Khān. The *Tārikh-i-Gujrāt* does not specify the *jāgīrs* of the different *amīrs*, but says they were all trying to extend their respective *jāgīrs* and encroaching on that of I'tmād Khān, and the latter sent petitions to Akbar to invade Gujrāt.

³ Firishtah and the Cambridge History of India, page 345, agree generally, but Firishtah and Col Briggs (vol IV, p 156) call Roostoom Khan the nephew (حوارم راد) of Chungir Khan. The Cambridge History of India agrees with the *Tabaqāt* in calling him his brother-in-law.

⁴ One MS has عقاب instead of اتعان

I tmad Khan kept Sultan Muzaffar Nanu ¹ more or less in a state of imprisonment in the palace of the Sultan. On the days of audience a *masnad* used to be spread for him and having seated him on it I tmad Khan himself ² sat behind him. The *amirs* attended to salute the Sultan. When some days had passed in this way Chengiz Khan and ³ Sher Khan Fuladi arrived at Ahmadabad to offer their condolences and congratulations to the Sultan. ⁴ When a year had passed in this way the Fuladis having found an opportunity attacked Fath Khan Baluch who had *parganas* Tahrad and Tarwara and Padhanpur and ⁵ Mürwara and Kahren as his *jagir* and who on account of his proximity had hostility with them. He fought with them was defeated and went to I tmad Khan and complained to him. I tmad Khan was enraged at this and having collected troops attacked the Fuladis with a large and powerful force. The latter shut themselves up in the fort of Pattan and commenced to show their weakness and repentance. I tmad Khan did not accept their excuses and went on vigorously with the siege. When the Fuladi Afghans were reduced to great straits the young warriors among ⁶ them collected together and going to Musa Khan and Sher Khan said that as (I tmad Khan) does not accept our humility there is no other alternative but that we should fight with him and if necessary surrender our lives. Five hundred of them then sallied out of the fort and Musa Khan and Sher Khan with the men that they had—whose numbers did not amount to three thousand—also came out. I tmad Khan arrayed the Gujrati army which exceeded thirty thousand horsemen. The Fuladis

¹ The words are مخدوس کوئا

² lit. در سر او

³ One MS omits the name of Sher Khan Fuladi apparently by mistake for the suffix Fuladi which belongs to Sher Khan is appended to the name of Chengiz Khan. I wish to have both names.

⁴ It is possible that something has been omitted here for it was hardly necessary to mention the arrival of Chengiz Khan and Sher Khan unless it was meant to lead to something.

⁵ This may be the same as Manjpur already mentioned. In the text edition کاکرچ has been adopted in place of کارچ

⁶ One MS and the 11th ed and the 13th ed of Fir htah have اس جماعت but the other MS has اس طائف

hurled themselves on I'tmād Khān's special troops and drove them away. Haji Khān, a slave of Salīm Khān the son of Shēr Khān, who was one of the leaders of I'tmād Khān's army stood aside without joining in the battle. I'tmād Khān was defeated and went back to Ahmadābād. He endeavoured to seize Haji Khān. The latter, becoming aware of it, fled and joined the Fūlādīs. They then sent a message to I'tmād Khān to the following effect "As a half of *pargana* Kāri was the *jāgīr* of Haji Khān, and he has come and joined us, you should relinquish possession of it." I'tmād Khān did not agree to this, and replied, "He was my servant. Although he has fled and gone away, why should I give up his *jāgīr*?" Mūsā Khān and Shēr Khān then collected a force and came to the *jāgīr* of Haji Khān, and posted themselves in the town of ¹Jūthānah. I'tmād Khān again collected a force and came and met them. They stood opposing one another for a period of four months, and at last engaged in battle. I'tmād Khān was defeated, and went to Chengiz Khān at Bahīōj and brought him to help and reinforce himself. The parties again met in the neighbourhood of Jūthānah. After a great deal of talk, there was an amicable settlement. I'tmād Khān gave up possession of Haji Khān's *jāgīr*, and went back and took up his quarters at Ahmadābād.

Chengiz Khān went back to his own country, and began to aspire to independence. It became bruted about among men, that he had no wish to continue to be in allegiance, and no intention to act as a subject. He sent a message to I'tmād Khān to the following effect "I am a *khānazād* or slave of this threshold (*i.e.*, of the Sultans of Gujrāt), and have knowledge of every incident that takes place in the harem. It was known as a matter of certainty till today, that the martyred Sultān Mahmūd Shāh had no son, and in spite of that you have produced a boy before the people, describing him as the son of Sultān Mahmūd. And what is the meaning of this that he himself sits in the *mazlis*, and his men guard that boy? And as long as he does not come no one can go to offer homage. If in fact the boy

¹ The name is written as **جوتانہ** in the MS and in the lith ed of Firishtah. It is **جوتانہ** in the lith ed of the Tabaqāt. The Cambridge History of India, page 345, has Jotāna.

is the son of Sultan Mahmud then he (Imad Khan) should like all the other amirs and the special tribesmen render homage and when the other amirs sit down in the *majlis* he should also sit down after obtaining permission I tmad Khan wrote in reply I solemnly swore on the day of the accession in the presence of the great men of the city and the amirs that this boy was the son of Sultan Mahmud and they relying on my words placed the imperial crown on his head and rendered homage to him And as to what you have said about my sitting in the *majlis* it is known to everyone ¹ what my rank and condition in the service of Sultan Mahmud was You were only a boy at that time If your father Imad al mulk Sultan had been alive he would have testified to the truth of what I am saying Thus lord and master of ours the son of our martyr lord and master by whose accession the imperial throne has now acquired a new beauty and glory is your sovereign and the son of your sovereign Your well being consists in this that you do not turn your head from service and allegiance to serve him so that you may gather the fruit of your desire from the tree of hope

And Shīr Khan I uladī having become aware of this correspondence wrote a letter to Chengiz Khan to the following effect You should for a few days draw your feet beneath the skirt of patience and should not abandon the path of gentleness and should not unnecessarily begin a show of hostility towards Masnad i Āli (Imad Khan)
² After some days Chengiz Khan having struck the teeth of greed into the town of Biroda sent the following message Many men have collected round me and this contemptible country which is in my possession is not sufficient for them As the reins of all affairs and the loosening and tying of all matters are entrusted to the wisdom and insight of Masnad i Āli he should think about it I tmad Khan wanted to entangle him in a dispute with the rulers of Burhanpur so that being engaged with them he might not make any attempt

¹ The MSS and the lith ed have دعوہ دا جو I think the correct reading should be دعوہ دا جو and I have adopted it

² Firishtah copies the Tabaqat almost word for word but with reference to Chengiz Khan's demand for additional territory he says in so many words what indeed is implied in the Tabaqat that he did not agree to Shīr Khan's suggestion

against these parts. He accordingly sent the following reply, "The town of Nadarbāī was always in the possession of the *amīr*s of Gujrat. At the time when the martyred Sultān Mahīnūd Shāh was in the fort of Sāwal, in the company of Mīrān Mubārak Shāh, he made a promise to the latter that if the great and holy God should ever place the reins of the government of the country of Gujrat in his grasp of power, he would make Nadarbāī over to him as a reward. After that the martyred Sultān sat on the throne of the empire, and in order to fulfil his promise, which is the absolute duty of and is entirely incumbent on all great men, he gave the town of Nadarbāī to Mīrān Mubārak Shāh. Now that the Sultān has attained the rank of a martyr and Mīrān Mubārak Shāh has also departed (from the world), it is advisable that you should march with your troops to the town of Nadarbāī, and should with great quickness, in order to increase your revenue take possession of it, till in the course of time some better plan can be devised."

Chengiz Khān was duped, and commenced to collect troops. After a few days, he advanced to Bahīōj with a well-equipped army ready for action, and marching by successive stages, took possession of Nadarbāī. Owing to his vanity, conceit and pride he advanced still further, till he reached the neighbourhood of the fort of ¹ Tālnū. It so happened that at this time news came that ² Mīrān Muhammad Shāh son of Mīrān Mubārak Shāh was coming to give him battle, in concert with Tufāl Khān and the Rāja of Māhūr. Chengiz Khān posted his army in a place which was broken and cut up by ravines, and on the side on which the ground was even, he strengthened his position by a line of carts fastened by chains. Muhammad Shāh and Tufāl Khan arrayed their troops in a line in front of Chengiz Khān's army and waited till sunset. As Chengiz Khān did not come

¹ The 11th ed. of Firishtah has by mistake Thānēsār, but Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 159) has Talnere, and the Cambridge History of India, page 346, has Thālne.

² Firishtah and the Cambridge History of India agree, but the former calls Mīrān Muhammad Shāh Mīrān Shāh, and the latter rather inadequately describes him as Muhammad II. Tufāl Khan is called ruler of Berār by Firishtah, and is described as of Berar in the Cambridge History of India (p. 346). The Rāja of Māhūr is not mentioned by either

out they encamped where they were Chengiz Khan ¹ owing to the bad luck due to his pride and malice was so overwhelmed with fear and alarm that leaving all his troops and followers behind he fled to Bahroj Mubammad Shah seized much booty and pursued Chengiz Khan as far as Nadarbar and again took possession of that *pargana*

When Chengiz Khan arrived in the fort of Bahroj after his defeat he began to repair the damage which his army had sustained and having acquired new strength and vigour from ² the coming of Ibrahim Husain Mirza and Shah Mirza descendants of Muhammad Sultan Mirza his own determination to punish Itmad Khan was revived ³ in his mind In order to carry out this design he collected troops and advanced towards Ahmadabad He occupied the town of Baroda without any fighting When he arrived at Mahmudabad he sent the following message to Itmad Khan namely that It is patent and evident to the world and to all its inhabitants that my defeat at Talmir was really due to your malice for if ⁴ you had either come yourself to reinforce me or had sent a body of troops the dust of flight would not at all have settled on the skirts of my honour Now I am coming to Ahmadabad in order to offer my congratulations and felicitations to the Sultan in person and I know that if you are present in the city some dispute or hostility is sure to occur It is therefore desirable that you should go out of the city and like all the other amirs take up your abode in your *jagir* and make the arms of the Sultan strong in the government so that he may exercise every act of dominion in his ancestral territory in any way that he may like

¹ Firishtah copies this almost literally except that he says that Chengiz Khan fled حرم حرم ² The Cambridge History of India (p 346) says that he was attacked defeated and fled instead of fleeing ignominiously without being attacked at all

² Firishtah explains that the Mirzas fled from Sambal and came to Malwa and when Akbar's army advanced against them in 975 A.H. they having no other alternative came and joined Chengiz Khan

³ Both MSS have اور حاضریں but the lith ed has در حاضریں

⁴ One MS inserts و between اگر and کوئی but the other MS and the lith ed do not

I'tmād Khān had commenced to equip his army even before the arrival of this message, and when it came, he knew what Chengīz Khān's real object was. He raised the royal umbrella over the head of Muzaffar, and in concert with the Sayyids of Bukhārā and Ikhtiyār-ul-mulk and Mahk Shāiq and Ulugh Khān and Jhuhjār Khān and Saif-ul-mulk left the city and encamped in the neighbourhood of the town of Batūh. The next day they marched from there and halted at *mauda'*¹ Kāvīī, which is situated on the bank of the Khārī nādī and is six kālōhs from Almadābād. On the morning of the next day Chengīz Khān arrayed his troops, and came out of Mahmūdābād, and advanced towards the battlefield. When he arrived at *mauda'* Kāvīī, at the time of the morning meal, I'tmād Khān placed Sultān Muzaffar on a horse and placing the royal umbrella over his head, advanced towards the battlefield, and the Sayyids and the Gujātī *amīrs* and the Habshī group took up their positions. When the two armies faced each other, and the frightened eyes of I'tmād Khān fell on Chengīz Khān's army, as he had² formerly repeatedly heard of the courage and prowess of the Mīrās, he imagined each one of those³ brave men and bold warriors to be the captor of his sword, and took the way of flight before even a sword was drawn out of its scabbard, and fled towards Dūngarpūr without even going to Ahmadābād. The other *amīrs* also fled, after heaping a hundred⁴ plaudits on I'tmād Khān. The Sayyids went to Dūlqa, and Ikhtiyār-ul-mulk to Mahmūdābād. Ulugh Khān and Jhuhjār Khān and the others went towards Ahmadābād, taking Muzaffar with them.

Chengīz Khān was pleased and delighted at gaining this victory, which was one of the favours of God, and halted at Batūh. Early on the following morning, Ulugh Khān and Jhuhjār Khān and the other *Habshīs* left Ahmadābād by the Kālūpūr gate, taking Sultān Muzaffar with them, and went towards Birpūr and Ma'mūlābād. When

¹ M. Hidayat Hosain also has کوڑی as the name of the *mauda'* in the text edition.

² One MS has ساق while the other and the lith. ed. have ساقاً

³ One MS has دلران instead of دلاران

⁴ The MSS as well as the lith. ed. and the lith. ed. of Firishtah have آورین. One would have thought that پریں would be the right word.

Muzaffar was leaving Ahmadabād Chengiz Khan entered the place and took up his abode at the mansion of Itmad Khan Sher Khan Fuladi on hearing this news in the neighbourhood in the town of Kari sent a message to Chengiz Khan to the effect that all this country had been in the possession of Itmad Khan to defray the expense of the Sultan and now that he alone had come to be in possession of it it¹ was contrary to the custom of generosity and the rules of kindness and he advanced with a large army towards Ahmadabad Chengiz Khan saw that it was not expedient that he should at such a time be engaged in a dispute with Sher Khan He therefore settled with the latter that whatever should be situated on the other side of the river Sabarmati should belong to him Owing to this some portions of Ahmadabad such as Usmanpur Khanpur and Kalupur fell into Sher Khan's share Chengiz Khan held the Mirzas in great honour and regard owing to the excellent services which they have rendered him

As Miran Muhammad Shah son of Miran Mubarak Shah had been emboldened by his first victory and found the kingdom of Gujrat without a head he considering the disputes and hostility among the amirs to be a very great merey advanced with the object of conquering the country and did not draw his reins till he came opposite to Ahmadabad Chengiz Khan in concert with the Mirzas came out of the city with the object of giving battle The Miran was defeated in the battle which took place and fled and went back to Asir in great confusion losing everything that he had with him

As this victory was gained by the great exertions of the Mirzas Chengiz Khan in order to please them allotted some fertile and well

¹ The sentence is rather clumsily worded although its purport is clear enough Sher Khan did not think it right that Chengiz Khan should get hold of the whole of the territory and he should have no part of it but it is not quite clear what was remote from دسم مورب و دسم غرب آس مورب و دسم غرب Probably he wanted to appeal to Chengiz Khan's better nature but in that case one would expect that he would wait for the result of that appeal instead of marching at once at the head of a large army

² One MS has Itmadpur but the other MS and the lith ed and the lith ed of Firishtah have Usmanpur The first MS and the lith ed have Kalupur after Khanpur but the other MS and the lith ed of Firishtah omit Khanpur

populated *parganas* in *sailār* Bahūōj as their *jāgīrs*, and gave them permission to go there, so that they might entertain retainers and equip them. When they arrived in the estates appertaining to their *jāgīrs* and low class people, and the people who were always in search of adventure collected round them, and as the revenues of their *jāgīrs* did not suffice for their entertainment they found it necessary to occupy other estates without the permission of Chengiz Khān.¹ When this news reached the latter, he sent an army to attack them. They defeated that army and slew a number of the men and advanced towards the territory of Burhānpūr, and after interfering in the affairs of that country they went to Mālwa. The details of the affairs of the Mirzās have already been narrated in the history of His Majesty the Khalifa-i-Hālī.

In short when Ulugh Khān and Jhuljhār Khān went to the country of² Kāntha, which is the name given to the broken country along the bank of the river Mahindī, taking Muzaffar with them, and waited for a long time in the expectation, that perhaps I'tmād Khān would come himself, or send his son Shēi Khān to take Muzaffar away, but as there was no limit of any kind from him, they themselves took Sultān Muzaffar to Dūngarpūr, and made him over to I'tmād Khān. After some days they asked for some money from him to defray the expenses of their soldiers. I'tmād Khān told them in reply that the yield or revenue of his *jāgīr*, such as it was, known to all, and also the amount of his expenditure, and besides the place where they were was not

¹ Firishtah goes into greater detail about the force sent by Chengiz Khān against the Mirzās, and about the proceeding of the latter, after their victory, and also gives a reason for their retiring to Burhānpūr. According to him Chengiz Khān's army consisted of three or four thousand Habshis, and five or six thousand Gujratis. The Mirzās after defeating the army put a number of them to death, and pursuing the others captured a number of men both Habshis and Gujratis. The young and beardless among them they kept as personal attendants, and released the others who had beards, after treating them with great barbarity, putting arrows through their noses, and binding their arms behind them, and placing circular pieces of wood round their necks. As they did all this, and knew that Chengiz Khān would come in person to attack them, they went away towards Burhānpūr.

² The name is Kāntha in one MS and in the hth ed., and Kānhā in the other MS. It is Kāntha in the hth ed. of Firishtah.

a city that he should be able to pay them after taking a loan from someone Owing to this ¹ Ulugh Khan and the other amirs were annoyed with I tmad Khan

Chengiz Khan ² becoming aware of this sent conciliatory letters to each one of them and asked them to come to him Ulugh Khan and Jhuhjar Khan and Suf ul mulk and other *Habshis* advanced towards Mar muribid without obtaining leave from I tmad Khan and having met Ikhtiyar ul mulk Gujrati there they all went forward towards Ahmadabad When they arrived at the Kukria tank or reservoir which is close to the city they halted at the garden of Sultan Mahmud to change their dresses At that time Chengiz Khan came there in haste to welcome them and met Ikhtiyar ul mulk Ulugh Khan Jhuhjar Khan and other *Habshis* there After they had finished making courteous enquiries about one another Ulugh Khan and Jhuhjar Khan said It is clear to the world and to all men that we are all slaves born and bred in the house of Sultan Mahmud If one of us has been favoured by fortune more than the other yet as regards that primary fact there is no difference amongst us and it is right that it should be borne in mind and observed in all our interviews The reason for this remark is that among the Sultan's slaves some have been distinguished by advancement in the service and they are now present in this assembly Hereafter whenever any of us has to salute or see any other it is to be hoped that he will not be prevented by chamberlains and ushers Chengiz Khan with great show of politeness accepted this statement and taking the other amirs with him went to the city and having caused some houses to be vacated placed them at their disposal

After some time one day a spy came to Ulugh Khan and informed him that Chengiz Khan wanted to put him and Jhuhjar Khan to death

¹ Firishtah agrees but the Cambridge History of India page 346 says that Ulugh Khan whom it calls (Muhammad) Ulugh Khan and (Marjan) Jhuhjar Khan awaited help from I tmad Khan or from Sher Khan Ful di but being disappointed joined Ikhtiyar ul Mull and marched with him to Ahmadabad thus omitting all mention of their visit to Dungarpur and their making over of the Sultan to I tmad Khan there

² Both MSS have وحید حاصل کردا but the 1st ed and the 1st ed of Firishtah have وحید ناسی

the Bahdar *chaugan* field. After they had gone a part of the way Ulugh Khan who was to the right of Chengiz Khan made a sign to Jhuhjar Khan who was on his left side that it was an opportunity that should not be lost. Jhuhjar Khan immediately struck Chengiz Khan with his sword in such a way¹ that it appeared as if his head had not at all been accompanying him. They then all galloped back to their houses and prepared to fight. Ikhtiyar ul mulk also joined with them and made ready. Rustam Khan threw the body of Chengiz Khan on the back of an elephant and started towards Bahroj instead of taking it to his house in the city. The mob of the city then stretched their hands to plunder Chengiz Khan's followers.

When it was known for certain that Rustam Khan had gone away towards Bahroj Ulugh Khan and Ikhtiyar ul mulk and Jhuhjar Khan and the other leaders went to the citadel which was known by the name Bahdar. They wrote a letter to Itmad Khan and informed him of what had happened and invited him to Ahmadabad. On the same day Badr Khan and Muhammad Khan sons of Sher Khan Fuladi came into the city in order to offer their congratulations and brought presents of horses for every one (of the amirs). They ('') confirmed anew the distribution of the jagirs among the amirs as Chengiz Khan had settled it.

The next day Sher Khan Fuladi sent his spies and ascertained that none of the retainers of the amirs remained in the fort in Bahdar request that it would be better if he came quickly. Chengiz Khan had apparently been drinking but he came out mounted after putting on some light clothing.

¹ The words کے سوسن مانگدیس کوئناہ چھڑا نہیں are somewhat fanciful and difficult to understand. M. Hidayat Hosain has introduced بے between گوربا and چھڑا. Firishtah's language اردن حدا سے کے سوسن مانگدیس اردن حدا سے is clear. As regards the complaint of Changiz Khan's mother to Al bar about Jhuhjar Khan having killed her son and Albar's punishment of Jhuhjar Khan by ordering him to be trampled under the feet of an elephant see page 389 of vol II of the translation. Jhuhjar Khan apparently did not plead right of self defence as he might well have done.

According to Firishtah he was a nephew sister's son of Chengiz Khan who was following the latter with his troops. The Cambridge History of India page 347 call him Chingiz Khan's brother in law.

² Some what contrary to this the Cambridge History of India page 34 says that Ulugh Khan and his partisans took possession of the citadel.

to guard it Acting on this information on the 3rd night after the murder of Chengiz Khān, he sent Sādāt Khān, who had been one of the nobles of Shēr Khān, with three hundred men They broke down the walls of the fort in the direction of Khānpur, and took possession of Bahdar After some days I'tmād Khān arrived at Ahmadābād, bringing Muzaffar with him As the fort of Bahdar was in the possession of Sādāt Khān, he took Muzaffar to his own house, but he wrote a letter to Shēr Khān on the subject of the evacuation of Bahdar He told him that Bahdar had always been the residence of the Sultāns Even if the Sultān did not happen to be in Ahmadābād, it was the duty of his servants and well-wishers, that they should guard the palace of their master, and should not occupy it themselves, or take possession of it Now that the Sultān had come to the city, he should direct Sādāt Khān to vacate it Shēr Khān acted according to his request, either because it was the only right thing to do, or because he was under certain obligations to I'tmād Khān, and vacated Bahdar Sultān Muzaffar then went and took up his abode in his own palace

While these things were happening, scouts brought the news, that the Mīrzās had fled from Mālwa and were coming to Gujrāt, and that when they heard, while they were still on the way, that Chengiz Khān had been murdered, they became pleased and delighted, and turned towards Bahrōj and Sōrath, so that they might seize that *sūba* also Ikhtiyār-ul-mulk and Ulugh Khān went to the palace, and said that Bahrōj was at present without any master, and people were saying that the Mīrzās were advancing in that direction It was right that all the *amīns* should collect their forces and march to Bahrōj, and take possession of that territory, and ¹ in the carrying out of this intention should not give way to any hesitation or delay, for if Bahrōj went once into the possession of the Mīrzās, they would all have to pour out much of their heart's blood, before they would be able to recover it from them

¹ The MSS appeared to be imperfect here One has عارم نموده نمودت - و تا بیعت نموده عارم سهروج - The other is better, it has و تا بیعت آورده دید - و در ابعاد این دید تعریق و تا بیعت آورده راه نمهدند - The lith ed appears to have the best reading, it agrees with the second MS, but has ابعاد instead of ابعاد، and تعریق instead of تعریف - I have adopted this reading, but ابعاد has been retained in the text edition

I tmad Khan sent a messenger to Sher Khan and asked his opinion. Sher Khan also agreed to undertake the expedition. It was then agreed that the entire army should be divided into three detachments. The first detachment headed by Ulugh Khan and the other *Habshis* should go one stage in advance. When they would advance beyond their first station I tmad Khan and Ikhtiyar ul mulk and the other *amirs* who would command the second detachment should encamp there. When the second detachment should advance from that station the third detachment which would be commanded by Sher Khan Fuladi and other *amirs* should take up its position there. Sadat Bukhari should remain in the position where he was. When according to this agreement Ulugh Khan and Jhuhjar Khan and Saif ul mulk and the other *Habshis* arrived at Mahmudabad I tmad Khan¹ did not go out of the city and cancelled the previous agreement.

Ulugh Khan and his friends suspecting treachery on his part from this conduct said to each other 'We slew a (powerful) enemy of his like Chengiz Khan and he is now acting traitorously towards us. It is advisable that we should take possession of this territory (sief) and divide it among ourselves.' They confirmed this determination and took possession of *pargana* Kanbiyet and Patlad and some other *parganas*. Men who had no *jagirs* came from the city and joined the service of Ulugh Khan. The latter said to Jhuhjar Khan 'Soldiers

¹ There are variations in the readings and they are all more or less incorrect. One MS has اعتماد حاں سروں بروپ و دیچ آن عمر مس نمود the other has اعتماد حاں ار سہر بروپ و دیچ آن عمر مس نمود the lith ed agrees with the latter reading but substitutes صد for دیچ. It is needless to say that both صد and دیچ are utterly incorrect and the correct word is سعی. Firishtah lith ed has it. His version is different and I am quoting it as it gives some reason for I tmad Khan's conduct. He says اعتماد حاں مفهوم سد و ار سہر سروں دیچ سعی آن عمر مس نمود which means I tmad Khan became suspicious and going out of the city cancelled the previous agreement. Col Briggs's (vol IV p 164) version is that I tmad Khan with his accustomed cowardice threw obstacles in the progress of the second corps which he commanded and refused to move. The Cambridge History of India page 347 also says I tmad Khan refused to leave the capital.

have come to me from the capital, it is ¹ advisable that one of the *parganas* of I'tmād Khān should be allotted for the payment of their wages" Jhuhjār Khān replied, "Give all the land that you wish to give to these men to me, and whatever you expect from them, you will get from me" In the end there was contention and hostility between them, on the score of the division of this territory

I'tmād Khān receiving information of this ² deceived Jhuhjār Khān by his artifice and trickery, and summoned him to join him As he went to I'tmād Khān, there was great infirmity and weakness in the grandeur of the *Habshī* party Ulugh Khān then went to Shēr Khān Fūlādī, and Sādāt Bukhārī also joined the latter As Shēr Khān's side became stronger, Sultān Muzaffar also, availing himself of an opportunity, came out one day through a window and with a few of his immediate attendants went to Ulugh Khān at Ghīyāspūr, which is near the town of Sarkhēj Ulugh Khān went to wait on Shēr Khān, without seeing him He told Shēr Khān, "Sultān Muzaffar has, without giving me previous intimation, come to my house, but I have not yet seen him" Shēr Khān said, "As a beloved guest has come, you should go and carry out the rites of service"

Early the next morning, a letter came from I'tmād Khān to Shēr Khān, to the following effect "As Nanū was not the son of the Sultān, ³ I have repudiated him And I have summoned the Mirzās, so that I may make over the capital of Gujrāt to them" After reading

¹ There are some differences in the readings The word داید before کے یکی is omitted in one MS, but occurs in the other and in the lith ed, and the same word before سوڈ occurs in both MSS, but not in the lith ed I have inserted it

² Both the MSS have میرزا and I have adopted it, though میرزا which is in the lith ed and in the corresponding passage in the lith ed of Firishtah is just as good

³ The reading in the MSS, as well as in the lith ed is اورا براوردم This may have the meaning I have given it in the text, or it may mean, when I brought him forward The context shows that the first is the correct meaning کہ چون مہمود میرزا شاہ مسعود سلا Firishtah lith ed is more explicit It is میرزا شاہ مسعود - لہذا او را بیرون سوڈہ میوزایا بر ما لبیدہام as Muzaffar was not the son of Shāh Mahmūd Shāh III, I have driven him out, and have summoned the Mirzās

this letter Sher Khan went to the house of Sayid Hamid ¹ Bukhari and enquired of him as to what had been ascertained at the time of the accession Sayid Hamid and the other Sayids said Itmad Khan swore on the *Quran* that the boy was a son of Sultan Mahmud and he has now written these words on account of his enmity Sher Khan rode back from the house of Sayid Hamid to that of Ulugh Khan and with his bow in his hands rendered homage to Sultan Muzaffar in the way in which a servant does homage to his master and mounting him on a horse brought him to his own house in order to render homage to him there

Itmad Khan summoned the Mirzas from the country of Bihroj He sent detachments from their followers and those of Ishtiyar ul mulk every day to fight Gradually the contention and hostility was much prolonged and as Itmad Khan saw that nothing was affected he sent a petition to His Majesty the Khalifa i Ilahi and begged him to come and conquer the country of Gujrat As it happened at that time which was the year 988 (1572 A.D.) His Majesty had come to Nagor and had sent Mir Muhammad Atka who was celebrated as Khan Kalan with a large army of renowned amirs to conquer Sirohi As ² the Khan Kalan was wounded by the ambassador of the Raja of Sirohi the emperor himself with good fortune and prosperity advanced towards the Khan Kalan's army and (from there) without any delay marched towards Gujrat The particulars of this brief statement have been narrated in the history of the events of the reign of His Majesty the Khalifa i Ilahi

In short when the world conquering standards arrived at Pattan Gujrat Sher Khan who was at this time besieging Ahmadabad lost the use of his hands and feet (*i.e.* became utterly bewildered) and fled and Ibrahim Husain Mirza and his brothers went towards Baroda and Bahroj Itmad Khan and ⁴ Mir Ahu Turah and Ulugh Khan

¹ M. H. Dayat Hosam has سید حمید instead of Sayid Hamid Bukhari as in the translation above

Firishtah adds and the Habshis

² He was actually wounded by one of the followers of the mission See page 371 of vol II of the translation

⁴ Firishtah I think calls him Mirza Abu Turab Shirazi He is the author of the Tarikh i Gujarat which has been edited by Sir Deni on Ross His full

Habshī and *Jhubjār Khān* and *Ikb̄tiyār-ul-mulk*, having determined on serving at the threshold, which was the abode of the angels, became enlisted in the band of the loyal servants. The kingdom of Gujrāt¹ ended here, and became a part of the imperial dominions of His Majesty the *Khalifa-i-Ilāhī*. Other incidents connected with Sultān Muzaffar *Khān* and the Gujrātis have been narrated in the auspicious history of His Majesty the *Khalifa-i-Ilāhī*.

The period of the rule of Sultān Muzaffar extended to thirteen years and some months.

SECTION VI ² THE SECTION ABOUT THE SULTANS OF BANGĀLA

It will not remain concealed from the minds of men of understanding, that the beginning of the appearance of Islām in the country of Bangāla was from (the time of)³ Muhammad Bakhtiyār who had been one of the great *amīrs* of⁴ Sultān Quṭb-ud-din Aibak. After him the *amīrs* of the Sultans of Dehlī ruled one after another. Their histories have been narrated in the course of the history of the⁵ Sultans of Dehlī. When Malik Fakhr-ud-din who was the *silāhdār*, trooper or armour-bearer, of Qadr *Khān*, the ruler of Bangāla as Viceroy of

name appears to be Mir Abu Tirāb Wālī who belonged to the Salāmī Sayyids of Shīrāz.

¹ The correct date is given as the 14th Rajab, 980 A.H., in the lith ed of Frishtah. The corresponding date according to Col. Biggs (vol. IV, p. 165) is November 20th 1572. The same date is also given in the Cambridge History of India, page 348.

² This section which follows that about Mālwā in the MSS is printed between those about Gujrāt and Sharqia in the lith ed. M. Hidayat Hosain has followed the sequence in the lith ed. for the text, and the same has been adopted for the translation.

The heading in the MSS is as I have it in the text. In the lith ed. it is
سلاطین طبقہ دہلی اور حکومت سلطانیں بنگالہ

³ One MS has Mahmūd instead of Muhammad.

⁴ The same MS has by mistake بیگ، بہان سلطان Quṭb Bēg.

⁵ Both MSS have سلطان طبقہ دہلی. This is incorrect. If the word طبقہ is at all inserted, it should be before سلطان.

¹ Muhammad Tughluq Shah slew him he gave himself the name of Sultan After him the kingdom of Bangāla became separated from the empire of Dehlī and the hand of the dominion of the Sultans of Dehlī did not reach the kings (of Bangāla) and they appropriated ² the name of Sultan for themselves

The beginning of the section about Bangāla has been made from Malik Fakhr ud din ⁴ (The names of the various Sultans are) —

¹ One MS has دیلمان مہمود

² One MS has by mistake موسیٰ but the other and the lith ed have

³ One MS has مسیح the other has میرزا while the lith ed has مسیح

⁴ For the list of the kings of Bengal as given in the Cambridge History of India see vol III page 695 According to it there were two kings in east Bengal with their capital at Sonargaon in the Meghna in the present district of Dacca namely Fakhr ud din Mubarak Shah 139 AH 1338 AD to 700 AH 1349 AD and Iäftiyar ud din Ghazi Shah 700 AH 1349 AD to 753 AH 1359 AD after which this kingdom was conquered by Haji Sham ud din Ilyas Bhāngāra and incorporated with western Bengal The kings of western Bengal begin with No 1 of the lists given in the Tabaqat As regards the names and period Firishtah agrees about No 1 but about No 2 he has one year and five months As regards No 3 there is great divergence One MS and the lith ed have ten years the other MS has two years Firishtah has nine years and some months Col Briggs (vol IV p 33) has ten years and the Cambridge History of India page 66 also gives him ten years from 1396 AH when he is said to have peaceably succeeded his father to 1406 AH when he died In the list of the kings of Bengal on page 69 he is only given two years from 1410 to 1412 AH No 4 is said to have reigned for three years according to a MS and the lith ed and Firishtah and Col Briggs (vol IV p 336) The Cambridge History of India page 66 says he was allowed to ascend the throne but was a mere puppet and exercised no power he died after a reign of little more than three years His name is not however given in the lists on page 695 though another puppet Shuhab ud din Bayad who succeeded him has his name in that list No 5 is called Raja Kans in one MS and Raja Kansi in the other The lith eds both of the Tabaqat and of Firishtah have Raja Khan Col Briggs (vol IV p 336) has Raja Kans Poorby The Cambridge History of India page 66 calls him Raja Ganesh of Dinajpur but says that he is called Raja Kans by most Muslim historians in the list on page 695 he is called Ganesh of Bhaduria (Kans Narayan) About No 6 there is no difference in the MSS and in the lith ed except that one MS calls the father Kansi and not Khan Firishtah lith ed calls him Jivnal the son of Kans who had the title of Sultan Jalal ud din and aaya that he ruled for seventeen years and some

months Col Briggs (vol IV, p 337) calls him Jatmal entitled Jalal ud din and says he reigned for seventeen years The Cambridge History of India, page 266, calls him Jatmal, who was raised to the throne under the title of Jalāl ud dīn Muhammād and says he ruled for seventeen years In the list on page 695, he is, however, called Jādu *alias* Jalāl ud dīn Muhammād Shāh About No 10 there is no difference in the MS and the lith ed In the lith ed of Firishtah the word Sultān is prefixed to the name of the sultan and the period of his reign is said to have been sixteen years Col Briggs (vol IV, p 338) calls him Ahmad Poorby and says he reigned for eighteen years The Cambridge History of India, page 267 and also page 695, calls him Shams ud dīn Ahmad Shāh, and says he reigned for eleven years only from 1431 to 1442 A D

About No 11 there is no difference in the MS, but the lith ed omits the word *bin*, son of, before Ahmad Firishtah lith ed says Nāsir-ud dīn, a slave, who usurped the throne, reigned for seven days and according to another account for half a day Col Briggs agrees The Cambridge History of India, page 267, calls him Nāsir Khān, originally a slave, and later one of the principal officers of the State, who assumed the title of Nāsir ud dīn Mahmūd and is said on page 267 to have reigned peacefully for seventeen years In the list on page 695, he is said to have reigned from 1442 to 1460 About No 12 there is no difference between the MSS and the lith ed Firishtah lith ed calls him Sultān Nāsir-ud dīn Shāh Bhāngara and says he ruled for thirty two years Col Briggs (vol IV, p 339) calls him Nasir Poorby, and says he reigned for two years In the Cambridge History of India the Nāsir-ud dīn and the Nāsir Shāh of the Tabaqāt and Firishtah are, apparently, made into one man He is said on page 268 to have died in 1459, though in the list on page 695 he is said to have reigned from 1442 to 1460 As regards No 13, one MS calls him Bin Bārbak Shāh, but otherwise the MSS and the lith ed agree Firishtah lith ed and Col Briggs (who, however, calls him Barbik Poorby) agree The Cambridge History of India, page 268, calls him Rukn ud dīn Bārbak and says he succeeded his father in 1459 and died in 1474, and thus reigned for about fifteen years On page 695 he is called Rukn-ud dīn Bārbak Shāh and is said to have reigned from 1460 to 1474, or for about fourteen years About No 14 the MSS and the lith ed agree, but the lith ed of Firishtah gives him seven years and six months, and Col Briggs (vol IV, p 339) gives him between seven and eight years The Cambridge History of India, page 268, calls him Shams ud dīn Yūsuf, who reigned for seven years from 1474 to 1481 There is much difference in the periods of No 15's reign, one MS and the lith ed have half a day, while the other MS has two half years and two half days The meaning of which is difficult to find out Firishtah lith ed gives him two months Col Briggs (vol IV, p 340) says he was deposed on the day he was raised to the throne The Cambridge History of India, page 268, also says that he was immediately deposed, as his intellect was deranged

The name of No 16 is omitted from one MS I have given in the text what is written about him in the other MS The lith ed calls him Fath, without any

prefix or suffix and gives him seven years and five months Firishtah lith ed agrees with the lith ed of Tabaqat in giving him a reign of seven years and five months Col Briggs (vol IV p 340) calls him Futtah Poorby and says he was murdered after a reign of seven years The Cambridge History of India page 68 says he reigned from 1481 to 1486 (*i.e.* for five years) when he was assassinated As to No 17 both the MSS and the lith ed have the reading I have in the text Firishtah lith ed says Barbak Shah reigned according to one statement for eight months and according to another for two and a half months Col Briggs (vol IV p 341) calls him the Eunuch Shahzada and says he reigned for two months The Cambridge History of India calls him Barbak the Eunuch Sultan Shahzada in the list on page 69c and gives a rather long account of how he was killed on page 269 but does not mention the exact period of his reign The MSS and the lith ed agree as to No 18 and say what I have translated in the text Firishtah calls him Malik Indil Habshu who had the title of Firuz Shah and says he ruled for three years Col Briggs (vol IV p 344) calls him Mullik Andeel Feroze Poorby and says he ruled for thirteen years apparently from 886 A H to 899 A H The corresponding A D period 1401 to 1493 is apparently incorrect The Cambridge History of India does not mention the year of his accession on page 69 but says he reigned for two years and died in 1489 In the list of the kings on pp 695 696 the years of his accession and death are 1486 and 1489 respectively

As to No 19 the MSS and the lith ed agree but there are slight mistakes Firishtah lith ed calls him Shah Mahmud Shah and says he ruled for one year but it also mentions a statement in the History of Hajji Muhammad Qandahari according to which he ruled merely in name under the guardianship of Habib Khan a slave of Shah Barbak Shah at the end of which Habib Khan wanted to rule himself but he was slain by Sidi Badr Diwana who also slew the infant king and proclaimed himself as Sultan Muzaffar Shah Col Briggs and the Cambridge History of India agree generally The MSS and the lith ed agree in saying what I have in the text in respect of No 20 Firishtah lith ed calls him Sidi Badr Habsi who had the title of Muzaffar Shah and says he reigned for three years and five months Col Briggs (vol IV p 348) says he reigned for three years The Cambridge History of India page 270 also says he reigned for three years and in the list of king he is said to have reigned from 1490 to 1493 A D The MSS and the lith ed also agree about No 21 Firishtah lith ed calls him Sharif Makki celebrated as Sultan Alauddin and says he reigned for twenty seven years Col Briggs (vol IV p 348) agrees as to the period of his reign but calls him Ala ood den Poorby II The Cambridge History of India page 696 calls him Sayyid Ala ud din Sharif i Makki and says he reigned from 1493 to 1518 *i.e.* for twenty five years His full title as can be gathered from his coins is given on page 270 and the period of his reign is mentioned there also as twenty five years Neither of the MSS gives the period of Nasir Shah's reign The lith ed calls him Nasir Shah and gives him eleven days Firishtah lith ed calls him Shah Nasir Shah and says he ascended the throne in 97 and died in 943 which would give him about sixteen years Col Briggs

Sultān Fakhr-ud-dīn,¹ two years and some months,
 Sultān ‘Alā’-ud-dīn, one year and some months,
 Sultān Shams-ud-dīn, sixteen years and some months,
 Sultān Sikandar, son of Sultān Shams-ud-dīn, nine years and some
 months,
 Sultān Ghīyās-ud-dīn, son of Sikandar, seven years,
 Sultān Sultān-us-Salātīn, ten (?) years,
 Sultān Shams-ud-dīn, son of Sultān-us-Salātīn, three years,
 Rāja Kāns,² three years,
 Sultan Jalāl-ud-dīn, son of Kāns, seventeen years,
 Sultān Ahmad, son of Jalāl-ud-dīn, sixteen years,
 Sultān Nāsū-ud-dīn, son of Ahmad, seven days,
 Sultān Nāsū Shāh, two years,
 Bārbak Shāh, seventeen years,
 Yūsuf Shāh, seven years,
 Sikandar Shāh, half a day,
 Fath-Shāh, seven years and some months,
 Bārbak Shāh, eunuch, two and a half months,
 Firūz Shāh, three years,
 Mahmūd Shāh, son of Firūz, one year,
 Muzaffar Habshī, three years and five months,
 ‘Alā-ud-dīn, twenty-seven years,
 Nasīb Shāh, son of ‘Alā-ud-dīn, eleven years

(vol IV, p 351) calls him Nuseeb Poorby, and says he reigned from 1523 to 1538 A.D. or for a period of fifteen years. The Cambridge History of India calls him Nāsir-ud dīn Nūsrat Shāh and gives him a reign of fifteen years from 1518 to 1533. M. Hidayat Hosain has eleven years as the period of his reign in the text edition, and this has been followed in the translation.

The list in the Tabaqāt ends here, but Firishtah mentions four more Sultans, and the Cambridge History of India thirteen more, ending with Dāud Khān Karāramī.

¹ M. Hidayat Hosain has adopted جلو ۸۵ as the period of the reign in the text-edition.

² In the text-edition M. Hidayat Hosain has سال ۱۷۶۴

¹ AN ACCOUNT OF SULTAN FAKHR UD DIN

Malik Fakhr ud din was the *silahdar* (armour bearer) of Qadr Khan. He treacherously slew his master and attributed the name of the *sultanat* to himself. He ² sent one of his slaves by the name of Mukhlis with a well equipped army to the frontier district of Bangala (بَنْجَالَةِ) ³ But Malik Ali Mubarak the pay master of Qadr

¹ One MS. inserts Shah after Fakhr ud din

Firishtah describes in some detail the way in which Qadr Khan was murdered by his own soldiers at the instigation of Fakhr ud din and Stewart History of Bengal 1813 page 81 follows him. According to Stewart Fakher Addeen proclaimed his independence at Sunergong about the end of 740 or the beginning of 741 and this is confirmed by his coins which also show that he continued to reign in Sonargaon till 750 A.H. This agrees generally with the list of Bengal Kings on page 695 of the Cambridge History of India according to which he reigned from 1339 A.H. to 1350 A.H. The Cambridge History of India page 26, differs from the Tabaqat and from Firishtah and Stewart. According to it Qadr Khan was not slain by or at the instigation of Fakhr ud din as he died in 1339 and was succeeded by Sultan Ala ud din Ali as the Cambridge History of India calls him or Sultan Ala ud din Ali Shah. It is doubtful whether Bahram Khan who had been associated with Ghiyas ud din Bahadur in the government of Eastern Bengal and since the latter's rebellion and death in 1330 was the sole governor of East Bengal was or was not slain by Fakhr ud din but it was after his death in 1336 that Fakhr ud din or Fakhr ud din Mubarak Shah assumed the royal title at Sonargaon but Qadr Khan did not die till 1339 i.e. three years later at Lakhnauti.

² According to Firishtah and Stewart he was sent to conquer Lakhnauti and the neighbouring districts

³ Firishtah agrees as to Malik Ali having defeated Mukhlis but he says nothing about his defeating Fakhr ud din and putting him to death. Stewart (pp. 8-83) agrees with the Tabaqat and says that Aly Mubarick defeated Fakher Addeen and put him to death in 743 A.H. 1344 A.D. This cannot however be correct as there are coins struck by him up to 749 A.H. in existence.

According to Firishtah he was taken prisoner in 741 A.H. by Malik Ilyas who assumed the title of Sultan Shams ud din and was brought to Lakhnauti where he was hanged by the neck. This also cannot be correct. The Cambridge History of India page 695 says that his titles continued between Eastern and Western Bengal till 1349 A.D. when Fakhr ud din d appeared from the scene but he was succeeded by his son Ikhtyar ud din Ghaz Shah at Sonargaon. This latter Sultan is not mentioned by Nizam ud din or Firishtah or Stewart but his coins show that he reigned at Sonargaon from 1350 to 763 A.H. 1349-1355 A.D. (See Bhatta alias *Coins and Chronology of the Early Independent*

Khan's army, met him in battle, and slew him, and all his horses and other equipages which were with him fell into the victor's hands. As Sultān Fakhī-ud-din had only newly acquired his power, and had no faith in his followers, he could not attack 'Alī Mubārak. In the end Mahk 'Alī Mubārak assumed the title of Sultān 'Alā-ud-din, and went and attacked Sultān Fakhī-ud-din, and in the year 941 A.H. having taken him prisoner alive sentenced him to death. He then left a *thāna* (military post) at Lakhnautī, and returned to the country of Bangāla (probably Sōnārgāon).

The period of Sultān Fakhlī-ud-din's rule was two years and some months.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE REIGN OF SULTAN 'ALĀ-UD-DÍN

As he had put Sultān Fakhr-ud-dīn to death, he with great strength left a *thāna* at Lakhnautī and ¹ advanced towards Bangāla ² After

Sultans of Bengal, 1922 pages 18, 19, and the Cambridge History of India, pp 262, 695) He is also mentioned by Edward Thomas, *The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, 1871, pages 265, 266, and is included in Lane Poole's list in *The Mohammadan Dynasties*, 1925, page 307.

¹ The meaning is not clear. Firishtah and Stewart are of no help. The former merely copies the words of the *Tabaqāt*, and the latter says nothing whatever about 'Alā ud-dīn. It appears, however, from Bhattachari, page 15, and the Cambridge History of India, page 262, that 'Alā ud din at this time removed his capital to Pandūah for strategic reasons. The *dīyār* Bangāla would therefore mean Pandūah.

² There is a good deal of difference in the readings in the MSS and the lith ed., and they are all more or less incorrect. One MS has حachi الياس علائی که در لشکر لکھنوتی نامرد بوده، لشکر را بخود بار و موافق ساخته سلطان علاء الدین را کشت و خود را سلطان شمس الدین لق گداشتہ و چون سلطان علاء الدین دربار instead حachi الياس علاء الدین the other MS has لکھنوتی و بیگالہ مصرف گردید of ساخت، ساختہ، and instead of حachi الياس علائی و خود دیار لکھنوتی و بیگالہ بتصریف گردید و خود را¹ from after برد instead of فرموده and has لکھنوتی before لشکر The lith ed omits instead of گداشتہ after لقب in the reading in the first MS، نامرد instead of گداشتہ and inserts the words کستہ شد after علاء الدین instead of بار برو، سلطان علاء الدین before لکھنوتی The reading in the lith ed of Firishtah is somewhat different

a few days Malik¹ Haji Ilyas Alaf who had been nominated (for the office of Sultan) in the army of Lakhnauti made that army friendly and united with him and slew Sultan Ala ud din and giving himself the title of Sultan Shams ud din *Bhangara* took possession of the country of Lakhnauti and Bangala. The period of the government of Sultan Ala ud din was one year and some months.

AN ACCOUNT OF HAJI ILYAS WHO HAD THE TITLE OF SULTAN SHAMS UD DIN *Bhangara*

When Ala ud din was slain and the whole country of Lakhnauti and Bangala came into the possession of Ilyas he in concert with the amirs gave himself the title of Sultan Shams ud din and had public prayers read in his name. He made very great efforts in obtaining the good wishes of the people and in attracting the hearts of the soldiers.

After some time he equipped himself and marched to² Jajnagar and having obtained many large elephants from that country returned

I have adopted the reading in the first MS changing سلیمان to سلیمان and inserting the words سلطان شمس الدین after سلطان سلیمان. M. Hidayat Hoain has generally followed the second MS in the text edition.

¹ The relationship of Malik Haji Ilyas with Sultan Ala ud din and their antecedent as detailed in the Riyaz ul Salatin are given on pages 19-20 of Bhattacharya's book. I do not think that Nurim ul Haq and Firishta are correct in saying that Malik Haji Ilyas gave himself the title of Sultan Shams ud-din Bhangara. The last word was a nick name popularly given to him on account of his addiction to the preparation of hemp known as *Bhang*. According to Firishta Hajipur opposite to Patna got its name from Haji Ilyas.

The heading given in the text is that in the MSS with the slight difference that the last word is سلیمان in one MS and سلیمان in the other. The latter is correct. The heading in the litho ed is دکر سلطان سمس الدین بھنگر.

² Neither the Riyaz ul Salatin nor the Tabqat nor Firishta attempts to identify this place. Bhattacharya (pp. 24-5) says Sultan Shams ud din seems to have levied tribute from the kingdom of Orissa and Tirthut from which it appears that he identifies Jajnagar with Orissa. The Cambridge History of India page 63 says Ilyas is said to have invaded Jajnagar as the Muslim historians styled the kingdom of Jaipur in Orissa. There is no connected account of this kingdom anywhere in the Cambridge History of India and it is only mentioned incidentally in this place and in connection

to his own capital.¹ For a period of thirteen² years and some months, the Sultans of Dehli did not interfere with him in any way, and he with full and absolute authority, performed the duties of the *sultanat*. But on the 10th of Shawwāl, in the year 754 A.H.,³ Sultan Firūz Shāh, son of Rajab advanced from Dehli towards Lakhnautī Sultan-

with Sultan Hūshang's journey to acquire elephants on page 350 and the following pages, and in connection with Sultan Muhammad of the Deccan's invasion of Orissa in 1478 on page 417. In all these places the Muslim historians call the place Jājnagar, and the Cambridge History of India persists, so far as I can see, without any authority whatever in calling it Jānpur. Apart, however, from this question I think that the Jājnagar mentioned here does not mean Orissa at all, but Tipperah. Stewart, on page 83, has Tipperah in brackets after Jagenagor (Jājnagar). He gives no authority but Shams Addīn, with his capitals at Pandīnah and Sōnārgāon, is more likely to have invaded Tipperah, less than one hundred miles from Sōnārgāon than Orissa which was quite five hundred or six hundred miles off. It will be seen moreover that Sultan Ghīyās ud dīn Balban pursued the rebel Tughrāl in the direction of Jājnagar through Lakhnautī and Sonargāon see pages 109 and 110 of the first volume of the translation. The Jājnagar mentioned there cannot be identified with Orissa, but must be some place east of Sōnārgāon and most probably Tipperah. In this connection see also note 1, page 101 of the English translation of the Riāzu-s Salātīn, where the translator says, that he was inclined to agree with Professor Blochmann, that there were two Jajnagaras, one in Orissa and another towards Tipperah.

¹ The Riāzu-s Salātīn (text edition, p. 96) says تَدْرِيْجَ تَأْسِيْسِ حُدُودٍ وَ سَارِسْ قَاهِنَةَ سَالَ سَلاطِينِ دَفْلِيِّ مَتَعْرِضٌ حَالَ نَكَالَهُ وَ شَدَادَهُ مَتَسْرِفٌ كُرْدِيَّا and earlier on تَدْرِيْجَ سَالَ سَلاطِينِ دَفْلِيِّ مَتَعْرِضٌ حَالَ نَكَالَهُ وَ شَدَادَهُ مَتَسْرِفٌ كُرْدِيَّا and hence Firūz Shāh's attention was directed to Bangūla and he attempted to reconquer it.

² One MS omits by mistake the word سَالَ years

³ One MS has شَاهَ سَلَاطِينَ دَفْلِيَّا مَبِرُورَ شَاهَ سَلَاطِينَ while the other MS, and the lith ed leave out the word شَاهَ. The first MS is correct. Sultan Firūz Shāh was the son of Sipāh-sālār Rajab, brother of Sultan Ghīyās ud dīn Tughluq.

Bhattasali (p. 25) cannot understand how the Tabakat gives a detailed diary (as he calls it) of the expedition, when neither Shams i-Siraj Afīf nor Zia-Barnī the two contemporary historians go into details of dates. The account of the expedition as given in the Tabaqāt is translated on pages 244, 245 of the first volume of this work. Zia 'Barnī's Tarīkh i-Firūz Shāhī is not before me, but it appears from note 3, pages 100, 101, of Maulavī Abdus Salūm's translation of the Riāzu-s Salātīn, that Zia 'Barnī gives a full account of the expedition, and all facts mentioned in the Tabaqāt are to be found in it.

Shams ud din took shelter in the fort of ¹ Ekdala and left the whole country of Bangala unoccupied (*i.e.* unguarded)

When Sultan Firuz heard that Sultan Shams ud din had fortified himself in Ekdala he advanced from the road towards that place. When he arrived in its neighbourhood Sultan Shams ud din sallied out of the fort and engaged in a regular battle and many were slain on both sides. Sultan Shams ud din fled and again took shelter in Ekdala. The large elephants which he had brought from Jaunagar fell into the hands of Sultan Firuz Shah's men.

As the rains had commenced and there was heavy rain Sultan Firuz Shah returned on the 1st of Rabi ul awwal to Dehli. After that in the year 759 A.H. Sultan Shams ud din sent a large quantity of tribute such as might be fit for the ² Sultan with his ambassadors as homage to Firuz Shah and prayed for pardon. Sultan Firuz Shah also behaving with kindness conferred robes of honour on the ambassadors and granted them permission to ³ depart.

Again about the end of the ⁵ year 759 A.H. Sultan Shams ud din sent Mahk Taj ud din to Dehli with much tribute and Sultan Firuz

¹ As to the position of Ekdala see the excellent note - on page 100 of the English translation of the Riyaz-e-Salatin /in Barhi says It is the name of a *mouza* close to Panduah on one side of it is a river and on another a jungle. Shamsi Siraj call it The roads of Ekdalah. I may note here that the name is transliterated in the Cambridge History of India page 63 as Ikda. No Indian will however pronounce the name with an initial I.

² The Riyazu's Salatin (p. 100) however says that Sultan Shamsuddin left his son with an army in the fort of Panduah. The son however was soon taken prisoner. According to the Riyaz also there was a great battle on the day Firuz Shah arrived near Ekdala after which the siege was continued for twenty two days.

³ One MS. in cursive before مظاہر فیصلتہ lith. ed. also has مظاہر نادسماں

⁴ One MS. has امیر by mistake for اصراف

⁵ The Riyazu's Salatin has 708 A.H. 709 A.H. appears to be incorrect. Bhattachari (pp. 41-4) enters into a long disquisition on the subject and comes to the conclusion that Sultan Shamsuddin died about the end of Zul hijjah 758. The Cambridge History of India page 63 discusses the question as to whether or not Firuz acknowledged the independence of Sultan Shams ud din. It comes to the conclusion that Firuz Shah had to return without obtaining a formal declaration of Shams ud din's homage. It also says that the tributes

Shāh treated the ambassador with greater kindness than before, and after some days, sent Alab and Tuiki horses with other fine presents for Sultān Shams-ud-dīn, with Mahk Sāif-ud-dīn, the superintendent of the elephants. Malik Sāif-nd-dīn and Malik Tāj-ud-dīn had not yet passed through Behār, when Sultān Shams-ud-dīn died. Malik Sāif-ud-dīn¹ gave the horses to the *amīns* of Behār, in accordance with the emperor's order and² Malik Sāif-ud-dīn himself went back to Dehli.

The period of the rule of Sultān Shams-ud-dīn was sixteen years and some months.

³ AN ACCOUNT OF THE RULE OF SULTĀN SIKANDAR SHĀH, SON OF SULTĀN SHAMS-UD-DĪN

When Sultān Shams-ud-dīn⁴ departed (this life) the *amīns* and the chiefs of the different groups on the third day after his death, sent by Shams ud dīn in 755 A.H., 1354 A.D. and 758 A.H. 1358 A.D. were merely the customary exchanges of presents, but it should be noted in both instances that the presents or tributes were sent from Bengāl. It appears to me that the relations between the two rulers remained undefiant, and I cannot find any evidence in support of the statement made in the Cambridge History of India (p. 263) that "In December 1356, Firūz formally recognised the independence of Bengāl".

¹ در عرص مواجب سپاهیان سکندر سهار متنم، e, in lieu of the pay due to the imperial soldiers stationed in Behār.

² Both MSS have Malik Tāj-ud dīn instead of Mahk Sāif-ud dīn. This is incorrect.

³ There are slight differences in the heading. It is as I have it in the text in one MS. In the other MS it is simply حکمر سکندر. The lith ed has the same heading as the first MS, with the exception that it omits the word حکمر after سکندر ساہان.

⁴ One MS has instead of حکمت سهود رحلت سهود. The relations between the rulers of Dehli and Bengāl at this time are extremely obscure. The Riyāzu s Salātin, the Tabaqāt and Firishtah all begin abruptly by saying that Sultān Sikandar considered it extremely important to conciliate Firūz Shāh, without saying anything about the relations between Sultān Shams-ud dīn and Firūz Shāh, after the latter's first expedition to Bengāl. According to the Tarīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī by Shams Sirāj Afif, the object of the second expedition was to reinstate Zafar Khān on the throne of Sōnārgāon, but that work is also silent about the relation between Firūz Shāh and Sultān Shams-ud dīn, just before the latter's death. According to Bhattachari (p. 44) after the exper-

placed his eldest son on the throne of empire giving him the title of Sikandar Shah He proclaimed the gospel of justice and beneficence

ences of his first expedition to Lal Bnauti Firoz Shah was in no mood again to interfere in the internal affairs of Bengal but he had to take cognizance of the complaint of Zafar Khan who arrived in Delhi in 748 A.D. as he was the latter's liege lord but he was at least according to Bhatta Ali apparently afraid of Sultan Shams ud din and it was not till the news of the latter's death had come to Delhi that he finally made up his mind and began to prepare for marching against the unsuspecting Sikandar Bhattasali (p 48) goes on to say that according to the Riyaz and Firuztah Sikandar was ignorant of the motive of Firoz Shah in thus hurrying towards Bengal even when Firoz reached Zafarabad (near Jaunpur) I do not consider this latter statement correct Even immediately after his accession Sikandar knew that it was extremely important for him to conciliate Firuz Shah This is expressly mentioned in the Riyaz and the Talaqat and by Firuztah As to Sikandar's not knowing the motive of Firuz Shah's march toward Bengal (Firuz was certainly not hurrying for taking the date given by Bhatta Ali himself he commenced his preparation in 749 A.D. starting in Muharram 760 A.D. and arrived in Jaunpur about Jamadi ul qaswal 760 A.D. and halted there for six months and the siege of Ekdala did not commence till 71 qaswa 760 and did not end till Jamadi ul qaswal 761 A.D. The usual like march contrasts very unfavourably with the first expedition in the course of which Firuz Shah reached Ekdala in three days less than five months after leaving Delhi) he must have been both very ignorant and very dense It is not quite correct to say that the Riyaz and Firuztah say that Sikandar was ignorant of Firuz Shah's motive even when the latter arrived at Zafarabad The former says that he was ~~suspicio~~ or anxious but that does not mean that he was ignorant Firuztah does not even say this

The Cambridge History of India page 163 gives a different view of the matter According to it in December 1366 A.D. as already noted Firuz formally recognised the independence of Bengal but apparently he intended to treat this recognition as so much waste paper He accordingly as soon as the news of the death of Shams ud din reached him ordered the gift to the latter to be distributed among the nobles of Bihar and recalled Saif ud din to assist in the preparation for an invasion of Bengal I do not know what the authority for this statement is None of the chroniclers or historians say so But though Firuz Shah wanted to brush aside his declaration of December 1366 A.D. he was apparently unable to do so without a pretext and this was furnished by the arrival of Zafar Khan

It is unnecessary to labour this point further I consider that Firuz Shah thought that he was entitled to reannex Bengal to the empire of Delhi and he made a second attempt to do so

and occupied himself with the duties of the *sultanat*. Knowing that seeking the pleasure of the heart of Sultan Firuz Shah was of the greatest importance, he sent fifty elephants and various stuffs in the way of tribute to Sultan Firuz Shah. In the meanwhile, the latter had advanced towards Lakhnauti in the year 760 A.H. with the object of conquering Bangala. When he arrived in the neighbourhood of Pandua, Sultan Sikandar following the example of his father, fortified himself in his citadel of Ekdala.¹ As he had not the strength to oppose him (*i.e.*, Firuz Shah), he agreed to pay an annual tribute and turned the Sultan back. The latter was yet in the neighbourhood of Pandua, when Sikandar sent thirty-seven elephants and many valuable things and various kinds of stuff to the Sultan, and prayed for the pardon of his offences. Then following the example of his father, he passed the whole of his life in pleasure and enjoyment. The period of his rule

¹ The Riyāzu-s Salātin and Firishtah agree. Stewart (p. 85) also agrees, but he says that Emperor Feroze found out that there was no probability of his being able to capture Akdala. Bhattachari (pp. 50, 51) says Sultan Firoz returned discomfited and says, that he and not Sultan Sikandar sought for peace. It appears, however, that proposals for peace were sent by Sikandar's ministers, who by their master's silence to imply his consent to their being sent, and the ministers received them with great joy, and had no difficulty in persuading their masters to listen to them. Firoz, however, stipulated for the restoration of Sonargaon to Zafar Khan, but the latter did not dare to resume sovereignty in the dangerous proximity of Sikandar.

The Cambridge History of India, page 264, practically agrees with the above.

² The Tabaqat and Firishtah are silent about some very important incidents of the life of Sikandar. The Riyāzu-s Salātin (p. 105) mentions them. One of these is the erection of the Adina Mosque in Panduah, which is perhaps the finest and most remarkable religious edifice in Bengal. Unfortunately it remained unfinished at the time of his death.

The second is the rebellion of Ghīyāsu d dīn, who afterwards succeeded him. It is said that Sikandar had two wives, one of whom had seventeen sons, while Ghīyāsu d dīn was the only son of the other. The latter, in the words of the Riyāzu-s Salātin (text edition, pp. 101-104) was در اهلان و معیج او صاف در و مه در امور سلطنت و حکومت ایسب و لایق which may be translated as superior to all his brothers in the beauty of his morals and in all (good) qualities, and the fittest and most meritorious in the arts of sovereignty. His step mother, however, complained to the Sultan against him and suggested that he should either be put into prison, or deprived of his

was ¹ nine years and some months

² AN ACCOUNT OF SULTĀN GHĪYĀS UD DĪN³

⁴ When Sultan Sikandar died the *amirs* and the chiefs of the different groups of the people gave the title of Sultan Ghīyas ud din

sight The Sultan reproved her and put the government in Ghīyas ud din's hands The latter was however afraid of his step mother's machinations and one day on the pretext of hunting escaped to Sunargaon He collected an army there and the Sultan marched to meet him A battle took place at Coalpara which appears to be near Jafarganj in the Dacca district and nearly opposite to the junction of the Ganges and Juba or Jamuna Ghīyas ud din is said to have given strict orders that Sultan Sikandar should be taken alive but as it was decreed otherwise he was mortally wounded Ghīyas ud din hastened to the place and took his father a head in his lap and tears trickled down his cheeks Sikandar then opened his eyes and said My life's work is over the kingdom is welcome to thee

¹ This is not correct He actually reigned from 708 A H 1307 A D to 795 A H 1393 A D or for thirty six or thirty seven years Bhattachari (p 74) is inclined to place his death in October 1393 A D

The heading is as I have in the text in the MSS Thā lith ed adds سکندر میں سلطان after Sultan Ghīyas ud din

³ Unlike the Muhammadan historians the Cambridge History of India page 764 calls this Sultan Ghīyas ud din A zām and later A zam It appears to follow Bhattachari who on page 8 calls him Ghīasuddin A zam Shah and a few lines further down A zam Shah It is true that the full name of the Sultan on his coins was Ghīyas ud din Abul Muzaffar A zam Shah but I see no reason for calling him by any name other than Ghīyas ud din

⁴ The account of this reign is even briefer in Firishtah and what there is is copied almost *verbatim* from the Tabaqat Notwithstanding the praise of the author of the Riyaz Sultan Ghīyas ud din's first act was to get the eyes of his seventeen brothers dug out and by a refinement of cruelty to send them to their mother

He is more pleasantly remembered as the correspondent of the illustrious poet Hafiz of Shiraz The correspondence is said to have commenced in the following way He had a very serious illness and when he had no hope of recovery he directed that three of his concubines who were named respectively the *sarv* (the cypress) the *gul* (the rose) and the *lila* (the tulip) should perform the last bathing ceremony The other inmates of the harem used to taunt the *sarv* and her companions by the name of *ghassala* (*ghassala* or corpse washer)

to his son and seated him on the throne in the place of his father. He also following the rule of his father and the custom of his grandfather passed the whole of his life in pleasure and enjoyment, and in the year 775 A.H. passed away from the narrow place of the body to the wide spaces of the spirit.

The period of his rule was seven² years and some months.

After his recovery, when he was in a jovial mood the Sultan recited the line سافی حدیر سرو و گل ولاه میرو د None of the court poets could make another line to match it, so the Sultan sent it to Hāfir by a special messenger. The latter quickly sent the second line این بـ نـ دـ لـ اـ نـ عـ الـ هـ مـ يـ رـ وـ دـ. He also sent a whole *ghazl* (ode) beginning with these lines. The Sultan sent him many valuable presents and invited him to his court, but Hāfir could not come. The word *ghassāla* also means a morning draught, so the double *entendre* is extremely witty (*vide Cambridge History of India*, pp. 264, 265 and *Riyāz*, p. 109).

Another anecdote also shows the Sultan in a pleasing light. He is said to have wounded the only son of a widow while practising with his bow and arrow. The widow went and complained to *Qādī Shūj-ud-din*. The latter summoned the Sultan to appear before him. The officer sent to serve the summons could not get admission into the palace, but he used the device of calling the *adhan*. The Sultan ordered the man who had made this untimely call to be brought before him. When the man was brought to him, he produced the summons. The Sultan at once went with him, taking a short sword under his arm. When he appeared before the *Qādī*, the latter told him to satisfy the widow. The Sultan did so, and when on the *Qādī's* asking the widow, she stated that she was quite satisfied, the *Qādī* rose from his seat, and seated the Sultan on the *masnad*. The Sultan then eulogized the *Qādī*, but producing the sword, said that if he had found the *Qādī* afraid to administer justice he would have cut off his head with it. The *Qādī* then produced a scourge which he had kept concealed under his *masnad*, and said that if he had found the Sultan unwilling to satisfy the widow he would have sacrificed his back with it. As the Cambridge History of India (p. 265) says, "Bengal can boast of a prince more law abiding than Henry of Monmouth, and of a judge at least as firm as Gaseigne."

¹ This also is incorrect. He actually reigned from 795 A.H., 1393 A.D., to 813 A.H., 1410 A.D., or for seventeen or eighteen years. The *Riyāz* (p. 111) gives seven years and some months as the period of his reign, but adds that according to another account it lasted for sixteen years, five months and three days.

² According to the *Riyāz*, page 111, he was slain by deceit and treachery by Rāja Kāns who was a zemindar of the neighbourhood.

¹ AN ACCOUNT OF SULTĀN US SALĀTĪN

When Sultan Chiyas ud din departed (from the world) the *amirs* raised his son on the throne of the empire giving him the title of Sultan us salatīn. He was a merciful and patient and brave ruler and went away in the year 795 from the waste place of this world to the populous country of the next life.

He reigned for ten years

² AN ACCOUNT OF SULTĀN SHAMS UD DIN

As Sultan us salatīn went from the house of this world to the house of the after life the *amirs* and the chief men of the State gave the

¹ That is the heading in the MSS and in the lith ed In the Riyaz p 111 he is called Saif ud din who had the title of Sultanus salatin

The account of this reign in the Riyaz pages 111-11 agrees generally with the text but it says that according to one account his reign lasted for three years seven months and five days and not ten days. Firishtah also agrees but says the *amirs* and *ta'irs* were amazed (در حساب در بود) where حساب is probably a mistake for حرب (war) and he never strayed towards حلا (in opposition to the Shara) and the Raya of the country around never drew their heads from the circle of his obedience and never made any delay or objection in paying the proper revenue. Firishtah also says in one place that he carried on the government for ten years but in another place he says the period of his rule was seven years and some months. Col Brigg's account (vol IV p 33.) agrees with that in the text and not with that in the lith ed of Firishtah. According to Bhattachari (page 90) Saifuddin was king only in name. The real power seems to have passed to Raja Ganesh. He also comes to the conclusion after considering his coins and the synchronisms of the Chunar Annals that his reign lasted only for one year and some months in 813 A.H. and the whole of 814 A.H. (p 98). According to the Cambridge History of India page 66 he is said to have peacefully succeeded his father to have had an obscure reign to have been defeated in 1404 by Ganesh but to have continued to reign till his death in 1406.

³ The heading is as I have it in the text in the MSS. In the lith ed it is ذکر بر سلطان السلطان علی سلطان شمس الدین Firishtah also calls the son and successor of Saif ud din Hamza Shah or Sultan us salatīn Sultan Shams ud din II. In the heading in the Riyaz p 11.. he is also called Sultan Shamsu d din son of Sultanus salatin but it is stated a few lines further down that Sham u d din was not the son but the adopted son of Sultanus salatin and his name was Shahabu d din and not Shamsu d din. It goes on to say that Rajah Kans attacked and slew him and assumed the name of Sultan. It appears to be uncertain as far as our present information goes as to what the actual political

title of Sultān Shams-ud-dīn to his son , and placed him on the ¹ throne of the empire He also following the custom of his ancestors passed his whole life in pleasure , and in the year 790 A H , he passed away

The period of his reign was three years and some months

² AN ACCOUNT OF RĀJA KĀNS

When Sultān Shams-ud-dīn died, a *zamīndār* of the name of Kāns acquired power and dominion over the country of Bangāla As the just and holy God ³ was kind to his son, the latter became a Muṣalmān and sat on the throne

situation in Bengal was at the time, i.e., between 813 and 810 A H , but it appears that Shamsu d dīn or Shahābu d dīn was only a king in name and the entire authority was vested on Raja Ganesh or Kāns of Bhaduria He appears, according to Bhattasalī (p 99), to have been supported on the throne by the Raja as harmless, and not likely to interfere with his own authority and also to keep down the legitimate Ilyas Shahis The Cambridge History of India, page 366, says that Saif-ud dīn Hamza Shāh was succeeded by Shams ud dīn, who was permitted to ascend the throne but exercised no power, and died after a reign of little more than three years He was succeeded by another puppet Shihāb-ud dīn Bāyazīd In the list of the kings of Bengal on page 695 the name of Shams-ud-dīn does not appear at all, but Shihāb ud dīn Bāyazīd succeeded him in 815, and appears to have reigned for two years The two accounts contradict each other The account on page 266 appears to be incorrect Shamsu d-dīn and Shahābu d dīn which are two names given in the Riyāz, page 112, to the same man, have been given to two men, one of whom did not exist at all It may be mentioned, however, that Lane-Poole has both Shams al-dīn and Shihāb-al dīn in his list on page 307

¹ One MS and the lith ed have اورنگ, but the other MS has ارانک

² The heading is as I have it in the text in one MS In the other MS it is simply دکر حکومت کادس راحہ کامس In the lith ed it is

³ The readings are slightly different The reading in the MS is not very clear, but appears to be سراو را کھایت کرد, the meaning of which is not at all clear The lith ed has very distinctly پسر او را کھات کرد the meaning of which is also obscure کھایت کردن means to suffice, to serve, to do, also to spare The meaning of the reading in the MSS may be “undid his wickedness”, and that of the reading in the lith ed , “was kind to his son ”, but I am not sure of either of these

The Tabaqāt gives no information of as to the events of the reign of the Kāns or Ganēsh, and of his attitude towards the Musalmāns The Riyāz, p 113, says he persecuted them, and murdered many of them, including many

The period of the power of Kāns was seven years

learned and holy men such as Shaikh Badrul Islam son of Shaikh Munu'd din Abbas Then the saintly Nur Qutbul Alam wrote to Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi to come and invade Bengal and save the Musalmans of the country from the persecution of the cruel and inhuman *Lajir* Ibrahim Sharqi accordingly invaded Bengal and encamped at Firuzpur (i.e. Landauah) Kans then went to the saint and begged him to intercede in his favour so that Sultan Ibrahim might go back The saint refused to do so unless he consented to accept Islam but his wife refused to allow him to do so Upon this he brought his son Jadu who was then twelve years of age and said I have now become too old and have little to do with this world but I have brought my son and offer him a proselyte to Islam Then the saint took some *pan* which he was chewing out of his mouth and put it into the boy's mouth and made him recite the creed of Musalman faith After that he persuaded Sultan Ibrahim much against his will to go back to Jaunpur where he died shortly after this After his death Kans again commenced his persecution of the Musalmans He also tried to make Jadu a Hindu again by passing him through a golden image of a cow portions of which were afterward given to Brahmins He commanded to persecute and kill the servants and relations of Nur Qutbul Alam himself He even put the son of the saint who was named Shaikh Anwar to death but he himself died at the very time when Shaikh Anwar became a martyr (pp 113-116)

The account given by Firi hitah is entirely different According to it although Raja Kan never became a Musalman he mixed much with and had great love for the followers of the faith so much so that many believed him to have become a Musalman and wanted to bury his dead body

The account in the Rivazha has been accepted by historians in preference to that of Firi hitah It appears from Bhatta alis account (pp 117-118) that it is substantially correct the only error in it being the statement that Canek or Kans remained sovereign power after the death of Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi As a matter of fact Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi died long after the death of Raja Ganek which took place in 81 AH 1418 AD which is the last coin of Danujamarddana Deva (title assumed by Ganesh after his second accession) and also of Mahendra Deva's coins from Pandua and Chittagong Mahendra Deva was the title assumed by Jadu or Jalaluddin after his second accession after the death of his father and before his second conversion to Islam Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi died in 840 AH 1436 AD It would appear that Ganek remained in power after the death of Nur Kutab Alam when he began his second persecution of the Musalmans and banished and afterwards put to death Nur Kutab Alam's son Shaikh Anwar After this he assumed the title of Danujamarddana Deva and coins were struck by him in 820 AH in Chittagong Sonargaon and Pandua and in 81 AH in Pandua have been

¹ AN ACCOUNT OF SULTĀN JALĀL-UD-DĪN, SON OF KĀNS

As Kāns went to his original abode (*i e*, I suppose hell), his ² son, owing to his love of rule became a Musalmān, and assumed the name of Sultān Jalāl-ud-dīn. The people were contented and happy during his time, and at the end of the year 812 ³ A H he passed away.

The period of his reign was seventeen years.

found Coins of Mahendrā Deva bearing the date 821 A H, and struck at Pandua and Chittagong have also been found.

The Cambridge History of India (pp 266, 267) agrees generally with Bhattachāryā, but it does not mention Danujamarddana Dēva or Mahendra Deva, and according to it Ganesh died in 817 A H, 1414 A D, and Jadū or Jalāl-ud-dīn succeeded him in that year.

¹ There are slight differences in the heading. The heading in the text is that in the lith ed. One MS has the same heading up to *سے bin*, but has left out the word Kāns by mistake. The other MS has simply an account of Sultān Jalāl-ud-dīn.

² Both MSS omit the word او *aw* after دے.

³ The year in both MSS is اندیں ۸۲۱ و نہادنماں *821 wa Nihādāmān*. The lith ed has اندیں ۸۳۴ و نہادنماں *834 wa Nihādāmān*. Both are incorrect. He died in 834 or 835 A H. Some account of him has been given in note 2, page 859 of the type script. The Tabaqāt says the people were contented and happy in his reign. The Riyāz, p 118, gives a different account. According to it he converted many infidels to Islām, and forced the Brahmins who had partaken of portions of the golden image of the cow to eat beef. He became a disciple of Shaikh Zāhid, grandson of Nūr Qutbūl-‘Alam, and nephew of Shaikh Anwar. It is also said, of course, that people were happy and contented, and the population of Panduah became very large, and he erected a mosque, etc., in Gaur, and the re population of Gaur commenced in his time.

Firishtah's account is different. He gives him the name of Jaimal and says that he offered to abdicate in favour of his younger brother, if the chief men of the country objected to him, on the ground of his being a Musalmān, but they in an extremely tolerate way said, that religion did not in any way affect worldly affairs. According to Firishtah also he became the Nūshirwān of the age, *i e*, the ideally just ruler.

Bhattachāryā (p 112) says he became zealous Muhammadan, converted many to the Musalman Faith, recalled Shaikh Zahid from Sonargaon and showed him every respect. He also quotes Firishtah's account, and it appears that the copy of Firishta from which he quoted gives Jeetmal as his Hindu name.

The Cambridge History of India, page 267, says "He persecuted the Hindus, as his father had persecuted the Muslims" and hosts of

¹ AN ACCOUNT OF SULTĀN AHMAD SON OF SULTĀN JALĀL UD DĪN
As the inevitable happened to Sultan Jalal ud din the amirs

Hindus are said to have been forcibly converted to Islam. It also consider it probable that the present numerical superiority of Muslims in Eastern Bengal is due to an immense wave of proselytisation (which) must have swept over the country and it is most probable that the period was the reign of Jalal ud din Muhammad.

It appears to me however that the numerical superiority of the Musalmans in Eastern Bengal exists chiefly among Musalmans of the lower classes and low caste Hindus (many of whom were untouchables) did not require much persuasion or persecution to accept a religion according to which they might claim equality with the best.

¹ The heading is as I have it in the text in one MS and in the lith ed. In the other MS Ahmad Shah is substituted for Sultan Ahmad. As to the event of this reign Firishtah copies the Tabaqat word for word but unfortunately adds a few words of his own which are totally opposed to the facts as given by the Riyaz. These words are اوس سروری بدر بزرگوار سمردگاندار و دشمن کو سردد حلقی سیار را عربی انعام و احسان گرداند. Stewart (p 96) agrees with Firishtah as to the impartial administration of justice by Ahmed Shah and adds that both the followers of Mohammed and the worshippers of idols died in their attachment to his person. He also says that during his reign Sultan Ibrahim of Joanpore invaded Bengal and plundered several districts and carried away many of the inhabitants as slaves. Ahmed Shah unable to contend with him sent an ambassador to Shah Rookh the son of Timour at Herat. The latter wrote a letter to Sultan Ibrahim threatening exemplary vengeance if he did not immediately release the captives and again molested the King of Bengal. After that Sultan Ibrahim never again invaded Bengal. An extract from Shah Rookh's letter is given by Stewart who says the letter is taken from Firishtah and adds that the circumstances of the embassy are also confirmed in the *Mutlia Assadeine* a very eloquent Persian history of Shah Rookh.

There is no mention of the letter in Firishtah lith ed or in Col Briggs's history and no mention of this invasion of Bengal by Sultan Ibrahim in any other history.

The Riyaz pages 118 119 gives a very different account of Ahmed Shah. He was very harsh tempered tyrannical and blood thirsty and shed unrighteous blood and used to cut open the bodies of pregnant women. When his barbarities reached an extreme point two of his slaves Shadi Khan and Nasir Khan who had attained to the rank of nobility conspired together and brought about his death.

Bhattasali's account term rates with the history of Jalaluddin.

The Cambridge History of India says little is known of his reign and then mentions the aggressions of Ibrahim Sharqi and the remonstrance of Shah

bestowed the ¹ title of Sultān Ahmad on his son and made him the successor of his father. ² In the end of the year 830 A.H., he sought ³ release from bodily restraints and joined the spiritual existence

The period of his reign was sixteen years

⁴ AN ACCOUNT OF NĀSIR THE SLAVE

⁵ When the throne of sovereignty remained unoccupied after the death of Sultān Ahmad, son of Jalāl-ud-dīn, a slave of his named Nāsir placed his foot with great audacity on the throne of the empire, and commenced to issue all orders. The *amīrs* and *Mahks* of Sultān Ahmad put him to death, and raised one of the grandsons of Sultān Shams-ud-dīn *Bhangara* to be the ruler.

The period of his rule was seven days, and, according to another account, half a day

⁶ AN ACCOUNT OF NĀSIR SHAH

When Nāsir *Ghulām* (the slave) was put to death, they found out one of the descendants of Sultān Shams-ud-dīn *Bhangara*, and placing him on the throne of the empire ⁷ gave him the title of Nāsir rukh and goes on to say that towards the end of his reign his tyranny became unbearable, and he was put to death by Shādi Khān and Nāsir Khān. Nāsir Khān forestalled his fellow conspirator, and put him to death and assumed the sovereignty of Bengal (p. 267)

¹ One MS has فرار, by mistake, for لیلہ

² Both MSS have واحر در سیده, while the lith ed has در آخر سیده
I have retained the reading in the lith ed

³ One MS has حلاص, the other omits the word by mistake, while the lith ed has حلاصی I have accepted حلاص

⁴ The reading in one MS is as I have it in the text. In the other MS Nāsir-ud-dīn is substituted for Nāsir. The lith ed has دکر حکومت ناصر الدین

⁵ The Riyāz, Firishtah, Col. Briggs and Stewart all agree generally. The Cambridge History of India, page 267, contrary to all the other authorities, makes Nāsir the slave and Nāsir ud din Mahmūd one and the same person. Lane-Poole (p. 308) also has Nāsir-al dīn Mahmūd Shāh II, who was apparently the slave, and also the first Sultān of the house of *Ilyās* (restored) apparently as one and the same person.

⁶ The heading in the text is the heading in both MSS. The lith ed inserts the word حکومت, rule, before Nāsir Shāh

⁷ One MS and the lith ed have ادھدہ, but the other MS has ڈادہ

Shah All classes of men common and noble and great and small were happy and contented in the cradle of peace and safety And in the end in the year 862 A H he passed away

The period of his reign was¹ two years

AN ACCOUNT OF BARBAK SHAH

When Nasir Shah died the amirs and the great men of the country seated Barbak Shah on the throne of sovereignty In his time the residents of the city and the soldiery were in a state of contentment He also passed his time in pleasure and enjoyment When the period of his life and the days of his existence came to an end in the year 879 A H he² passed away

¹ Both the MSS and the lith ed have two years This is manifestly incorrect The period from 830 A H the year of the death of Sultan Ahmad to 86 A H the year of Nasir Shah's death is thirty two years That in the text is a mistake for ۳۰ سی or ۳۰ The accounts of this reign as given in the Riyaz and by Firishtah Col Briggs and Stewart generally agree with the text The Riyaz page 120 adds that he erected some of the buildings and the fort of Gaur As to the length of his reign he says that it was thirty two years but according to others did not exceed twenty seven years Stewart (p 100) also says that he constructed the fortification round the city of Gour

As to the Cambridge History of India see note on page 416 According to it the period of his reign was seventeen years from 840 to 864 A H 144¹ to 1460 A D

² The heading in both MSS is as I have in the text The lith ed inserts the word *salfanat* before Barbal Shah The Riyaz (text edition p 118) agrees generally as to the account of this reign but adds مسرع بود و مسرع بود It appears from a note on page 1-0 of Salam a translation of the Riyaz that his full name was Ruknud din Abul Mujahid Barbak Shah that he reigned from 864 A H and that before that he was governor of south west Bengal in 850 A H Firishtah copies the Tabaqat as regards the early part of the account but adds that he was the first sovereign of India who employed Abyssinians and raised them to high rank Neither the Cambridge History of India nor Stewart has anything new about him but both mention his employment of the Abyssinians The Cambridge History of India (p 968) says he reigned from 1459 to 1474 A D or for fifteen years

³ One MS and the lith ed have رحل سود but the other MS has سرور در محلہ پیغمبیر عالم نسبتی کرد This MS is very imperfect here The words quoted are taken from the latter part of the accounts of the reign of Yusuf Shah the next Sultan the earlier part of the account of whose reign is altogether omitted in it

The period of his reign was ¹ seventeen years

² AN ACCOUNT OF YŪSUF SHĀH

After the death of Bārbak Shāh, the *amīns* and the well-known men of the kingdom placed Yūsuf Shāh on the throne of government. He was a patient *bādshāh* and a well-wisher of his subjects, and of a virtuous disposition. He began to measure the stages to the world of non-existence (*i.e.*, died) in the year 887 A.H.

The period of his sovereignty was seven years and six months

³ AN ACCOUNT OF SIKANDAR SHĀH

⁴ After the death of Yūsuf Shāh, ⁵ the *amīns* and *rāzīns* placed

¹ One MS has ten years. The other has سال و شصت (omitting the word *و*) which was the period of the reign of Yūsuf Shāh. The lith ed has seventeen years which is correct and which I have adopted.

² One MS omits the heading and the first part of the account of this reign and joins the latter part on to the account of the reign of Bārbak Shāh. See note on page 116. The other MSS have the heading which I have in the text. The lith ed inserts the word حکومت before Yūsuf Shāh.

The account of this reign in the *Tabaqāt* appears to be copied from the *Riyāz* (text edition, p 119) which adds the virtues of being عالم و ریاضت, i.e., learned and abstemious, to those mentioned in the *Tabaqāt* and explains حواریٰ by adding the word ایق. His full name appears to have been Shams ud dīn Abul Muzaffar Yūsuf Shāh, and he appears to have reigned from 879 A.H. According to Firishtah he was very strict in the observance of the law of the Prophet. Stewart (p 101) says he was very strict about the administration of justice, and enjoined on all judges to act with the strictest impartiality. The Cambridge History of India (p 268) calls him "a pietisan."

³ The heading in the MS is as I have in the text. The lith ed inserts the word *saltanat* before the name of Sikandar Shāh. The *Riyāz* (p 121) calls Sikandar the son of Yūsuf Shāh but the other historians, except the Cambridge History of India (p 268) which also says that he was Yūsuf's son, do not say so. Stewart (p 101) says that Yusuf Shah died without children, so the nobles raised a youth of the royal family to the throne. The *Riyāz* (p 121) says that he was deposed on the very day on which he was placed on the throne. The *Aīm Akbarī* gives him half a day. Firishtah mentions no period, and Stewart (p 101) gives him two months.

⁴ One MS and the lith ed have شصت اور موب. The other MS omits the word اور.

⁵ There are differences in the readings. One MS has تعمق دھاری وورا بی. This I have adopted. Firishtah in the corresponding passage has the same

Sikandar Shah on the throne of the empire without careful enquiries¹ As he did not possess the qualifications or the right of being invested with this high office they removed him from it and raised Fath Shah to the chieftainship

The period of Sikandar Shah's reign was two² and a half days

⁴ AN ACCOUNT OF FATH SHAH

After the deposition of Sikandar Shah the *amirs* and the great men raised Fath Shah to the chieftainship and placed him on the throne of the empire He was intelligent and wise and placing the usages of ancient rulers and Sultans in the forefront of his spirit distributed

word اصر و درزی بعد از امتحان و نعمت بطری The lith ed has اصر و درزاب نعمت بظری

¹ Here again the readings are different One MS has حسن اسستھانی نعلہ اور عمر which is I have adopted this but have changed which is manifestly incorrect for اصر The other MS omits the word اسستھانی and substitutes عمر for اصر The lith ed omits the word نعلہ and has اس اور اصر ایں اصر

One MS has by mistake سرداری در داری در داد داد

² M Hidayat Hosain has سم در half a day in the text edition

⁴ Here again the heading in the MSS is as I have it in the text but the lith ed inserts the word *salfanat* before the name of Fath Shah

The Riyaz (p 119) says he was another son of Yusuf Shah Otherwise the Tabaqat agrees with it His full name was Jalal ud din Abul Muzaffar Fath Shah He is said to have reigned from 887 to 896 A.H. but his coins and inscriptions show that he was already reigning in 886 A.H. Some of the coins of 886 were struck at Fathabad (now Faridpur town) which was named after him

Firishtah says that Fath Shah punished with the scourge of justice the eunuchs and Habshi slaves who had become powerful and violent So they went to the chief eunuch called the Sultan Shahnaza Bangali who was in charge of all the men who attended by turn (مردم بوئی) and also had the keys of all the palaces It so happened that the eunuch Khan Jahar the *ta'r* and Malil And Habhi the *amir ul umara* were engaged in punishing the Rayis of the frontier with a picked body of the army so Sultan Shahnaza could carry out his nefarious purpose with impunity

The Cambridge History of India page 68 contrary to the Riyaz says that Fath Shah was a great uncle of Sikandar and a son of Mahmud which I suppose means Nasir ud din Mahmud Shah

favours to everyone in accordance with his condition and rank. In his time the doors of pleasure and enjoyment remained open in the faces of the people.

As there was a custom in the country of Bangālah, that five thousand *pāiks* attended every night for watch and ward, and early in the morning, the *bādshāh* came out, and sat on the throne for a moment, and took their salute, and gave them permission to go away, when another body of *pāiks* came into attendance.

On one occasion, the chief eunuch of Fath Shāh tempted the *pāiks* with money and they slew the Sultān. Early the next morning the eunuch himself sat on the throne, and took the salute of the *pāiks*. This event occurred in the year 896 A.H.

The period of the rule of Fath Shāh was seven years and five months.

They say that during some years, there was such a custom in Bangālah, that whoever slew a ruler, and sat on the throne, everyone became submissive and obedient to him.

¹ AN ACCOUNT OF BĀRBAK SHĀH

As the wretched *Khwājah Sarāī* after murdering his master took the title of *bādshāh*, all the eunuchs, wherever they were, collected

¹ The heading in the MSS is as I have it in the text. The lith ed inserts the word حکومت before Bārbak Shāh.

The Riyāz (p. 121) agrees generally, but says the eunuch styled himself Sultān Shāhzāda. It goes on to say that he tried to destroy the powerful nobles. The most powerful of them, the Abyssinian Malik Andil, who was at the frontier wanted to come to the capital. Barbag also wanted to bring him there so that he might, by fraud and deceit, put him into prison. He therefore summoned him, and on Malik Andil's coming made him swear on the *Qorān* that he would not injure him in any way. Malik Andil took the oath, with the reservation that he would not do so as long as Bārbak was on the throne. He then schemed to avenge the murder of his benefactor. He got into the palace, and found the eunuch asleep on the throne. On account of his oath he was unable to kill him, but the eunuch who was drunk rolled down. Malik Andil drew his sword, but was unable to kill the eunuch. After this there was a Homeric struggle between the two in the dark. In the end Malik Andil got others to join in the attack and the eunuch was killed.

Malik Andil then summoned the *vazīrs* and a council was held to select a suitable person to succeed to the throne. Fath Shāh had left a son who was

together round him and he allured mean and low spirited men with wealth and strengthening their allegiance with false promises assembled them round him His pomp and strength increased day by day but in the end the great *amirs* who had many retainers joined together and on one occasion having united the *parks* with themselves slew him

The period of his reign was two and a ³ half months

4 AN ACCOUNT OF FIRUZ SHĀH

When the eunuch who had the title of Barbak Shah was killed the *amirs* and the well known men raised Firuz Shah to the chieftain

only two years of age and it was doubtful whether he should be placed on the throne All the nobles then went to the widow of Fath Sl h She said she had made a vow that the throne should belong to the person who should slay her husband's murderer Malik Andil at first declined to accept the crown but was finally persuaded to do so (pp 1 - 124)

Firishtah and Stewart and the Cambridge History of India follow the Riyaz generally but the Cambridge History of India (p 69) contrary to all the others calls Malik Andil Indil Khan I do not know the authority for doing so He was certainly not a Khan but was a Malik A to Andil or Indil I know no Persian or Arabic word like either There is a colloquial Bengali word *Andil* which means much but I do not know whether it has any connection with the name In any case I prefer to follow the older historians instead of accepting the new spelling

¹ One MS has ملک instead of ك by mistake

There are differences in the reading One MS and the lith ed have ایان موده نوبی گروه دا کاروا The lith ed however has by mistake the word گروه after گروه which I have struck out The other MS has موابع گروه دا کاروا The latter reading appears to be somewhat better but as the other MS and the lith ed both give the other I have adopted it with the slight correction I have mentioned M Hidayat Hosain has followed the second MS in the text edition

² M Hidayat Hosain has دو ماه و سو در or two months and half a day as the period of his reign in the text edition

⁴ The heading in the MSS is as I have it in the text The lith ed inserts the word *safdar* before the name Firuz Sl h

The Tabaqat does not say that it was Malik Andil who assumed the title of Firuz Shah

It appears from the Riyaz (p 19.) that he took up his residence in Gaur where he erected a mosque a tower and a reservoir He had done great deed

ship He was a merciful and benevolent king When the number of the days of his life were folded up (*i.e.*, finished), he passed away by natural death in the year 899 A.H. But another statement is that the *pāīk* watchmen killed him

The period of his rule was three years

1 AN ACCOUNT OF MAHMŪD SHĀH

When Firūz Shāh passed away, the *amīrs* and the great men placed his son on the throne of the empire, giving him the title of Sultān Mahmūd Shāh. He was a *bādshāh* endowed with the moral qualities of the great

as a general and an administrator, and he was respected and feared when he ascended the throne. He was a just and efficient ruler, but his great fault was his prodigality, and he lavished the treasures accumulated by the former Sultāns on beggars and mendicants. As to his death, the Riyāz (p. 125) says that the statement that he was killed by the *pāīks* appears to be more correct than that he died a natural death. His full name appears from his coins to have been Saif ud-din Abul Muzaffar Firuz Shāh. His coins show that he reigned from 893 A.H., to 895 A.H., and not during the three years ending in 897 A.H., as stated in the histories (p. 124).

Firishtah and Stewart mention no new facts about him. According to the Cambridge History of India, page 696, he reigned from 891 to 894 A.H.

¹ The heading in the MSS. is as I have it in the text. In the lith. ed. it is مکرم محمود شاہ سے پیروز

The full name of Sultān Mahmūd appears to have been Nāsir ud-din Abul Muzaffar Mahmūd Shāh. According to the Riyāz (p. 126) he was only a Sultān in name. During the early months of his brief reign, an Abyssinian of the name of Habsh Khān usurped all the authority. The Sidi Badī Diwāna, another Abyssinian, slew Habsh Khān, and became the *de facto* ruler. After some time, he got the *sardārs* of the *pāīks* to join him, and one night slew Mahmūd Shāh, and with the concurrence of the *amīrs* and the officers of the court, proclaimed himself Sultān under the title of Muzaffar Shāh.

The Riyāz (p. 126) also says, that according to the history of Haji Muhammad Qandahari, Mahmūd Shāh was the son of Fath Shāh, and not of Mahk Andil or Firūz Shāh. He had been brought up by Jashn Khān, a slave of Bārbag Shāh, under the orders of Firuz Shāh, and after the latter's death was placed on the throne. The name Jashn Khān appears to be a copyist's mistake for Habsh Khān.

Firishtah agrees generally with the Riyāz. He gives the name of the slave who brought Sultān Mahmūd up as Habsh Khān and not Jashn Khān.

A slave of the name of Sayyid Muzaffar Habshi having got the sardars and the pâks to combine with him made Mahmud Shah a martyr one night and early the next morning ascended the throne of the empire giving himself the title of Muzaffar Shah.

The period of the reign of Mahmud Shah was one year.

1 AN ACCOUNT OF MUZAFFAR SHAH HABSHI

When Muzaffar Shah Habshi took the place of the great by force and violence darkness spread over the world. He was an audacious

¹ I have adopted the reading in the lith ed. Those in the MSS. are very imperfect. One has only Muzaffar Sh h and the other has موزفہ شمسی His name according to his inscription and coins was Alau d din Abul Muzaffar Sh h (Salam's translation of Riyz p 1⁰⁹ note) From his coin it appears that he reigned from 896 to 899 A.H. from 1491 to 1494 A.D.

According to the Riyz (p 127) Muzaffar ascended the throne at Gaur. He was extremely audacious and blood thirsty and put many learned and pious men and nobles and the Rajahs to death. He appointed Syed Huain a Sharif of Mecca (who is called one of Muzaffar's sypas in the Tabaqat) to be his minister and made over to him all powers. At ward he added avarice to his other iniquities and according to the advice of Syed Huain he reduced the wages of his cavalry and infantry men and also collected the revenue with great harshness. Then the great amirs rebelled against him and he shut himself up in the fort of Gaur. The siege lasted for four months and Muzaffar is said to have slain four thousand men who had been seized and brought to him from time to time with his own hand. Then he came out of the fort and a drawn battle took place between his men and the amirs now led by Syed Huain. The latter were victorious and Muzaffar was slain. It is also stated that according to Hajji Muhammad Qandalsari one hundred and twenty thousand men Musalmans and Hindus were slain during the civil war. The Riyz (p 1-8) then quotes from Tabaqat what is stated in the latter about the manner in which Muzaffar was slain.

Firishtah and Stewart give no further information. The Cambridge History of India page 70 calls the minister who according to the Riyz was called Syed Huain Sharif Makki Sayyid Alau d din Huain who belonged to a family which came from Tarmuz on the Oxus and it also states that this man probably re trained Muzaffar's violence while according to the Riyz and Firishtah the reduction in the pay of the soldiers which was one of the causes of the rebellion took place at his instance. It appears from what is stated in the account of the reign of Sultan Alau d din in the Riyz that the name of Sultan Alau d din before his accession was Syed Husain Sharif Makki that his father Syed Asrafal Husain was probably Sherif of Mecca but the family

and blood-thirsty man He raised many learned and pious men to the rank of martyrdom In the end one of his soldiers, of the name of 'Alā-ud-dīn, having made the *sardārs* and the *pāiks* friendly and in league with him, entered the *seraglio* one night with thirteen *pāiks*, and slew him Early the next morning, he sat on the throne and gave himself the title of Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn

The period of the reign of Muzaffar Shāh Habshī was three years and five months

¹ AN ACCOUNT OF SULTĀN 'ALĀ-UD-DĪN

Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn ² was an intelligent and able man and was a soldier He showed favour to the *amīns* of old lineage, and he also

came from Tarmūz or Tarmāj in Tukestān Sayyid Husain and his brother Sayyid Yūsuf came with their father to Bengal, and settled in Chandpur in Radha, of western Bengal According to Bloehmann, however, this Chāndpūr was really situated near 'Alāipūr in the present district of Khūlna It appears also that although Sayyid Husain adopted the title of 'Alāuddin Abūl Muzaffar Husain Shāh, he was universally known as Husain Shāh, and that name is found on various inscriptions on the edifices in Gaūr, and according to Bloehmann (*J A S B* for 1873, page 291) "the name of 'Husain Shāh the good' is still remembered from the frontiers of Orissa to the Brahmaputra" The statement in the Cambridge History of India (p 270) about the original name of 'Alā ud dīn Husain Shāh being Sayyid 'Alā ud-dīn Husain appears to be incorrect

¹ The heading in one MS and the lith ed is دکر سالان علی الدین، in the other it is only سالان علی الدین، I have retained the former

² The lith ed has the word حنون before Sultan 'Alā ud dīn, but as both MSS omit it, I have also omitted it The account of his reign in the *Tabaqāt* is very imperfect According to the *Riyāz* (pp 129–136), although he became a good and great Sultān, his conduct does not appear to have been quite straightforward before his accession Although he was in the service of Sultān Muzaffar he always spoke to everyone of the latter's meanness and avarice In this way his own virtues and the vices of his master became known to everybody, so when Muzaffar was killed, the chiefs and the people readily consented to his becoming his successor Then the way in which he rewarded the people, who raised him to the throne, was extremely objectionable He allowed them to plunder and ravage the city of Gaur Some days after his accession, he ordered the men to cease plundering, and when they did not do so, he had twelve thousand of them put to death As a result of searching the houses of the wealthy he collected much wealth including thirteen hundred golden dishes

raised his own special servants to high ranks and eminent positions He removed the *pâiks* from the duty of watch and ward so that no injury might be caused to him by them He summoned learned great and pious men from different parts of the kingdom and showed kindness to them He made very great efforts and exertions for enriching and improving the condition of the country and he allotted many villages for defraving the expenses of the alms houses attached to the tomb of that leader of the wayfarers (in the path of the law) Shaikh Nur Quṭb Ālam may his soul be sanctified! He came every year from Ekdala which was the seat of his government to Panduāh with the object of circumambulating the tomb which was the recipient of illumination of Shaikh Nur

Owing to the auspiciousness of his laudable merits and pleasing virtues he performed the duties of sovereignty for long years and all his life was passed in pleasure and enjoyment And in the end in the year 929 A H he passed away by death from natural causes The period of his reign was twenty seven years and some months

His evil deeds ceased after this He removed the *pâiks* from the work of watch and ward and banished all the Hindus and he employed Syeds Mughals and Afghans in position of trust He subjugated the Rajas of the country and having conquered as far as Orissa levied tribute from the rulers of that country He then invaded Assam and conquered that country as far as Kamrup and Kunitah (Kumukshun (?)) He left his son there with a large army and returned to Bengal Afterwards when the rains commenced the Rajas who had fled to the mountains returned and his army was defeated and his son was slain

The Riyaz then mentions his charities and his religious endowments

In the year 900 A H Sultan Hu am Sharqi on being defeated by Sil andar Lodi took refuge in Kahlgaon (Colgong) where he was received with honour and where he passed his remaining years

Sultan Alau d din died of natural causes in 97 A H The period of his reign was according to different authorities twenty seven years twenty four years and twenty nine years and five month He had fourteen sons and one of them Nasrat Shah succeeded him

Frishtah does not mention any fresh fact Stewart (p 110) says that Ala Addeen Hussein Shah came from the sandy deserts of Arabia to the fertile region of Bengal

The Cambridge History of India also adds nothing to what is stated in the Riyaz According to it his reign lasted for twenty five years (p 7) The words سلطان و شاہ and a soldier are omitted in the text edition

¹ AN ACCOUNT OF NASĪB SHĀH

When Sultān ‘Alā-ud-dīn passed away, the *amīns* and the great men of the time raised ^² Nasīb Shāh from amongst his eighteen sons to the chieftainship (*i.e.*, to be the Sultān) ^³ He, trusting his brothers, conferred on each one of them, double of what their father had bestowed on them

And when, in the year 932 A.H., His Majesty Firdūs Makānī Zahīr-ud-dīn Muhammad Bābar *Bādshāh*, having slain Sultān Ibrāhīm Lūdī, son of Sultān Sikandar Lūdī, took possession of the country of Dehlī, the *amīns* and the heads of ^⁴ the various groups of Afghāns fled and came as suppliants to ^⁵ Nasīb Shāh After some days, Sultān Mahmūd, brother of Sultān Ibrāhīm also came to him, ^⁶ as a suppliant Nasīb Shāh bestowed on all of them *jāgīrs*, as far as possible and depending on the exigencies of the time ^⁷ He also prayed for the hand of the daughter of Sultān Ibrāhīm for himself

In ^⁸ the year 939 A.H. he sent by the hand of the eunuch Maḥīk Marjān to Sultān Bahādur Gujrātī, fine and beautiful presents, in

^¹ The heading is as I have it in the text in both the MSS. The lith. ed. has *نکر سلطنت دستی*, an account of the reign of Nasīb Shāh Both headings are incorrect It appears that the correct name of the eldest son of ‘Alā-ud-dīn Husain Shah was Nasīb Khān, and he assumed the title of Sultān Nāsir-ud-dīn Abul Muzaffar Nasrat Shāh The Riyāz, however, says that his name or title was Nasrat Shāh, and he was commonly known as Nasīb Shāh

^² The name is Nāsir Shāh in one MS. and in the lith. ed. and Nasīb Shāh in the other MS. I have adopted Nasīb Shāh

^³ This was quite unusual for the age The Riyāz (text, p. 136) says سے دادی دادی کاری کہ ارو بظہور آمدہ ایں دود کہ برا دران را بختیں وید ندادہ - معاشر ہو یکی ریزین کاری کے ارو بظہور آمدہ ایں دود کہ برا دران را ار اسکے ندر عالم، فرمودہ دود - دو چند سات Other historians have also mentioned this generous action

^⁴ The readings in the MSS. are و سران گروه و اعوان and و سران گروه و اعوان The lith. ed. has و سران گروہ اعوان, which appears to me to be better than the other readings, and I have retained it

^⁵ Here both the MSS. have نصیب نسیب Nasīb Shāh

^⁶ One MS. and the lith. ed. have باو ملحقی شاہ, but the other MS. has باو ملحق

^⁷ As was usual under the circumstances he married her

^⁸ The reason of this embassy to Sultān Bahādur Shāh of Gujrāt which was sent in 939 A.H., is said in the Riyāz (pp. 137, 138) to have been a report that Humāyūn after his accession intended to conquer Bengal

order to secure relation attachment and friendship Malik Marjan waited on Sultan Bahadur in the fort of Mandu and was honoured by the gift of a special robe of honour. No account of the Bengahs has after this come under my eyes Nasib Shah ruled for a period of eleven years. After him Bangalah came within a short time into the possession of Sher Khan. When His Majesty Jinnat Ashiani came into Bangalāh in pursuit of Sher Khan Jahangir Quli Beg ruled (the country) on behalf of him. Afterwards Sher Khan slew Jabangir Quli Beg and took possession of the country as has been mentioned in its place. Then Muhammad Khan one of the *amirs* of Salim Khan son of Sher Khan governed the country for a time. After him his son gave himself the title of Sultan Bahadur and raised the standard of rule. The government of Bangalah and Bebar was then held by Sulaiman Kararami one of the *amirs* of Salim Khan. He ruled independently for a period of nine years and also took possession of the

¹ Ni am ud din gives no account of the death of Nasib Shah. It appears from the Riyaz and other histories that contrary to the mildness which he had shown in the beginning of his reign he now indulged in evil deeds and committed acts of oppression so the eunuchs one of whom he had threatened with punishment combined together and killed him in the year 943 A.H. The period of his reign is variously given. The Riyaz (p. 138) says that he reigned for sixteen years but according to some thirteen years or less than that. Firishtah gives him sixteen years from 97 to 943 A.H. Col Briggs (vol. IV pp. 350-352) says he reigned from 930 A.H. 153 AD to 945 A.H. 1538 AD i.e. for about fifteen years but he says also that he had a reign of eighteen years. According to Stewart (pp. 114-117) he reigned for thirteen years 151 AD to 1533 34 AD. Lane Poole (p. 308) gives him fourteen years from 99 A.H. 1518 AD to 939 A.H. 153 AD and the Cambridge History of India (p. 696) fifteen years from 1518 to 1533 AD.

There are differences as to the period of Sulaiman Kararami's rule. One MS. has seven years the other has the word *sai* year without any number. The lith ed. has one year. There is much diversity also in the other histories as to the period of his rule. The Riyaz (p. 153) says he ruled independently for sixteen years and died in 981 A.H. Firishtah says he had the *Khutba* read in his own name but called himself *Hadrat Akbar* and sent presents to Akbar from time to time and after reigning for about twenty five years died in 981 A.H. Stewart (pp. 149-150) says he reigned from 97- when he came from Belar to Bengal till his death in 981 A.H. affecting to hold his kingdom under Akbar. In the Cambridge History of India the name of Sulaiman does not appear in the Index at all but in the list of the Kings of Bengal on page 696 he is shown as having reigned in 980 A.H. for some months only.

country of Orissa. Although he had not had the *Khutba* read in his own name, still he assumed the title of *Hadrat Ā'lā*. When he died, his son¹ succeeded him, but his rule did not extend beyond thirteen days. He was killed by the efforts (machinations) of his own relations. The government was then allotted to his brother Dāñd. He made dying struggles for a period of two years, till he was defeated in the year 982 A.H. by Khān Khānān, who was the commander-in-chief of the army of His Majesty the Khalifa-i-Jlāhī, and the country of Bangālah was conquered. Afterwards in the year 981 A.H., he was slain by Khān Jāhān, who after Khān Khānān had been honoured with the government of Bangālah, as has been narrated in its own place. And up to this day, which is the year 1002 Hijrī, the country of Bangālah and Ekdāla are in the possession of the servants of the powerful empire.

SECTION VII THE SECTION ABOUT THE SHARQI SULTANS

The Sharqī Sultāns² ruled in the country of Jaunpūr and the neighbouring tracts from³ the beginning of the year 784 A.H. to

¹ His name is Bāyazīd

² One MS and the lith ed have كردار, but the other MS has دل ۸۵

³ The lith ed is very incorrect. The MSS agree, but whereas the total period is said to be 97 years, the total of the different reigns come to over one hundred and twelve years. I have compared the list with those given by Lane-Poole, page 309, and by the Cambridge History of India, page 701. It was somewhat difficult to find the latter list, for in the Index page 701, it is not mentioned either against Jaunpur or against the Sharqī dynasty. Comparing these lists with that in the text, I find that the names agree, except that the fifth name is Mahmūd Shāh in the list in the text while it is Muhammad Shāh in the other list, but the periods differ. No 1, has sixteen years in the Tabaqāt but only 6 in the other lists. The difference in the case of No 2 is negligible. Ibrāhīm, No 3, who has forty years in the Tabaqāt has forty-one years according to the A.H. chronology and forty years according to the A.D. chronology in Lane Poole, while the Cambridge History of India gives him only 36 A.H. or 34 A.D. years. No 4 who has twenty one years in the Tabaqāt, has 17 A.H. years or 16 A.D. years according to Lane-Poole, and 22 years both A.H. and A.D. according to the Cambridge History of India. No 5, who has 5 years according to the Tabaqāt has 2 years according to the Lane Poole and less than

the year 881 A.H. which was a period of ninety seven years (The rulers were) —

Sultān ush sharq Khwajah Jahan sixteen years

Mubarak Shah Sharqi one year and some months

Sultān Ibrahim Sharqi forty years and some months

Sultān Mahmud son of Ibrahim twenty one years and some months

Sultān Mahmud son of Sultān Mahmud five years

Sultān Husain son of Mahmud nineteen years

¹ AN ACCOUNT OF SULTĀN USH SHARQ

It is traditionally recorded that when the turn of the reign of Sultān Mahmud son of Sultān Muhammad son of Firuz Shah came he sent the eunuch Malik Sarwar on whom Sultān Muhammad Shah had conferred the title of Khwajah Jahan to the country of Jaunpur after bestowing on him the title of Sultān ush sharq and conferred the government of that country on him. When Sultān Mahmud lost his (power and) grandeur Sultān ush sharq became completely independent and having punished the insurgents of *parganas* Kol and Itawah ² Kampilah and Bahrach brought all the territory from the

1 year according to the Cambridge History of India. No 6 has 10 years according to the Tabaqat but 18 years according to Lane Poole from 863 to 881 A.H. when he fled to Bengal and 2 A.H. years or ³ 1 A.D. years according to the Cambridge History of India. It appears to me that it is impossible to have a correct list of the periods of the different reigns.

¹ The heading in the MS is as I have it in the text. In the lith. ed. the word سلطان السر is inserted before سلطان

Firishtah says that the Sultān ush sharq was sent to Jaunpur and Behar and Tirkut in Jamadi ul awwal 6 A.H. and he died in 80th A.H. and the period of his rule was six years. According to Col. Briggs (vol IV p. 359) he was sent in 796 A.H. which reconciles the discrepancy. The dates in Col. Briggs's history agree with those given by Lane Poole and the Cambridge History of India.

One MS has Muhammad which is correct. The other omits the word son of Sultan Muhammad while the lith. ed. has Mahmud instead of Muhammad.

² Written as كول and كول in the MSS and كول in the lith. ed. Firishtah lith. ed. has Kol Itawah Bharach and Kanpalah (كنپاله) all in the Doab

direction of Dehlī, as far as *parganas* Kōl and Rāpiū, and in the other direction as far as Behāī and Tīnhūt under his government. The country again attained a new grandeur. He again obtained elephants and other tributes which used to come every year from the country of Lakhnautī, but which had not come for some years owing to the weakness of the rulers (of Dehlī). His greatness and grandeur made such an impression on the minds of the *zamīndārs* (Hindu chieftains), that they without any demand used every year to send the tribute that had been fixed.

In the year 802 A.H., the marauding ¹ Turk of death robbed the capital of the life of the Sultān-ush-sharq.

The period of his rule was sixteen years.

² AN ACCOUNT OF MUBĀRAK SHĀH SHARQI

When Sultān-ush-shaiq died, and about the time when the affairs of the government of Dehlī became more and more disordered, and the administration became disorganised, Malik Mubārak Qarnful, who was the adopted son of Sultān-ush-sharq, in concert with the *amīrs* and *sardārs* gave himself the title of Mubārak Shāh, and raised the standard of government. The *Khutba* was read in his name in the country of Jaunpūr and in the other countries, which had been in the possession of Sultān-ush-sharq.

When the news that Sultān-ush-shaiq had died, and Malik Mubārak Qarnful had assumed the title of Mubārak Shāh, reached Mallū Iqbāl Khān, he in the year ³ 803 A.H., collected a large army, and advanced towards Jaunpūr. On the way, he chastised the insur-

¹ One MS omits the word درک

² The heading is as I have it in the text in both MSS. The lith ed inserts the word سلطنت before شاہ شریفی مبارک

³ The year is 803 A.H. in one MS. In the other it is 803-4 which is absurd in meaning. The lith ed has 804 A.H. The reading in the first MS is correct. Firishtah has that year, further, the year 804 A.H. was crowded with too many events. An account of these events has been given on pages 283, 284 of vol I of the translation of this work. Neither Firishtah nor the Cambridge History of India gives any additional facts.

gents of Itawah and arrived at Kanauj Mubarak Shah also¹ collected an army and came forward to oppose him As the river Ganges flowed between the two armies they remained camped opposite each other for two months and neither had the courage and boldness to place their foot on the field of bravery and to cross the river They retired each to their own country without risking a battle After Muharak Shah had arrived at Jaunpur news reached him that Sultan Mahmud had returned to Dehli from Gujerat and Mallu Iqbal Khan was again advancing towards Kanauj taking Sultan Mahmud with him Immediately on hearing this news he began to collect his army but death did not give him time and in the year 804 A H he accepted the summons of the just God

The period of his rule was one year and some months

AN ACCOUNT OF SULTAN IBRAHIM SHARQI

After the death of Mubarak Shah the *amirs* of the Sharqi dominions placed his younger brother to whom they gave the title of Sultan Ibrahim on the seat of the government and the throne of the empire All classes of men had rest in his time in the cradle of peace and safety The learned and the great who were in distress of mind from the disturbances in the world turned their faces to Jaunpur which became at that time the seat of peace and that metropolis (that is Jaunpur) became from the splendour of their advent the city of learning Some books and treatises such as the⁴ Hashiah

¹ The words are حکومت مورودہ in one MS and in the lith ed and incorrectly مورودہ ~ in the other MS

ارابک حکومت One MS and the lith ed have اوریگ حکومت the other MS has ارابک حکومت I have followed the reading in the first manuscript

صلایح ممالک هندوستان و دلیل ایران و پوران فیضتah amplifies and explains this by saying و the learned men of the country of India and the wise men of Persia and Turkistan

⁴ Firishtah gives some account of these books They appear to have been all written by Qadi Shihab ud din Jaunpur whose native place was Chann and who had received his education in Daulatabad in the Deccan Firishtah says that Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi held him with such honour that once when he was seriously ill the Sultan went to make enquiries and after making them fill a cup with water and passing it round the head of the sick man drank

i-Hindi", "the¹ Bâhi-ul-Mawâj", the "Fatâwi-i-Ibrâhîm Shâhî", the "Ishâd" and others (were written in his name) As divine help was always attendant on that world-protecting bâdshâh, he had necessarily in the beginning of his reign carried off the prize in the² field of spirituality from all the sovereigns of Hindûstân, in the matter of experience and knowledge of affairs.

In the beginning of his reign he collected an army, and advanced to destroy Sultân Mahmûd and Mallû Iqbâl Khân, who had the thought of conquering Jaunpûr in their heads. When the two armies encamped in front of each other, Sultân Mahmûd, on the ground that Mallû Iqbâl Khân did not permit him to interfere at all in the affairs of the empire, and did not place before him, for his decision, the facts and circumstances of any administrative problems, went out from his own camp on the pretext of going out to hunt, and joined Sultân Ibrâhîm.³ The latter owing to haughtiness and pride did not perform the duty which he owed to his salt, and delayed and procrastinated in making enquiries (about his health, etc.) Sultân Mahmûd seeing aggrieved betook himself to Kanauj, and removing the *thânadar* of the place, who had been there from before the time of Mubârak Shâh, and who was called⁴ Amîzâdah'-i-Haiwî (*Amîzâda* of Haiât) took possession

it off, praying to God, that every danger that might happen to him may ward off him, and should fall on himself. This was like Bâbar's offering himself for the recovery of Humâyûn, but it was more beautiful, being quite disinterested. The Qâdi also loved the Sultân so dearly that he died the same year as the Sultân, though according to another account, he died two years later.

¹ One of the MSS omits 15 or 16 lines from after the word بحر المواج to the words امرا را درست حاکیر سمهود They are, however, written further on

² The words actually used are مصمار معالیٰ I cannot find any meaning of مصمار which would suit the context

³ Firishtah explains, that Sultân Mahmûd had expected that Sultân Ibrâhîm keeping before his eyes the rights and dues of hereditary salt and service, will either raise him to sovereignty, or giving him help, crush Iqbâl Khân, but as Ibrâhîm Sharqî had tasted the joys of sovereignty, and his rule had not yet become quite firm, neither of Sultân Mahmûd's hopes were realised. For another version of these incidents, see page 284 of vol I of the translation.

⁴ The word appears to be میرزاده هروی in the MSS. The lith ed has امیرزاده هروی Firishtah in the corresponding passage has امیرزاده هروی I have adopted this.

of the place On hearing this news Sultan Ibrahim and Mallu Iqbal Khan went respectively to Jumpur and Dehli leaving Kanauj to Sultan Mabmud It has however come to my notice in some histories that Sultan Mabmud actually went to Mubarak Shab Sharqi at this time the latter died and Sultan Ibrahim succeeded him God only knows the truth !

In the year 807 A.H. Mallu Iqbal Khan again came to besiege Kanauj Sultan Mahmud with a small number of his special retainers fortified himself and behaved with bravery Mallu returned to Dehli disappointed and unsuccessful And when in the following year he was slain by Khidr Khan in the neighbourhood of Ajodahan as has been already mentioned Sultan Mahmud came to Debh leaving ¹ Malik Mahmud at Kanauj and sat on the throne of his great ancestors Sultan Ibrabim availing himself of this great opportunity determined to conquer Kanauj in the year 809 A.H. Sultan Mahmud marched with the army of Dehli in order to engage him The two armies encamped facing each other on the banks of the Ganges and after a few days went back without fighting to their own territories When Sultan Mahmud arrived in Debh and gave permission to the amirs to go back to their own jagirs Sultan Ibrahim came back again and laid siege to Kanauj After the period of the siege had been protracted to four months and no help or reinforcements arrived from Debh Malik Mabmud prayed for quarter and surrendered Kanauj Sultan Ibrabim made over Kanauj to Ikhtiyar Khan and advanced to conquer Dehli On the way Tater Khan son of Sarang Khan and Malik Marjan slave of Mallu Iqbal Khan came from Dehli and joined him Sultan Ibrabim gaining greater power and strength marched towards Sanbal and when he arrived there Asad Khan Ludi abandoned the place and fled Sultan Ibrabim entrusted Sanbal

¹ Called Malik Mahmud Tarmati on page 287 of vol I of the translation He is also called ملک مہمود in Firdausi's account of Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi It also appears from that account that Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi passed the rainy season at Kanauj and advanced towards Dehl in the month of Jamadi ul awwal 810 A.H.

Called Malik Marhaba on page 288 of vol I of the translation

to ¹ Tātār Khān, and continued his march towards Dehli. On the way he seized the town of Barān, and made it over to Mālik Marjān.

When he arrived on the bank of the ² Jamunā, his scouts brought the news, that Sultān Muzaffar Gujrātī had arrived in Mālwā, and was coming to aid and reinforce Sultān Mahmūd. Sultān Ibrāhīm surrendering the reins of bravery returned towards Jaunpūr. Sultān Mahmūd made over the government of Sanbal, in accordance with the ancient custom to Asad Khān Lūdī, and returned to Dehli.

In the ³ year 831 A.H., Sultān Ibrāhīm advanced to attack the fort of Biānah. At this time Khidī Khān ruled in Dehli. He advanced from there to meet and destroy Sultān Ibrāhīm. After the two armies had met, the battle raged from morning to evening, and much slaughter and bloodshed occurred. On the following day a ⁴ peace was concluded, and Sultān Ibrāhīm returned to Jaunpūr and Khidī Khān to Dehli.

In the year 837 A.H., Sultān Ibrāhīm was able to repair the damages and losses sustained by his army, and having set his mind at rest in respect of the insurgents in the various parts of his dominions, he determined to conquer Kālpī, and advanced with full force.

¹ It would appear that the rule of Tātār Khān and Mālik Marjān or Mālik Marhabā was of very brief duration. Sultān Mahmūd marched to Sanbal and Barān. Tātār Khān fled to Kanauj, and the other, who offered some resistance, was slain. See page 288 of vol. I of the translation.

² حور in the text edition

³ There is a long interval of about twenty years here. During this time, Sultān Ibrāhīm was engaged for some time in an invasion of Bengal, at the request of the holy Shaikh Qūtb-ul 'Ālām. He had to return from Bengal, as Rājā Ganesh persuaded the Shaikh afterwards to ask him to do so, on his promising to become a convert to Muhammadanism. This invasion is not mentioned by either Nizām-ud dīn or Firishtah in their accounts of the reign of Sultān Ibrāhīm.

Firishtah, however, mentions a projected invasion of Dehli in 816 A.H., from which, however, Sultān Ibrāhīm returned after some marches, and then according to Firishtah he occupied himself for some years in the society of Shaikhs and learned men, and in rebuilding and improving Jaunpūr and in increasing the cultivation of land all over the province, so that Jaunpūr was described by people as a second Dehli.

⁴ The words are گرگ اپنے کر کر or کر کر گرگ which would suit the context.

At this time news came that Sultan Husang Ghuri had also determined upon the conquest of Kalpi. When the two *badshahs* arrived near each other and a battle became a matter of today or tomorrow the scouts brought the news that Mubarak Shah son of Khizr Khan had collected an immense army and intended to march from Delhi for the conquest of Jaunpur. Sultan Ibrahim having lost all control of himself retired towards Jaunpur. Sultan Husang took possession of Kalpi without any dispute and having had the *Khutba* read in his own name returned to Mandu.

In the year 840 A.H. a disease attacked Sultan Ibrahim's person. Although physicians treated him no improvement resulted and in the end he accepted the summons of God.

The period of his rule was¹ forty years and some months and some days.

- AN ACCOUNT OF SULTAN MAHMUD SON OF IBRAHIM SHARQI

When Sultan Ibrahim surrendered the deposit of life his eldest son Sultan Mahmud sat on the throne of Jaunpur and became the successor of his father. The gardens of the hopes of the people became refreshed and verdant with the abundance of the rain of his benevolence. The kingdom acquired a new grandeur and greatness and the people received happiness and joy. After regulating the affairs of the army and the kingdom and the punishment of the insurgents and the turbulent people he sent in the year 847 A.H. an eloquent ambassador with beautiful gifts and presents to Sultan Mahmud Khalji and with the message² that Nasir Khan Jahan son of Qadir

¹ The readings are slightly different. One MS has the reading I have adopted in the text. The other has دو سال و میلہ دو سال و میلہ without any verb while the lith. ed. has دو سال و میلہ دو سال و میلہ. This has been adopted by M. Hidayat Hosain in the text edition.

² The heading is as I have it in the text in both MSS. In the lith. ed. the word *sultanat* is inserted before and the word Sharqi after the word Sultan Mahmud.

³ He is so called in both the MSS. and in the lith. ed. Firishtah however omits the word *Jahan*. The Cambridge History of India (p. 2) says that Nasir and before him his father Qadir had taken advantage of the disputes regarding the succession to the throne of Malwa to declare their independence.

Khān, the ruler of Kālpī, had placed his foot outside the path of the law of the Prophet, and was following the path of heterodoxy, that he had destroyed the town of Shāhpūr, which was larger and more populous than Kālpī, had banished Musalmāns from their homes, and had made over Musalmān women to *Kāfirs*, and as from the time of Sultān Hūshang, of blessed memory, to the present day, the chain of attachment and the relations of affection had become strengthened between the two parties, it appeared obligatory on me under the behest of the *Qādī ‘Aqal* (Reason), that I should reveal it to your justice-loving mind. If you permit it, I shall chastise him, and make the tenets and rites of the Muhammadan religion eurrent in that country”

Sultān Mahmūd Khaljī wrote in reply, “These matters had come to my hearing in the shape of false rumours, but that now your honourable self, the leader of Sultans, has notified them to me, they have reached the standard of definite knowledge, and under these circumstances,¹ the destruction of that wicked person is incumbent on all *bādshāhs*. If my own forces were not engaged in chastising the rebels of Mēwāt, I would myself² have advanced to destroy him. Now that that asylum of *sultanats* has formed this resolution, may it be of good omen!”

The ambassador came back to Jaunpūr, and narrated what had happened. Sultān Mahmūd Sharqī was pleased in his mind, and sent twenty-nine elephants to Sultān Mahmūd Khaljī, as a present

and to assume the title of Nasir Shāh and Qādir Shāh. Nasir Shāh appears to have adopted some heretical practices, but I think the Cambridge History of India is wrong in assuming that Sultān Mahmūd was entirely actuated by religious motives in his proceedings against him. It should be remembered that Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī had attempted unsuccessfully to seize Kālpī, which had, however, been taken by Sultān Hūshang of Mālwa. Indeed a few lines later on, the Cambridge History of India (page 253) expresses a doubt as to whether Sultān Mahmūd Sharqī was impelled by ambition or by a just appreciation of the offences of which Nasir had been guilty.

¹ One MS. has by mistake دفع اول حاطر - و مع نادسماهان instead of دفع اول حاطر - و مع نادسماهان

² There are slight variations in the readings. The MSS. have عارم میگردید and حارم میگردید, while the lith. ed. has عارم میگردید. I prefer عارم میگردید.

He then collected his troops and advanced towards Kalpi. Nasir Khan becoming acquainted with this submitted a report to Sultan Mahmud Khalji to the following purport. Sultan Hushang Shah of blessed memory bestowed this country on me. Now Sultan Mahmud Sharqi wishes to take possession of it with force and violence and the defence of this *faqir* is obligatory on the (noble) spirit of the Sultan.

Sultan Mahmud Khalji on becoming acquainted with the purport of this petition wrote a letter couched in terms of sincerity and affection and sent Ali Khan with it and with suitable presents to the Sharqi Sultan and mentioned in it that Nasir Khan the ruler of Kalpi having the fear of God and that Lord of grandeur before his eyes has become repentant and has promised that having redressed and corrected what had happened he would not again place his foot outside the path of the law of the Prophet¹ and in carrying out the behests of Providence (*Ahkam Samawi*) would permit no hesitation or dilatoriness. As Sultan Hushang who has received the mercy of God had bestowed this country on Qadir Khan his successors are enlisted in the band of those who are faithful and obedient to me. We should therefore pardoning his former transgressions forbear from further interference with his territory.

The reply to the letter and petition of Ali Khan (i.e. I suppose the letter of Sultan Mahmud Khalji sent by the hand of Ali Khan) had not yet arrived when another petition of Nasir Khan came to the effect that Thus *faqir* has borne the ring of sincere loyalty in his ear and the burden of obedience on his shoulder (these were ancient marks of slavery) since the time of Sultan Hushang and now Sultan Mahmud Sharqi has on account of an old grudge and ancient enmity invaded Kalpi and seizing the country with pomp and power has turned the *faqir* out of his native territory and has unprisoned Musalmān women. And in spite of the fact that Sultan Mahmud Sharqi had obtained permission to chastise Nasir Khan still when the latter had made humble and pitiful supplications (Sultan Mahmud

¹ The word is different in the MS and in the lith ed. One MS has also the other has what looks like also. The lith ed has also Firishtah in the corresponding passage I as also.

Khalji) advanced on the 2nd Sha'bān of the year 840 A.H. towards Chandērī and Kālpī. At Chandērī Nasīr Khān came and ¹ waited on him. From Chandērī, the Sultān advanced towards ² Erij. Sultān Mahmūd Sharqī, hearing this news, immediately started for Kālpī to meet him. Sultān Mahmūd Khalji sent a detachment to oppose the Jaunpūr army, and another detachment to plunder the rear-guard of that army. The latter went and slew the men, who had been left behind in the camp, and looted whatever they could lay their hands upon. The detachment, that had been sent to confront the Jaunpūr army, stretched its hands in conflict and battle, and brave and useful men were killed on both sides. In the end, the two armies retired to their respective camps. On the following morning, Sultān Mahmūd sent 'Imād-ul-mulk to block the enemy's road. The latter becoming aware of this intention remained where they were, which was a strong and rugged and difficult position.

Sultān Mahmūd, becoming aware of the strength of the ground sent a detachment to plunder the environs of Kālpī, and it returned after taking much booty. When the rainy season came, a sort of peace was patched up, and the parties retraced their steps. Sultān Mahmūd Khalji came to Chandērī, and Sultān Mahmūd Sharqī, taking advantage of the opportunity, sent troops to raid the country of Barhār, the residents of which were obedient to Sultān Mahmūd Khalji. The latter sent a detachment, to help and reinforce the headman of the country of Barhār. As the detachment, which had been sent by Sultān Mahmūd Sharqī, was not sufficiently strong to meet it, the latter himself came and joined it.

After a few days, Sultān Mahmūd Sharqī sent a letter to the Shaikh-ul-Islām, Shaikh Jāialdah, who was one of the great and holy men of the age, and towards whom Sultān Mahmud Khalji had right relations of reverence and faith, and whose remains are now buried under the dome of the tomb of the Sultāns of Mālwa at Mandū, to the following purport, viz., "Musalmāns on both sides have been slain,

¹ Both MSS. have مُلَاقَاتْ, but the 11th ed. has مُلَاقَتْ, which appears to me to be more appropriate, and I have retained it. M. Hidayat Hosain has retained مُلَاقَاتْ in the text edition.

² M. Hidayat Hosain has ایڑی in the text-edition.

¹ and it would be well if (your Holiness) would endeavour to effect concord and friendship (between the contending powers). The emissary of Sultan Mahmud Sharqi made this statement to Shaikh Jataldah that his master would at once make over the town of Ratah to Nasir Khan and within four months after the return of Sultan Mahmud Khalji he would also make over to Nasir Khan the "town of ³Irij and the whole of the country of Kalpi which had come into his possession.

When Sultan Mahmud Sharqi's emissary submitted this proposal to Shaikh Jataldah the latter sent him in the company of his own Khadim (servant or disciple) to Sultan Mahmud Khalji and also sent a letter containing much advice. Sultan Mahmud Khalji decided that no peace could take place unless Kalpi was immediately handed over. But Nasir Khan who had been driven out of his territory considered that the recovery of Ratah would be a great boon and submitted that as Sultan Mahmud Sharqi was making the promise in the presence of noble men and before Shaikh Jataldah it was certain that there would be no deviation from it. When Sultan Mahmud Khalji saw that the man most interested in the matter was satisfied with this settlement he sent for Sultan Mahmud Sharqi's emissary into his presence and accepted his proposals on the condition that after that date Sultan Mahmud Sharqi would not in any way interfere

¹ There are slight differences in the readings. One MS has اگر صلاح داں داں میں سعی after اگر در صلاح داں میں سعی The other has اللہ نوچہ فرمائند - بھر ناسد اگر صلاح داں اللہ نوچہ فرمائند - کالی فریشتمان in the corresponding passage has سعی فرمائند - بھر ناسد اگر در صلاح داں اللہ نوچہ فرمائند. The meaning is not quite clear but I think the translation conveys the intended idea.

There are differences in readings here also. One MS has فتح ایرج و ساندر لاد کالی This appears to be correct and I have adopted it. The other MSS have فتح ایرج و حرمون و کالی کے نہ صرف سلطان ساری در کتاب کالی The corresponding line in the lith ed of Firishtah appears to be different and incorrect. It is ساری در کتاب کالی کے نہ صرف سلطان الفعل فتح اور حرمون و کالی کے نہ صرف سلطان ساری در کتاب کالی درآمدہ اور ساری در کتاب کالی حمایت گذاس

² The name is transliterated as Irij in the Cambridge History of India (p. 253) but later on (pp. 305 and 364) it is printed as Iriz.

with the descendants of Qādir Shāh, and more specially with Nasīr Khān Jahān, and for the last time the footsteps of his soldiers should not reach this country, and after four months, he should make over Kālpī and the other towns to Nasīr Khān Jahān. When the foundations of the peace became strengthened by the physical and spiritual attention of Sharīkh Jāīaldah, Sultān Mahmūd Khaljī granted permission to the emissary of Sultān Mahmūd Sharqī after bestowing rewards and favours on him to retire, and he himself cast the shadow of his favour on the residents of his capital of Mandū.

And Sultān Mahmūd Sharqī also returned to Jaunpūr, and on his arrival there, bringing out the hand of lavishness and benevolence from the sleeve of generosity and liberality made all sections of the people, according to the difference of their ranks, fortunate and happy.

¹ And when he had rested for some time at Jaunpūr, and his army had repaired the damages and losses which it had sustained he advanced towards the country of ² Chunār, and having plundered and devastated that country, made all the refractory people of that neighbourhood, food for the sword. He took possession of some *parganas* and towns, and left *thānadāns* there, and having made the necessary arrangements returned to Jaunpūr.

After some days he advanced into the country of Orissa with the object of *Jihād* (war of religion) and the intention of becoming a Ghāzi, and having plundered and devastated that country, and pulled down and destroyed idol temples, returned with triumph and victory, and in the year 862 A H, (1458 A D), he was united with the divine mercy.

The period of his reign was ³ twenty-one years and some months

¹ Nizām ud dīn does not mention here that Mahmūd Shāh Sharqī had two conflicts with Sultān Bahlūl Lūdī, first attack on Dehli in 856 A H, 1452 A D, and second, an advance on Itāwah in 1457 A D, for some account of which see pages 340–342 of vol I of the translation.

² It is جنار in the text-edition

³ One MS and the lith ed have twenty-one years and some months, as I have it in the text. The other MS has twenty years and some months.

AN ACCOUNT OF ¹ SULTĀN MAHMŪD SHĀH SON OF MAHMUD SHĀH

When Sultan Mahmud Sharqi passed away from amongst (men) the *amirs* and the pillars of the state raised Shahzada Bhikun Khan who was his eldest son on the throne of the empire and gave him the title of Sultan Mahmud Shah. As he was unfit for the duties of a ruler he perpetrated deeds which were improper for him. The *amirs* and the chief men of the country excused him from carrying on the government and raised his brother Husain Khan to the position of power.

The time of his (i.e. Sultan Mahmud Shah's) rule was about five months.

AN ACCOUNT OF SULTAN HUSAIN SON OF MAHMŪD SHĀH

As they excused Mahmud Shah his brother from the duties of government they raised him to the seat of power and made a proclamation of justice and equity. All the *amirs* and great men submitted to him and obeyed him. As the *humā* (a fabulous bird) of his noble spirit had the ambition of conquering various countries in its head he collected three hundred thousand horsemen and fourteen hundred elephants and ² advanced towards the country of Orissa. In the course of the march he subjected the country of Tirkut to various calamities and levied tribute from the refractory people ⁴ of that

¹ One MS leaves out the word Sultan before Mahmud Shah. He is called Mahmud Shah in both MSS and in the 1st ed. His correct title was Sultan Muhammad Shah according to Firishtah and according to the Cambridge History of India. The account of his five months rule as given here is very vague and hazy. For a fuller and more vivid account see under Bahlul Lud pages 343-45 of vol I of the translation.

The word اسپ ¹, i.e. is in the MS and in the 1st ed. I have changed it to بود ² was.

³ The account of the invasion of Orissa and of the devastation of Tirkut on the way as given by Firishtah and the Cambridge History of India (p. 50) agrees mainly with that in the text. The numbers of horsemen and elephants in Sultan Husain's army appear to be exaggerated.

⁴ There are differences in the readings. One MS has مددودان ¹ کرده حراج کرده which is incorrect and meaningless. The other has اور مددودان ² ان تاحدی حراج کرده. This is better but should be changed to اور مددودان ³ اور تاحدی حراج کرده to حراج کرده and تاحدی to تاحدی. The 1st ed has اور مددودان ⁴ اور تاحدی حراج کرده.

country and its environs When he arrived in the country of Orissa, he sent detachments for plundering and ravaging the various parts of the country The Rāy of Orissa, in great distress and helplessness, made his submission, and sending an agent to wait on the Sultān prayed for the pardon of his faults and offences, and sent thirty elephants and one hundred horses and much stuffs and other goods in the way of tribute Sultān Husain returned from that country to Jaunpūr crowned with victory and triumph

¹ In the year 870 A H , he put the fort of Benāres, which had become dilapidated in the course of time, into repairs, and in the following year (871 A H , 1466 A D) he sent some of his *amīrs* to capture the fort of Gwāliar When the siege was much prolonged, the Rāy of Gwāliar paid tribute, and became enlisted in the band of his tributaries

In the year 878 A H , 1473 A D , he, at the instigation of his wife *Malkah-i-Jahān*, who was the daughter of Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn, son of Muhammad Shāh, son of Farid Shāh, son of Mubārak Shāh, son of Khidr Khān, raised the standard of departure with one hundred and forty thousand horsemen for a war with Sultān Bahlūl Lūdī and for the conquest of Dehlī ² Sultān Bahlūl sent an emissary to wait on Sultān Mahmūd Khaljī, and sent him a message to the effect, that if he should advance to support and aid him, the country as far as the fort of Biānah should belong to him A reply had not yet come from Mandū, when Sultān Husain seized a large part of the territory appertaining

گرفت This is the best reading, but requires the conjunction, ، between ساخت and ایدار I have accepted this reading and inserted the conjunction م Hidayat Hosain has دیار instead of سیار in the text-edition

¹ Firishtah gives 871 A H as the year in which the fort of Benāres was repaired and the army was sent to capture Gwāliar Col Briggs (vol IV, p 376) does not mention the repairs to the fort of Benāres, and gives 870 A H , 1465 A D , as the year of the invasion of Gualiar The Cambridge History of India also does not mention the repairs of the fort of Benāres, and places the invasion of Gwalior in the year 1466 A D (p 255)

² The Cambridge History of India does not mention this appeal to Sultān Mahmūd Khaljī for help, but Firishtah does The Cambridge History of India (p 256), says that Buhlūl was obliged to make this humiliating proposal, as he could not get more than eighteen thousand horsemen to meet Sultān Husain's large army It also appears from what follows, that he came out of Dehlī to meet the enemy with only that small number of horsemen

to Dehlı Sultan Bahlūl making humility and a piteous appeal the means of his safety sent a message to Sultan Husain that the country of Dehlı would belong to the servants of the Sultan if he would leave the country round Dehlı for a distance of eighteen *karohs* in his possession and he should be enlisted in the bands of the Sultan's servants and would remain in the post of the *darogha* of Dehlı on behalf of the latter. Sultan Husain on account of his great pride and haughtiness did not listen to these proposals with the intention of consent and acceptance. In the end Sultan Bahlūl relying on divine aid and assistance came out of Dehlı with eighteen thousand horsemen and encamped in front of Sultan Husain's army. As the river¹ Jumuna lay between the two armies neither advanced to give battle. It so happened however that one day Sultan² Husain's soldiers had gone on a marauding excursion and except for the commanders no one was left in the camp. Sultan Bahlūl's soldiers taking advantage of such an opportunity plunged their horses into the river³ at the time of midday. Although this news was taken to Sultan Husain he did not owing to his haughtiness and pride believe it until Sultan Bahlūl's men stretched their hands to plunder the camp and seized its outskirts. In this way Sultan Husain was defeated without a battle and *Malkah-i-Jahan* and all the inmates of the harem were seized. Sultan Bahlūl having regard for the rights of the sultans he had eaten endeavoured to show all respect and honour to *Malkah-i-Jahan* and having made necessary preparations sent her to Sultan Husain.

When *Malkah-i-Jahan* joined the Sultan she again⁴ got into his kernel and skin and again commenced to incite him and in the

¹ اب حون in the text edition

سرداران برج حسن سرداران برج حسن فرشتہ's statement is just the opposite. He says سانہ سوئی ساحب ولاپ رسید The Cambridge History of India (p. 956) says Husain Shah was accustomed to permit nearly the whole of his army to disperse for the purpose of plundering the rich villages of the Doab.

³ The words are اسدا وہ اسدا which quite suits the context. Firishtah says حلقہ ناٹک ناٹک در عین موسم ناسیخ اے حلقہ ناٹک ناٹک i.e. in the very midst of the hot season at a place where there it could be forded.

⁴ Firishtah uses the same words. I do not know their exact meaning but I suppose it is either acquired great influence over him or worried him by constant iteration.

following year induced him again to collect and equip his army to fight with Sultan Bahlūl. When there was only a short distance between the two armies, Sultan Bahlūl sent an emissary with the following message, "Would the Sultan be pleased to pardon my offences and leave me in my present condition, for I shall one day be of use to him?"

As¹ the pen of fate had so decreed, that greatness should pass away from the dynasty of the Sharqī Sultāns, Sultan Husain did not at all listen to his words. After the forces had been arrayed, defeat again fell on the Jaunpūr army. In the same way, on a second occasion, he came with a well-equipped army, but had to take to flight. On the² fourth occasion things became so difficult for Sultan Husain, that he had to throw himself off his horse and run away.³ These facts have been narrated with full particulars and details, in the section about the Sultāns of Dchli.

On the⁴ fourth occasion, Sultan Bahlūl took Jaunpūr into his own possession, and established his son Bārbak Shāh there. Sultan Husain had to content himself with a section of his territory, the revenues of which amounted only to five khors, and to pass his time there. Sultan Bahlūl, acting in a spirit of generosity, did not interfere with him.

When Sultan Bahlūl accepted the summons of the just God, and the office of the Sultan was allotted to his son Sultan Sikandar, Sultan Husain induced Bārbak Shāh to advance on Dehlī and seize his father's kingdom for himself. With this intention Bārbak Shāh advanced from Jaunpūr towards Dehlī. Then a battle took place, and Bārbak Shāh fled back to Jaunpūr. He again equipped an army, and advanced

¹ There are differences in the readings. One MS has چون فلم نقدیر برسیں رفتہ بود. This appears to be correct and I have adopted it. The other MS has برسیں رفتہ بود فلم، چو بعدسر که دولت has چون تقریر برسی رفتہ بود, the word تقریر being used by mistake for نقدیر.

² The third occasion is not mentioned, or the fourth occasion in the text here is a mistake for the third.

³ See page 348 and the following pages of vol. I of the translation.

⁴ It is مسریہ چہارم in both MSS., and in the lith. ed. and in Firishtah, but a fourth occasion has already been mentioned in the previous paragraph.

to Dehlī When he fled a second time Sultan Sikandar pursued him and took Jaunpur out of his possession As Sultan Husain was tho cause of all tho confusion and disturbance Sultan Sikandar went and attacked him and after some fighting seized tho territory which was in his possession Sultan Husain then fled and found an asylum with the ruler of Bungalāh Tho term of his reign was 19 years After his defeat he was for some years confined in the bounds of borrowed life (which is a very figurative way of saying that he lived for some years) After that the Sharqī Empire came to an end Six persons ruled for a period of 97 years and some months

¹ One MS has by mistake شریعه for شریعت and the other has شامہ for

TABAQĀT-I-AKBARĪ

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

(VOLUME III—*contd.*)

SECTION VIII ¹THE SECTION ABOUT THE SULTANS OF MĀLWA

From the year 807 A.H. to the year 970 A.H. which is a period of one hundred and sixty three years there were eleven persons who either themselves or through their deputies governed Malwa

- Dilawar Khan Ghuri 20 years

Sultan Hushang son of Dilawar Khan 30 years

Sultan Mahmud son of Sultan Hushang one year and a few months

Sultan Mahmud Khalji 34 years

Sultan Ghiyath ud din son of Sultan Mahmud 20 years

Sultan Nasir ud din son of Ghiyath ud din, 11 years and 4 months

Sultan Mahmud son of Nasir ud din 20 years and six months and eleven days

Sultan Bahadur Gujrati 16 years

Mallu Qadir Shah 6 years

Shuja Khan as Naib of Sher Khan Afghan 12 years

Baz Bahadur Afghan 16 years

¹ The Section about Malwa is the heading used by the late Mr. B. De in his notes but the editor has followed the text edition in which M. Hidayat Hosain has مالوہ میں سلطانوں کا ذکر. Regarding the sequence of various sections see note 2 page 414.

There are some variations and omissions in the lists in the MSS. and in the 1st ed. I have tried to get a correct list after comparing them.

¹ It should not remain concealed that the country of Mālwa is an extensive territory. Great rulers have always ² been (reigned) in that country. Great Rājas and renowned Rāys like ³ Rāja Bikramājīt from the commencement of whose reign the Hindū era begins, and Rāja Bhōj and others, who were among the Rājas of Hindūstān, ⁴ possessed great renown, by their rule of Mālwa. Islām first ⁵ appeared in that country from the time of Sultān Mahmūd Ghaznavī. Among the Sultans of Dehli Sultān Ghīyāth-ud-din Balban acquired dominion over it, and after him till the time of Sultān ⁶ Firūz Shāh it was in the possession of the Sultans of Dehli.

Dilāwar Khān Ghūrī attained to the rule of the country from a time before the reign of ⁷ Sultān Muhammad, the son of Firūz, and

¹ Firishtah copies the Tabaqat in this place almost *verbatim*, but as regards Islām, he says در مددوستان شائع شد که اسلام در مددوستان عربی می‌شود از سلطان مسکن بن محمد بن عاصی در مددوستان دهلی عیاث الدین باران مملکت استیلا یافت. This is different from what is stated in the text, and is more correct historically. Islām certainly did not become known in Mālwa from the time of Sultān Mahmūd. Of course if the expression در آن نلاد refers to Hindūstān and not to Mālwa, then there is nothing wrong with the text.

² One MS and the lith ed have می بودند اند, but the other MS می بودند اند.

³ One MS omits the word Rāja. Bikramājīt is of course a variant of the Vikramāditya. The era which dates from his accession commences 56 years before Christ.

⁴ The MSS have ایں گذشتہ ایں گذشتہ, and گذشتہ گذشتہ, and the lith ed has گذشتہ گذشتہ.

⁵ One MS has پیدا گئی, while the other has simply گئی, and the lith ed has پیدا گرفت گئی. The reading of the second manuscript has been followed by M Hidayat Hesain in the text edition.

⁶ One MS and the lith ed have Sultān Firūz Shāh, but the other MS has Sultān Muhammad Firūz Shāh. Firishtah lith ed in the corresponding passage has Sultān Muhammad, son of Firūz Shāh. This last statement is correct. The conquest of Mālwa took place in the reign of Sultān Ghīyāth-ud-din Balban in 710 A.H., 1316 A.D., and it became independent in the reign of Muhammad, the son of Firūz Tughlaq, 789 A.H., 1389 A.D. The Cambridge History of India, page 349, says, that the date of Dilāvar Khān Ghūrī's appointment as governor is not precisely known, but he was certainly in Mālwa in 1392, and he was probably appointed by Firūz Shāh of Dehli who died in 1388. M Hidayat Hesain has مددوستان مسکن فیروز شاہ in the text edition.

⁷ One MS and the lith ed have Sultān Mahmūd, while the other has Sultān Muhammad, son of Firūz.

declared his independence. From that time the rulers of Malwa ceased to own allegiance to the Sultans of Delhi and eleven persons¹ ruled one after another till the time of His Majesty the Ikhahfa-i-Ilahi. The section about Malwa therefore begins from the time of Dilawar Khan Churi. They say that Sultan Muhammad son of Firuz Shah granted favours to a body of men who had accompanied him during his earlier expeditions and had shown loyalty and sincerity. When he² became Sultan he conferred four countries on four of them and each of these four attained to sovereign power. (He) sent Zafar Khan the son of Wajih ul mulk to Gurat, Khidr Khan to Multan and Dibalpur, Khwaja Sarwar Khwaja Jahan to whom he granted the title of³ Malik ush sharq to Jaunpur and Dilawar Khan Churi to Malwa.

⁵ AN ACCOUNT OF DILAWAR KHAN CHURI

As in the year⁴ 809 A.H. Dilawar Khan came to Malwa he brought the country into his possession by the strength of his brave

¹ One MS and the lith ed have حکومت کردا but the other MS has حکومت کردا اور the latter has been followed in the text edition

هر سک را دعایہ کردا چهار کس را چهار ملک اور وہر چهار ہی سے رسیدا

² One MS has another date رسیدا while the lith ed has رسیدن

⁴ M. Hidayat Hosai has سلطان السری instead of ملک السری in the text edition

⁵ Firishtah's account agrees but he mentions in addition that Dilawar Khan's first capital was at Dhar but as he intended to make Shadi bad Mandu his capital he went there from time to time and endeavoured to build it. He also says that when Sultan Mahmud of Delhi fleeing from Timur came to Gurat in 801 A.H. and as he was not received with due honour by Muzaffar Shah he came to Malwa and was welcomed with great honour by Dilawar Khan. He remained in Dhar till 804 A.H. Alp Khan Dilawar Khan's son was not pleased with the latter for the welcome given to Sultan Mahmud and retired with most of the soldiers to Mandu where he built a very strong fort in the course of three years. In 804 A.H. Sultan Mahmud returned towards Delhi.

⁶ The year is 809 A.H. in the MSS as well as in the lith ed and the year of his death is 819 A.H. in the MSS and in the lith ed. These dates are incorrect according to Firishtah. According to him his rule commenced in the year 804 A.H. which is

arms and the power of his beneficent wisdom, and collected retainers and servants and made all arrangements and shortened the hand of encroachment of rebels from the environs and surroundings of that country. When ¹ Sultān Mahmūd passed away, and the empire of Dehli became enfeebled and heads of different bands appeared in different parts of India, Dilāwar Khān also turned his head away from allegiance to the lord of Dehli, and claimed to be independent, and in the way of ² Bādshāhs took upon himself the etiquette of sovereignty. He passed many years with success and pleasure, and in the year 829 A.H., surrendered the deposit of his life. It has come to my notice in some books that he was ³ poisoned at the instigation of his son Alp Khān. The period of his rule was twenty years.

AN ACCOUNT OF SULTĀN HŪSHANG, SON OF DILĀWAR KHĀN

Alp Khān, who was the son of Dilāwar Khān, became the successor of the latter, and had the public prayer (*Khulba*) read in his name and the coin struck in his name. He raised the royal umbrella over his head and gave himself the title of Sultān Hūshang. The amīrs and the great men of that country rendered homage to him.

The affairs of the kingdom, and the foundations of power had not yet been firmly fixed, when scouts brought the news, that Sultān Muzaffār Gujrātī had arrived at Ujjain, and ⁴ information had reached

also incorrect. The correct date is 789 A.H., 1387 A.D. The correct year of his death is 808 A.H., 1405 A.D. The Cambridge History of India, page 349, gives 1406 as the year of Dilāwar Khān's death.

¹ One MS and the text edition have Sultān Muhammad, which is incorrect. See page 290 of vol I of the translation.

² The Cambridge History of India, page 349, says, "Dilāwar Khān never assumed the style of royalty." This is not correct according either of the Tabaqāt or Firishtah. The latter is even more particular than the Tabaqāt. He says

دُعُو - استقلال کرده طریق سلامیں مالوہ نام حود کرده چڑو سراندہ
ساخت -

³ The Cambridge History of India, page 349, says definitely Alp Khān "removed his father by poison." Neither the Tabaqāt nor Firishtah says so positively. See note 3, page 185.

⁴ The words باو و رسیده occur only in one MS but neither in the other MS nor in the lith ed.

bim that Alp Khan had ¹for the sake of worldly power administered poison to Dilawar Khan and had given himself the name of Hushang Shah As there had been a bond of brotherly feelings between Dilawar Khan and Sultan Muzaffar (the latter) had equipped an army and was marching to Malwa In the beginning of the year 810 ²ii Sultan Muzaffar encamped in the vicinity of Dhar Sultan Hushang came out of the fort with the determination to give battle and ³the two armies engaged each other In the end Hushang fled and took shelter in the fort As he found that he did not possess the power to withstand (Sultan) Muzaffar he prayed for quarter and came and waited on the Sultan In the same *majlis* he and his nobles were placed under arrest and made over to custodians The Sultan then left his own brother ⁴Nasir Khan with a large force in the fort of Dhar and himself returned with victory and triumph to Gujarat

As Nasir Khan who was without any experience in the very first year demanded from the *raiyats* rents which were beyond their power to pay and otherwise ill treated them The Malwa army seizing the opportunity after the departure of Sultan Muzaffar had carried him out of Dhar by ⁵Khwajahdars and pursuing him caused injury

¹ The words حکم دسی و راستہ occur in one MS and in the lith ed but not in the other MS

The Cambridge History of India page 349 says that tho avenging the death of his old friend was merely a pretext for Muzaffar's invasion of Malwa

² Firishtah says that Muzaffar was wounded and Hushang was thrown from his horse but they went on fighting but victory or defeat does not depend on one's exertions and victory was allotted to Sultan Muzaffar from the supernatural world

³ He is called Nasir Khan نصر حان in the MSS and in the lith ed except in one place in the latter where he is called Nasrat Khan و نصر حان Nasrat Khan and Nasrat Khan in Firishtah lith ed calls him Nasrat Khan and Col Briggs (vol IV p 17) Noosrat Khan and in the Cambridge History of India page 349 Nasrat Khan He was called Nasrat Khan in the History of Gujarat (see p 186 and also note I on the same page)

⁴ The construction of the sentence is not very clear The corresponding passage in the history of Sultan Muzaffar Gujrati was دار او حواجه دار او دهار (text edition p 34) There I thought that the Khwajahdar was some kind of a palace official who took him out of Dhar and showed him the way to Gujarat Probably the word Khwajahdar here also has the same significance

to such of his followers as fell behind They left Dhār for fear of Sultān Muẓaffār, erected buildings in the fort of Mandū, the strong bastions of which ¹ claimed rivalry with the celestial ² girdle of the Zodiac (and took up their residence there), and made Mūsa Khān, who was a cousin, uncle's son, of Sultān Hūshang, then chief After this news had reached Gujāt, Hūshang Shāh sent a petition to Sultān Muẓaffār to the effect, "That the lord and master of the people of the world was in the place of this *faqīr*'s father and uncle, and the words which certain self-interested people had spoken to him were, the great God knows, contrary to the truth At this time it was being reported that the noblemen of Mālwa had acted with dis respect to Khān-i-Ā'zam ³ Naṣīr Khān, had made Mūsa Khān their leader and had taken possession of the country If this *faqīr* was lifted up from the dust, and was placed in the bonds of gratitude, it was possible that the country should again come into his possession '

⁴ Sultān Muẓaffār having approved of this proposal, released him, after he had been in prison for one year, and began to show favours to him He took engagements from him, and after arranging his affairs, granted permission to Shāhzāda Ahmad Shāh, in the year 821 A.H., to proceed to help and reinforce him, so that he might recover possession of Dhār and the neighbouring country from the ⁵ rebellious *amīns*, and make it over to him Ahmad Shāh recovered the country from the *amīns*, and made it over to him, and then returned to the capital city of Pattan

After Sultān Hūshang had been in Dhār for some days, and a body of his special guards had collected round him, he sent a man to the fort of Mandū, and giving assurances of favour to the *amīns*, summoned

¹ One MS and the lith ed have د لاف بترى ر د while the other MS has د لاف براى ر د, M Ḥidayat Hosain has adopted the former in the text-edition

² One MS and the lith ed have مسطقة البروج, but the other MS has مسطقة العين

³ The name is نصرت خان Nasrat Khān, here in one MS and in the lith ed, but in the other MS it is نصر حل Nasir Khān I have kept Nasir Khān, as he has been so named in the earlier parts of this section

⁴ Firishtah agrees The Cambridge History of India, page 349, says that Hūshang swore "on the Koran that he was guiltless of his father's death"

⁵ One MS omits the words from عدار to امراء

them to his side. The *amirs* and the soldiers were anxious to join him and were all pleased and delighted but as they had taken their wives and children with them to the fort of Mandu¹ they could not join his service. Hushang went with a small force to the town of Mahesar and every day his men went forward to fight but were wounded and had to come back. As the fort of Mandū was very strong Hushang Shah considered it advisable that he should march away from that place and take up a position in the centre of the town and sending his men to the different towns and *parganas* take possession of them. About this time Malik Mughīth who was the son of the aunt of Sultan Hushang had a consultation with Malik Khidr who was celebrated as² Miyan Agha and said Although Musa Khan is a young man of good breeding and is a son of one of our aunts yet Hushang Shah surpasses all his evils in manliness and intelligence and wisdom and patience and this kingdom belongs to him by inheritance as well as acquisition and besides in his childhood he was brought up in the loving arms of my mother. It is advisable therefore that the reins of this government and rule should be placed in the grasp of his power. Miyan Agha praised the decision of Malik Mughīth and they in concert came out one night from the fort of Mandu and joined Sultan Hushang. The latter gave Malik Mughīth a promise of being made his deputy and this gave the latter great pleasure and delight.

Musa Khan on hearing this news cut the thread of hope by the scissors of despair and became anxious about his safety. In the end he sent a messenger to Malik Mughīth with the request that a place

¹ No reason is given for this in the text or in Firishtah lith ed but Col Briggs (vol IV p 173) says they were unwilling to abandon their families and the Cambridge History of India page 350 say As their wives and families would be left exposed to Musa's wrath.

The name is ~~مُحَمَّد~~ Mahesar in one MS and also in the other but is partly obliterated in it. It is ~~مُحَمَّد~~ in the lith ed and ~~مُحَمَّد~~ in the lith ed of Firishtah. The Cambridge History of India page 350 says that Hushang marched to Mandu.

² The nickname looks like لیلے جو in the MS and in the lith ed. In the lith ed of Firishtah it is Miyan Khan and Miyan Agha in different places. Col Briggs (vol IV p 14) call him Meean Agha. The name is not given in the Cambridge History of India لیلے جو in the text edition.

might be allotted to him for his residence, so that he might surrender the fort of Mandū. After much discussion, a place was fixed for him, and he evacuated the fort and went away. Sultān Hūshang entered the fort of Mandū, and took up his abode in his capital. He conferred the title of *Malik-us̄h-shaiq* on and entrusted the duties of the *vazārat* to *Mahk Mughīth*, and in all matters made him his deputy and representative.

In the year 813 A.H., 1410 A.D., Sultān Muzaffar Gujrātī accepted the summons of God, and the government of the empire devolved upon Sultān Ahmad, the son of Muhammad Shāh the son of Sultān Muzaffar. Firūz Khān and Haibat Khān, sons of Sultān Muzaffar raised the standard of revolt and hostility in the country of Bahrōj, and asked for help from Hūshang. The latter returning the rights acquired by Muzaffar Shāh by the support he had given to him, and the aid given to him by Ahmad Shāh, by enmity, turned towards the country of Gujrāt, and his ancient grudge induced him to advance into that country, and to destroy the rules of the government. Sultān Ahmad advanced with a large army, and besieged Bahrōj immediately, on hearing the news. Firūz Khān and Haibat Khān, frightened by the ¹ grandeur and power and awed by the immense number of Ahmad Shāh's troops, prayed for protection, and joined the latter. Hūshang turned back from the way, and returned to Dhār. The narrative of these transactions has been written in detail in the section about Gujrāt.

The sweats of shame and repentance had not yet dried up on the forehead of Hūshang, when he again attempted the same kind of nefarious deeds. For when in the year 816 A.H., 1413 A.D., he heard that Sultān Ahmad Gujrātī had advanced to attack the ² Rāja of Jhālāwār, and was compelled to remain there, he at once collected his troops, and turned towards the country of Gujrāt. Sultān Ahmad,

¹ The readings in the MSS are اُر حوف سطون و استناء و هست و کثروت سیاھ احمد شاهی. The lith ed omits the two و before هست and کثروت. I have adopted the readings in the MSS, though I think that it would be better to omit the و before کثروت.

² Firishtah agrees with the Tabaqāt about Hūshang's first and second inroads into Gujrāt. As to the second, he calls the Rāja the Rāja of Jālwāra instead of that of Jhālāwār.

immediately on receiving this news advanced to attack and destroy him. When they approached each other and Hushang got no help from the Raja of Jhalawar he had no alternative left and returned to his own country.

After his return petitions from the *zamindars* of Gujrāt and specially from the Rajas of Champānir Nadōt and Idar came one after another to him to the effect that on the first occasion there had been neglect and dilatoriness in their service to him but this time there will be no minutia left in their loyal devotion in his service. If the Sultan would turn towards Gujrāt they¹ would send some guides to attend on him and they would guide his army along a road in such a way that Sultan Ahmad would not know anything about his advance up to the time of his arrival in the country of Gujrāt. The indignity (of his repeated failures) being added to his former enmity induced Sultan Hushang again to collect his troops and advance into Gujrāt. In order to carry out this intention he advanced in the year 821 A.H. 1418 A.D. with great pomp by way of Mahrasī. It so happened that at that time Sultan Ahmad was in the neighbourhood of Sultanpur and Nadarbar attending to some matters connected with the government. When the news of Hushang's advance reached him he considered that the extinguishing of the flame of the disturbance created by Hushang should have precedence over all other matters and he advanced to Mahrasī with speed and in spite of heavy rains he arrived there in a short time. When the spies of Sultan Hushang gave him information of the arrival of Sultan Ahmad he was in great anxiety and sent for the *zamindars* who by sending their petitions had raised the dust of disturbance and rebellion into his presence and reproached

¹ One MS. and the lith. ed. have فرسنگی but the other MS. has فرسنگی

² As to the third expedition Firishtah says that the petitions were sent by the Rajas of Jalwāra of Muhammadabad Champānir of Nadot and Idar and not by the last two only as mentioned in the text. Firishtah also says that Sultan Ahmad had gone to punish Naṣr Khan Faruqi who with the help of fifteen thousand horsemen sent under Chaznīn Khan by Sultan Hushang was attempting to take away the fort of Thālur from his younger brother Ma'lūk Iftikhar but on Sultan Ahmad's arrival at Sultanpur and Nadarbar Chaznīn Khan fled towards Malwa and Naṣr Khan Faruqi went away towards Asir. After this when he was at Sultanpur Sultan Ahmad heard of Sultan Hushang's invasion.

them, and spoke unseemly words to them In the end he returned scratching the back of his head by the same road by which he had come

Sultān Ahmad halted at Mahīāsa for some days, so that his army might join him After the troops ¹ had collected he advanced, in the month of Safar, into the country of Mālwa, and by repeated marches arrived at and encamped in the neighbourhood of Kāhādah Sultān Hūshang also advanced a few stages with the intention of engaging him After the battle he fled and took shelter in the fort of Mandū Sultān Ahmad's army ² pursued him up to the gate of Mandū, and seized some of his elephants and soldiers Sultān Ahmad himself went as far as ³ Na'lcha, and, halting there some days, sent detachments in different directions in the country As the fort of Mandū was very strong, he was obliged to turn his reins towards Dhār From that place he wanted to go to Ujjain, but as the rains had commenced the *amīns* and *vazīrs* represented to him, that the welfare of the state demanded that he should return that year to the capital of Gujrāt and should punish the turbulent men, who had been the cause of the disturbance and rebellion, and teach them a lesson, and in the next year he should, with a mind freed from all anxieties, set about the conquest of Mālwa Sultān Ahmad agreeing to this proposal returned from Dhār, and cast to the shadow of his favour on the people of Gujrāt

In the year 822 A.H., 1417 A.D., Sultān Hūshang conferred the title of Mahmūd Khān on Mahk Mahmūd, the son of Malik Mughīth, on whose clear forehead the signs of nobility and knowledge of affairs were patent and bright, and made him ⁴ the partner of his father in ⁵ the administration of the government Whenever he went anywhere, he left Malik Mughīth in the fort of Mandū, and took Mahmūd Khān with him, so that he might attend to the affairs of state

¹ One MS has by mistake عَوْلَمْ instead of عَوْلَمْ!

² One MS has by mistake دُعَافَ instead of دُعَافَ

³ Fīrishtah in his account of this expedition has instead of Na'lcha Zafarābād only Na'lcha Otherwise his account agrees with that in the text

⁴ The words سَادَرَ are omitted in one MS

⁵ The MSS have مُهَاجِرَاتٍ, and مُهَاجِرَاتٍ, and the lith ed has در مُهَاجِرَاتٍ M Hidayat Hosain has followed the lith ed in the text edition

¹ In the year 823 A.H. 1421 A.D. Sultan Hushang selected one thousand horsemen out of his army and in the garb of merchants advanced towards Jaunagar. He took some "silver gray and iron"

¹ Before describing Sultan Hushang's expedition to Jaunagar, Firdausi says that Sultan Ahmad intended to invade and plunder Malwa but Sultan Hushang becoming aware of this sent eloquent ambas, a lora with many valuable presents and Sultan Ahmad took the presents and returned to Ahmabad. He also says that in 833 A.H. 1420 A.D. Sultan Hushang attacked the fort of Kehela which was on the boundary of Benar. Rāj Narsingh the ruler of Kehela met him with fifty thousand horsemen and foot soldiers and fought a fierce battle but was defeated and slain. Sultan Hushang then became ruler and took the fort of Sārangadāla which belonged to Rāj Narsingh and took the treasure and 84 great elephants which were in it and reduced the son of Rāj Narsingh to be a vassal and tributary to himself.

The following account of Sultan Hushang's expedition to Jaunagar compared with the disjointed account of it previously given in the history of Alauddīn Shih of Gujarat (see pp. 94-9 and note p. 94) is more connected and consistent but the expedition itself was carried in various ways. It is clear that merchants used to go from Malwa and then right along country to Jaunagar or even with horses and other merchandise to barter them for elephants for the account shows that it was well known that the ruler of Jaunagar was fond of horses of particular colour and that his subjects were likely to buy certain merchandise. It is difficult to say whether Hushang intended to barter his horses and other merchandise for elephants like an intelligent merchant or whether he intended from the beginning to plunder the Bay of Jaunagar of some of his elephants which at that time were considered to be a valuable instrument of war. Probably he had an ulterior intent in his mind for looting the elephants from the beginning.

The account given by Firdausi agrees mainly with that in the text. The account in the Cambridge History of India pages 30-31 also agrees although it calls the Ori sa eli of the Rājputānā capital of Orissa. It will be seen that both the Tabaqat and Firdausi call the place Jajnagar. In the previous incidental reference to this expedition on page 98 the Cambridge History of India the expedition is designated Sultan Hushang's famous raid into Orissa and no mention is made of either Jaunagar or Jajnagar. It will be remembered that Sultan Alauddīn Shih had hunted elephant in Jajnagar. There is a Jajpur in Orissa also which is the headquarters of a civil division in the district of Cuttack but as far as I know it is not mentioned anywhere in history.

There is some difference in the readings in the description of the horses. The MSS. have اسنان سفرا و سر حنك اسنان سفرا و سر حنك, and the printed has اسنان سفرا سر حنك. Firdausi in the corresponding passage has اسنان سفرا و سر حنك.

gray horses which the Rāy of Jājnagar was very fond of, and some other kinds of merchandise, which the people of that country took with pleasure His object in taking this journey was this, that in exchange for the horses, and the other merchandise, he would select some elephants, and take (or buy) them So that by means of their strength, he should be able to have his revenge against Ahmad Shāh When he arrived in the neighbourhood of Jājnagar, he sent a man to the Rāy, and gave him notice that a great merchant had come with the object of buying elephants and had brought with him many ¹ silver gray and gray and white horses, and various linen and silk stuffs and ² narmīna The Rāy enquired, "Why he has encamped at a distance from the city" The man whom Sultān Hūshang had sent replied, "He has many merchants with him and has encamped at a place where he found water and an open plain" The Rāy said, "I shall come to the caravan on such and such a date, let the horses be kept ready for my inspection on that day, and let the linen and silk goods be spread out on the ground, so that after inspecting them, I shall give in exchange for what I buy, elephants, if they want elephants, or money in cash if they want that" When the man who had been sent came back, Sultān Hūshang summoned the trusted men (among his followers) and took new engagements from them, that they should not act contrary to whatever he might order, and waited for the day (named by the Rāy)

When that day came the Rāy sent forty elephants to the caravan, in advance of himself, so that the merchants might please themselves (by inspecting them) He gave them notice that he was coming, and sent a message that they should expose their goods, and keep their horses ready Sultān Hūshang sent back all the elephants, and spread out a part of the goods on the ground At this time the Rāy

¹ Here the horses are described in one MS as سرہنگ و سرہنگ، and in the other as سرہنگ و سرہنگ، and in the lth ed as سرہنگ فریشتah has سرہنگ رنگ و سرہنگ رنگ و کندوں Col Briggs (vol IV, p 178) has "horses of different colours, viz bright bay, bright chestnut, and different shades of grey" M Hidayat Hosain has adopted سرہنگ و سرہنگ in the text edition

² The MSS have دیگر and the lth ed has دیگر، I cannot find the meaning of these words Firishtah has no corresponding word He has فهانس و متعار دیگر M Hidayat Hosain has only متعار دیگر in the text edition

came to the caravan with five hundred men and inspected the various goods. As it was the rainy season¹ a dark cloud appeared and drops of rain began to fall. The elephants hearing the sound of the thunder and frightened by the lightning began to run away. The goods which was spread out on the ground were spoiled under their feet. At this time a great noise rose from the caravan and Sultan Hushang in the manner of a merchant tore handfuls of hair from his head and heard and said My merchandise has been damaged I do not wish to live. Then with his soldiers he mounted the horses which had been already made ready and attacked the Raja's troops. At the first onset the latter lost their firm foothold and the rule of their firmness and power was shattered. Some of the men were made food for the sword and some fled. The Ray himself was taken prisoner alive.

At this time Sultan Hushang revealed his identity and said I am Hushang Shah Ghuri. I have come to this country for (obtaining) elephants. The *ra'is* and *amirs* of Jajnagar sent an emissary to wait upon the Sultan with the message that they were willing to agree to anything which the Sultan might wish. The Sultan sent the reply There was no idea of deceit or fraud in the purpose of my coming. I came to buy elephants. My merchandise has been damaged. I have seized the Raja as a hostage in exchange of whom I would take elephants. The *ra'is* of Jajnagar sent 75 splendid elephants to him and also made their excuses. Sultan Hushang returned towards his own country taking the Ray with him. When he passed the boundary of the Ray's territory he comforted him and tried to please his heart and gave him permission to go back. When the Ray arrived at his own capital he sent some more elephants to the Sultan.

On the way information reached the Sultan that Sultan Ahmad had again invaded Malwa and had besieged the fort of Mandu. When he arrived near² the fort of Kehrla he summoned the Ray of Kehrla

¹ One MS has by mistake *سے* instead of *بڑی* میں رای سے!

See note 1 page 475 from which it will appear that according to Firshah Sultan Hushang attacked the Ray of Kehrla before going on expedition to Jajnagar.

placed him in confinement, and took possession of the fort. He then advanced towards Mandū. When he arrived in the neighbourhood of that city, Sultān Ahmad summoned his *amīns* and soldiers from the batteries, collected them together and prepared for battle. Sultān Hūshang entered the fort by the Tāīāpūr gate and did not prepare for battle. But when Sultān Ahmad saw that the capture of the fort was difficult, and in fact impossible, he rose from the foot of the fort, and prepared to plunder and devastate the country. He passed by Ujjain, and determined to seize Sārangpūr. Sultān Hūshang on becoming aware of this determination, managed to betake himself to the citadel of Sārangpūr by another route. He then sent a message to Sultān Ahmad to the following effect, "As the rights of Musalmāns are mixed up in this, and you know ¹ yourself that the shedding of the blood of Musalmāns without any reason is fraught with great calamity, and in this case immense herds of them would perish, it is fitting that you should turn the bridle of your determination towards your own capital. ² The necessary tribute shall be sent soon after."

Sultān Ahmad's mind becoming composed owing to the (promise of) peace, he evinced negligence and carelessness in the guarding of his troops, and in taking necessary precautions and care. Sultān Hūshang taking advantage of this opportunity made a ³ night attack on the night of the 12th Muharram-ul-harām in the year 826 A.H.

¹ The word *وَهْد* is omitted in one MS.

² It is not clear whether this last clause is part of the message. The verb *وَهَدَ* is in the third person, which would indicate that it is not.

³ For the account of this night attack, as given in the history of the reign of Sultān Ahmad of Gujrāt, see pages 206, 207, and note 4 on page 206 and notes 1-3 on page 207. The account of the night attack as given here agrees mainly with that given by Firishtah, with the exception that in the text Rāy Sāmat is called the Rāja of Dundāh and the vulgar name of the place is given as Garī. Col Briggs (vol IV, pp 181, 182) gives the 14th (and not the 12th) Moharrum, 826 A.H. (29th December, 1422) as the date of the night attack. Sāmat Rāy is designated Savant Ray, Raja of Dundooka, who was "afterwards known by the name of Kuriy Raja". He also says that Ahmad Shah captured "twenty elephants belonging to Sooltan Hooshung besides seven of those he had recently brought from Jajnuggur". The Cambridge History of India passes over the night attack and the subsequent engagement.

Many people perished that night among them Ray Samat the Ray of the country of Dūndah which now on the tongues and in the mouths of the (people) is called Kāri was slain with five hundred Rajputs in the vicinity of the Sultan's pavilion Sultan Ahmad came out of the camp with only one attendant and stood on the open plain Towards the morning men gathered round him and about the time of the true dawn which indeed was the dawn of the morning of good fortune the Sultan fell upon Sultan Hushang's troops and the battle of bloodshed and slaughter became so severe that both the *Badshahs* received wounds and in the end Sultan Hushang fled and took shelter in the citadel of Sarangpur Seven of the Jaynagar elephants were seized by Sultan Ahmad and on the 4th of Rabi ul akhir of that year Sultan Ahmad turned towards Gujrat with victory and triumph

When Hushang became aware of this he came out of the citadel of Sarangpur with great pride and audacity and started in pursuit Sultan Ahmad turned round and confronted him The flame of battle blazed up between the two armies and at the first onset Sultan Hushang put the army of Gujrat into confusion Sultan Ahmad seeing this himself advanced into the battle field and fought so well that the breeze of victory and triumph began to blow upon the plumes of his standards Hushang again fled and took shelter in the fort of Sarangpur Then Sultan Ahmad returned to Gujrat It may be said that on the whole Sultan Hushang was distinguished by bravery and high spirit but he was not victorious in war and in most of his battles after much striving and struggle he had to flee and to soil the skirts of his courage with the dust of flight When authentic information arrived that Sultan Ahmad had passed over the boundary of Gujrat Hushang went from Sarangpur to the fort of Mandu The same year after some days he repaired the damage sustained by his army and advanced to conquer the fort of Kakrun and seized it in the course of a short time In the same year he again advanced to conquer Gwalior and by successive marches took possession of the neighbouring territory After a month and some days had passed Sultan Mubarak Shah son of Khizr Khan marched with an army by way of Biyina to aid the Rāj of Gwalior When this news reached Sultan Hushang he raised the siege and advanced to meet the army

up to the ¹ river of Dhōlpūr After some days a peace was ratified, and it was agreed that Hūshang should give up the idea of conquering Gwāhai The two parties then sent presents to each other and returned to their respective capitals

² In the year 832 A H , 1428 A D , messengers swift-footed like the wind and desert-traversing scouts brought the news that Sultān Ahmad Shāh Bahmani, the ruler of the Deccan, had come with his troops, and was besieging the fort of Kehrla When this news reached Hūshang Shāh, the humours of his spirit came to motion, and collecting a large army, he advanced to aid and succour the Rāy of Kehrla Sultān Ahmad becoming aware of this abandoned the idea of the conquest of Kehrla, and returned towards his own country Hūshang, at the instigation of the Rāy of Kehrla, pursued him for three stages Sultān Ahmad then incited by his high spirit and shame turned round and engaged him Although in the first assault defeat had fallen on the army of Sultān Ahmad, yet the latter coming out of ambush attacked the centre of Hūshang's army, and dispersed it He fled towards Mandū, and the veiled one (his wife) with all the inmates of the harem fell into Sultan Ahmad's hands The latter followed the path of generosity, and after making necessary ³ preparations, sent them to Mandū, and sent five hundred horsemen with them to escort them This incident has been described in detail in the section about the Sultān's of the Deccan

In the year ⁴ 835 A H , 1431 A D , Sultān Hūshang marched out of Mandū, with the determination to conquer Kālpī When he arrived

¹ The words are دھولور گاہ in one MS and گاہ دھولور in the lith ed and in the other MS Firishtah in the corresponding passage has دھولور گاہ as far as the tank or reservoir of Dhōlpūr I have adopted گاہ دھولور گاہ as the correct reading

² Firishtah's account contains greater details The ruler of Kehrla is called the son of Narsinh Rāy and it is added that Sultān Hūshang came to his succour at his invitation The way in which the battle was fought, and the way in which Sultān Ahmad captured the baggage of Hūshang's army, and the latter's wives and daughters, and treated them with great respect and hospitality, and sent them back are described in greater detail The Cambridge History of India's account, page 351, also agrees, but Kehrla is written as Kherla

³ One MS inserts سامان حرم between ۸۵۴ and ۸۵۵

⁴ The account of Sultān Hūshang's expedition to Kālpī, as given by Firishtah, agrees generally with that in the text, but he calls the former governor

near that place news was brought to him that Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi was coming with an innumerable host from his capital also to conquer Kalpi. He considered the destruction of Sultan Ibrahim should be taken up in preference to the conquest of Kalpi and advanced to give him battle. When the two armies approached each other and a battle became a matter of today or tomorrow Sultan Ibrahim's scouts brought the news that Mubarak Shah Sultan of Delhi availing himself of the opportunity was advancing on Jaunpur. Sultan Ibrahim giving up the rein of control started towards Jaunpur. Hushang obtained possession of Kalpi without a contest and had the public prayer read in his name. He remained there for some days and placing the chain of gratitude on the shoulders of Qadir Khan who was a former ruler of Kalpi returned to Malwa.

On the way he received petitions from the *thanadars* that turbulent tribes from the direction of the ¹Jatba hills had come into his kingdom and had ravaged some villages and towns and taken shelter in the reservoir of Bham. The description of this reservoir is as follows. In ancient times Bham had erected an embankment across the valley situated between (two) hills with chiselled stones. Its length and breadth were such that one bank was not visible from the other and its depth was unfathomable. Some days after this even when they were on the way Uthman Khan Shahzada sent horsemen near the pavilion of Ghazni Khan Shahzada who was his elder brother.

of Kalpi Abd ul Qadir a servant of Mubarak Shah of Dehli. Hushang's invasion of Kalpi is narrated in the Cambridge History of India on page 25 in the history of the kingdom of Jaunpur and on page 32 in the history of Malwa. In the former place the governor of Kalpi is called Sadir Khan but in the latter it is called by his correct name Qadir Khan.

¹ The name is جام in the MSS and in the lith ed Firishtah lith ed has جام and Col Briggs (vol IV p 185) has Jam hills. M Hidayat Hosain has جاتیا Jatia in the text edition.

The name is عزیز حاں Chazni Khan here in the MSS and in the lith ed though he was always عزیز حاں when it occurred in the section about the history of Gujerat. Firishtah has عزیز حاں here also. Firishtah gives a detailed account of the seven sons of Sultan Hushang. Of these three ¹

Uthman Khan Fath Khan and Haibat Khan were united together while Ahmad Khan Umar Khan and Abu Ishaq sided with Ghazni Khan. As to the disputes Firishtah's account agrees generally with that in the text but the

and the man seated on his horse abused Ghaznīn Khān, and spoke harsh and unbecoming words about him. Although the ushers and eunuchs forbade him, he would not desist. Then the eunuchs pelted him with stones, and drove him away from the vicinity of the pavilion. 'Uthmān Khān Shāhzāda' then came to protect his servants and bastinaded the eunuchs. Becoming conscious of the impropriety of his conduct, however, he separated himself from the camp. He tempted the *amīns* of evil destiny with false promises, and commenced to act traitorously. When all this reached the ears of the Sultan Hūshang, the fire of wrath flamed up in the oven of his heart. He consulted Malik Mughīth Khān Jahān. The latter told him, acts like this have been repeatedly perpetrated by the Shāhzāda, and have been pardoned. On the present occasion also the Sultan might overlook it, so that he might again join the camp. Sultan Hūshang overlooked the act as if by negligence, and Shāhzāda 'Uthmān Khān came back and joined the camp. When Sultan Hūshang spread the shadow of his clemency over the inhabitants of the town of Ujjain, one day he arranged a *majlis* of public audience, and summoned 'Uthmān Khān Shāhzāda' with his two brothers, who were Fath Khān and Haibat Khān into his presence, and stood them in the place of punishment, and after reprimanding them made the three of them over to custodians. Then after some days he ordered Malik Mughīth, that he should place them in confinement, take them with him to the fort of Mandū, and guard them there.

¹ He then advanced to chastise and punish the turbulent men of Jātba, and advancing by successive marches, broke down the embankment of the Bhīm reservoir and traversing a distance on wings of speed totally destroyed the refractory people. The Rāja of the country

three refractory princes are there said to have been put in chains, and made over to Malik Mughīth. There are indications also of Sultan Hūshang's intentions of making Mahmūd Khān his heir, but Malik Mughīth always pretended that he had no desire to have the sovereignty for his son.

¹ Firishtah's account of the expedition against these men agrees with that in the text almost word for word, but he calls the Rāja, the Rāja of جبہ or the Jābia hill. He also says that among the prisoners there were many daughters and sons (of the Rāja ?) The references to these proceedings in Col. Briggs and in the Cambridge History of India are very brief.

at the foot of the Jatha hill fled on foot and concealed himself in jungle and his family and all his treasure and wealth fell into the Sultan's hands and the towns and cities were devastated. So many prisoners were taken that they were beyond all count. The Sultan returned with victory and triumph and went to the fort of¹ Hushangahad and passed the rainy season there.

One day he went out with the intention of hunting. While he was out a *Badaikhshani* ruhy fell out of his - head dress. On the 3rd day after that a man who was going on foot brought it back to him. The Sultan gave him a reward of five hundred gold *tankas* and in connection with this he told the following anecdote. One day a ruhy fell out of the crown of Sultan Firuz Shah and a man who was passing brought it to him. Sultan Firuz Shah gave him a reward of five hundred gold *tankas* and said This is a sign of the setting of the sun of my grandeur and after some days he departed from this ephemeral world. I also know that the thread of my life has been twisted and there are not more than a few breaths left. The men who were in the *majlis* having offered prayers (for his health etc) submitted that On the day on which Sultan Firuz said these words his age had reached 90 years while His Majesty the Sultan was yet in the prime of his life and success. Hushang said that

The number of one's breaths can neither be increased nor diminished. After some days he had an attack of² diabetes while he was still at Hushangahad. When the Sultan saw the signs of his departure and marks of his demise he started from Hushangabad towards Mandu. On the way he held a *majlis of public audience* and he gave the seal ring of the kingdom to his true born son Chizmin Khan in the presence of the *amirs* and his personal attendants and the commanders of the army and declared him to be his heir. He held the latter's hand

¹ The Cambridge History of India page 35 says that at this time he founded the city of Hoshangabad on the Nerbada but neither the Tabaqat nor Firishtah says so.

The word is *جُب* and the Cambridge History of India page 35 calls it his jewelled crown but the Sultan would hardly have gone out hunting with a jewelled crown on his head. Col Briggs (vol IV p 185) call it his tiara.

² The name is *لُبْرَكَة*. The dictionary meaning is a morbid excess of urine diabetes. Col Brigg calls it an attack of stone (vol IV p 186).

and placed him in charge of Mahmūd Khān. The latter after carrying out the rites of homage, submitted, "As long as there would be remnant of life left in me, I shall not hold myself excused from loyal and devoted service." The Sultān then directed the *amīrs* generally, that they should not soil the field of the kingdom by the dust of malice and hostility.

As the Sultān had, by the clarity of his perception, come to know, that Mahmūd Khān intended that the office of the sovereign should be transferred to himself, he filled his ears with counsel and advice, and bringing the rights of the support and nurture, which he had received, to his recollection, said, "Sultān Almād Gujātī is a monarch of great grandeur, and is a lord of the sword. He has always had the determination to conquer Mālwa, and is waiting for an opportune moment. If there is any neglect or dilatoriness in the organisation of the affairs of state, or in the supervision of the troops and subjects, or if there is any negligence in the carrying out of your duties towards Shāhzāda Ghaznīn Khān, his determination to conquer this kingdom will be strengthened, and your union will be changed to dissension."

At the next stage Shāhzāda Ghaznīn Khān sent Malik Mahmūd Nāmī, who had the title of 'Umdat-ul-mulk to wait on Mahmūd Khān, and sent him the following message, "If you, the asylum of the *vazārat*, should strengthen the knot of allegiance by oaths, it would be the cause of my mind being greatly assuaged." Mahmūd Khān accepted the request of the Shāhzāda, and confirmed his promise and engagements by oaths.

Some *amīrs*, who wanted that Shāhzāda 'Uthmān Khān should succeed (to the throne), represented to the Sultān, through Khwājah Nasr-ul-lah Dabīr, that as Shāhzāda 'Uthmān Khān was also a young man of good manners and a true son, it would be right and proper that he should be released from prison, and a part of the country of Mālwa should be allotted to him as his *jāgīr*. Sultān Hūshang said, "This has also appeared to be desirable in my mind, but if ² I release

¹ The MSS have مُتَهَّمٌ، مُتَهَّمٌ The lith ed., has، مُتَهَّمٌ I have retained this. M. Hidayat Hosain has adopted مُتَهَّمٌ in the text.

² The MS as well as the lith ed. have only مُتَهَّمٌ which does not make the meaning quite clear. Firishtah makes it clearer by adding the words

Uthmān Khān in the affairs of the kingdom would be in danger and disorders and disturbances would take place. When Ghaznīn Khan heard that some *amirs* had tried to procure the release of Uthmān Khan he again sent Mahmud Umdat ul mulk to wait on Mabmūd Khan and represented to him ¹ that they should in their presence strengthen the lofty edifice of their agreement by oaths. Mahmud Khān joined the Shahzada while he was riding on the march and again swore that as long as the last remnant of life would be left to him he would not abandon the side of the Shahzada.

When the *amirs* became acquainted with all these affairs Malik Uthman Jalal who was one of the great *amirs* sent two reliable *sardars* with Malik Mubarak Ghazi to wait on Mahmud Khan It so happened that Malik Mahmud Umdat ul mulk was yet in attendance on Mahmud Khan when the *prayers* of Malik Mubarak Ghazi and those two *amirs* were brought to him Mahmud Khan left Malik Mahmud Umdat ul mulk in the pavilion and himself came out and sat at the door so that Malik Mahmud Umdat ul mulk - might hear

کے ارجمند نہیں Contrary to what is stated in the text and in Firishtah Col Briggs says that The King at his (*i.e.* Mahmood Khan's) instance consented to release the young Prince Oothman Khan from confinement and to give him an estate on which he might reside and have no plea for disturbing the reign of Ghuzny Khan (vol IV pp 186-187)

¹ The readings are different and not quite intelligible. One MS has
 که در حضور نکدگر فصر سامع عهد را نعم اکرم کنم The other has
 که در حضور نکدگر فصر سامع عهد را نعم حکم مارد
 اکرم کنم while the lith ed has
 که در حضور نکدگر فصر سامع عهد را نعم فیریخته اکرم داشم ! Firishnah in the corresponding passage has اکرم کنم داشم ! None of the readings is quite satisfactory. I have adopted the reading of the first MS which agrees with that in the lith ed except that in the latter فصر has been changed my mistake to فصر. Even in this reading however the metaphor of calling the agreement a lofty edifice appears to be fantastic. In the reading in Firishnah there is no noun for the adjective سامع to qualify and it does not appear quite right that Chazaln لهم should call himself *fajir* in speaking to Mahmud لهم. M Hidayat Ho min has
 که در حضور نکدگر فصر سامع عهد را نعم اکرم کنم in the text edition

سَلَوْن instead of سَلَمْ has been adopted in the text edition

whatever would be said When Mahk Mubārik Ghāzi came with his two companions, and ¹ conveyed the prayers of Mahk ‘Uthmān Jalāl and Shāhzāda ‘Uthmān Khān, Mahk ‘Uthmān Jalāl represented that, “The questions of the *sultanat* and the *rāzārat* were under consideration, and when a *rāzīr* like him was seated on the *masnād*, it was strange that in spite of the fact that ‘Uthmān Khān was adorned with heroicity and courage and the qualities of administering impartial justice, and of protecting and helping the *ra‘iyāt*, it should be decided, that Ghaznīn Khān should be declared as the heir to the throne Moreover ‘Uthmān Khān has the relationship of a son-in-law to the Mahk-ush-shaiq (*i.e.*, Mahk Mughīth, father of Mahmūd Khān), and therefore his sons are also *zomī* (*i.e.*, Mahmūd Khān’s) sons If infirmity had not prevailed over the Sultān, and ² if an error had not occurred in his righteousness, he would never have attempted to do such a thing All the Khāns and *amīrs* urge you, that paying (favourable) attention to the circumstances of ‘Uthmān Khān you would not withdraw your hand of support from his head, for if the work of the sovereignty is transferred to ‘Uthmān Khān, the kingdom would again acquire greatness and splendour” Mahmūd Khān replied, “A slave or servant is concerned only with slavery and service As to authority or over-lording ³ he knows In the whole

¹ There is some difference in the readings One MS has دعاء على عثمان خان حلال و ساه راده عثمان خان رسابيد - ملك عثمان خان حلال معروضداشت The other MS inserts ملك عثمان خان حلال رسابيد و گفت between ملك عثمان خان and رسابيد و گفت I have adopted the first reading, but M Hidayat Hosain has inserted ملك عثمان خان رسابيد و گفت between ملك عثمان خان and رسابيد According to lith ed of Firishtah also it was Mahk ‘Uthmān Khān Jalāl who was sent by the partisans of ‘Uthmān Khān with Malik Mubārik Ghāzi, but the latter as in the text was the spokesman of the party Mahk ‘Uthmān Jalāl is called Mulhk Othman Julwany by Col Briggs (vol IV, p 187)

² The MSS and the lith ed of Firishtah all say و در فوری را نمی یافت this appears to be incorrect I have adopted the reading of the lith ed of the Tabaqāt which has instead of فوری نصوی, but M Hidayat Hosain has retained ¹ فوری in the text-edition

³ It is او داده in both the MSS, the lith ed and the lith ed of Firishtah I suppose the او or *he* refers to the Sultān

period of my service I have never strayed after what is beyond my province

When Malik Mubarak Ghazi obtained permission to leave (Mahmud Khan) called Malik Mahmud Umdat ul mulk outside and said Go and report this to the Shahzada Malik Mahmud went and narrated what had happened Tho Shahzāda's mind being now reassured about Mahmūd Khan was highly pleased

After the amirs had become despondent of the life of Sultan Hushang ¹Zafar Minjumla who was the *peshwa* of Malik Uthman Jalal fled from the camp of Sultan Hushang with the intention of winning over the custodians of Uthman Khan and arranging for the latter's escape When this news reached Mahmūd Khan he immediately acquainted Shahzada Ghaznun Khan of it so that he might try to remedy what had happened The Shahzāda sent Malik Barkhurdar - Malik Hasan and Shaikh Malik to seize Zafar Minjumla Malik Barkhurdar and Malik Hasan asked for horses which should be ²fresh and strong He ordered that fifty horses should be given to them from the royal stables As the superintendent of the stables was a partisan of Uthman Khan Shahzada he said in reply As long as the Sultan is alive I shall not give a single horse without his express order and going to one of the chief eunuchs who was also a partisan of Uthman Khan ⁴repeated these words to him The wretched Khwajah supposing that these words would be the cause

¹ Firishtah lith ed calls him *takil* instead of *peshwa* of Malik Uthman Jalal Col Briggs calls him Zuffur Khan a person of Prince Oothman's party (vol IV p 187)

One MS has Malik Husain instead of Malik Hasan and neither MS has the ² between Malik Hasan and Shaikh Malik Tho name of Shaikh Malik is omitted in the next sentence in the MSS Firishtah lith ed has Malik Hasan and Malik Barkhurdar and omits Shaikh Malik altogether Col Briggs says that Ghizny Khan ordered a party of fifty men of the royal guards to overtake and bring back Zuffur Khan (vol IV p 187)

³ The word is دوڑ حواہ

⁴ The words حواہ می دولت ایں سعی را are omitted in one MS and in the lith ed The MSS and the lith ed are very incorrect and imperfect here and I am rather doubtful about the correct reading As to the word دولت ایں as an epithet of حواہ I do not know what it really means but it may mean wretched though why this epithet should be used I do not know

of the Sultān's protest and anger, explained to the superintendent of the stables to go near the place, where the Sultān was lying and to repeat these words in a loud voice, so that they might reach the Sultān's ears, and make an impression on his mind, that even while he was still alive, Ghaznīn Khān was stretching his hand to seize his property When the superintendent of the stables said these words with vigor and emphasis, the Sultān in his unconsciousness, having regained a little perception, said, "Where is my quiver?" and called for the *amīrs*

The *amīrs*, thinking that God forbid¹ that the Sultān should have died, and Ghaznīn Khān should have got hold of us by means of this trick, and should destroy us, did not go to the Sultān¹ except Mahmūd Khān When this news reached Ghaznīn Khān a great fear and awe fell upon his heart, and he fled and went to Kākīrūn, which was three stages from the camp He sent Malik Mahmūd 'Umdat-ul-mulk to wait on Mahmūd Khān with the following message, "All the *amīrs* have combined together to raise 'Uthmān Khān to the throne, and I have no one to support me except yourself As the Sultān had called for his quiver, I thought that he might after arriving at Mandū imprison me also, and place me beside my brothers" Mahmūd Khān sent the following reply "You have never done anything contrary to the wishes of the Sultān I shall explain to the Sultān, the matter of your order about giving the horses, at the right moment" Ghaznīn Khān again sent Malik Mahmūd 'Umdat-ul-mulk, with the following message "Although you, the asylum of the *vazārat*, have taken me by the hand, yet as I know that the eunuchs have communicated some displeasing words (about me) to the Sultān, fear has overwhelmed me" Mahmūd Khān sent this message, "There is no² matter Do you please return soon to the camp, for there is little time, and the sun is about to set" He also wrote a letter in the presence of Malik Mahmūd 'Umdat-ul-mulk and sent it to Malik Mughīth to the following purport "His Majesty the Sultān has

¹ The words حَرَبٌ وَّمِنْ occur in the MS, and in the lith ed The meaning is doubtful

² The word is دَعَفَ, or دَعَفُ in the MS, and in the lith ed Fīrishtah lith ed also has دَعَفَ

declared Ghaznīn Khan to be his heir and successor His Majesty's illness has made him very weak and those who are near him have given up all hope of his life It is right that you should make every endeavour to guard Shāhzada Uthman Khan

When Malik Mahmud went and waited upon Ghaznīn Khan and gave him Mahmūd Khan's message and described the purport of the letter he was delighted and came back to the camp When ¹ Malik Ānebhu the p̄ymaster of the forces and the eunuchs who were partisans of Uthman Khan saw that there was a breath left in the Sultan they determined among themselves that early next morning they would place him in a palanquin without informing the amirs and Mahmud Khan and go with all speed to Mandu and bringing Shahzada Uthman Khan out of prison place him on the throne Mahmud Khan having obtained information of the plan became watchful for the death of Hushang He ordered the palanquin to be placed on the ground there and then ² Ghaznīn Khan under

¹ The name is اسکنہن ملک in the VS and اسکنہن ملک in the lith ed Firishtah in the corresponding passage has حمل حبہن

امرا و مصہود حمل One MS omits Mahmud Khan The other VS has امرا و مصہود حمل The lith ed has امراء مصہود Firishtah lith ed has Mahmud Khan I have adopted the second reading but it may be that the reading of the lith ed is correct for there is no reason why the amirs who were in favour of Uthman Khan should be kept in ignorance of the plan If this reading is correct then the text would be the amirs on the side of Mahmud Khan instead of the amirs and Mahmud Khan

² There is some difference in the readings here also The MSS have عرس مصہود عرس حمل و مصہود حمل while the lith ed has حمل عرس مصہود مصہود حمل Ghaznīn Khan was so much under the thumb of Mahmud Khan that it is quite possible that he should have acted under the orders of the other and therefore the reading in the VS which I have accepted is correct though one would have thought that whatever the actual relations of the two men might have been Mahmud Khan would have outwardly at least acted under the orders of Ghaznīn Khan and not vice versa

Firishtah gives a slightly different account He says that the Khan Jahan and the eunuchs started with the palanquin with the dying Sultan in it After they had gone some distance the Sultan died Mahmud Khan obtaining information of this sent men so that they might reprimand the eunuchs about their haste and keep the palanquin there The eunuchs explained that Hushang had ordered that he should be carried to Mandu as quickly as possible and they

the orders of Mahmūd Khān had the royal pavilion fixed up, and occupied himself in putting the corpse into a shroud and coffin. Each one of the *amīrs* (apparently of the opposite faction) went to a secluded place and stayed there.

After the enshrouding of the corpse Mahmūd Khān came out, and said in a loud voice, "Sultān Hūshang has died under Divine Dispensation, and has made Ghaznīn Khān his heir and successor. Whoever is with us should come and make his homage, and whoever is against us should separate himself from the camp, and should go about his own affairs." Mahmūd Khān then ¹ kissed Ghaznīn Khān's hand, and having rendered him homage, wept much. Then the other *amīrs* one after another kissed Ghaznīn Khān's feet, and wept, crying Alas! Alas! When the accession of Ghaznīn Khān was confirmed by the homage of the *amīrs* and of the great men of the age, they took up the corpse of Sultān Hūshang and carried it towards the ² madrassa, and on the 9th ³ Dhī-hijjah, 838 A.H., consigned it to the dust.

Verses

Where are the kings of Jamshid-like power,
From Hūshang and Jamshid to Isfandiyār!
Farīdūn and Kaikhusrū and ⁴ Jām Kū,

were only carrying out his orders. Ghaznīn Khān and Mahmūd Khān did not give any reply, and the latter ordered the royal pavilion to be set up, and commenced to put the Sultān's corpse into the shroud and coffin.

¹ I think this is the first time in this history, that the ceremony of the kissing of the hands is mentioned. Of course there are plenty of instances of kissing the feet and of kissing the ground near the *Bādshāh's* seat or feet. Here also the other *amīrs* kissed the feet while Mahmūd Khān alone was privileged to kiss the hand.

² Fūshtah adds in Shādiābād Mandū

³ Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 189) gives the Hijri date as the 9th Zulhujj, 835 and the corresponding A.D. date as 7th September, 1432. The correct date according to the Tabaqāt and Fūshtah is 9th Dhī-hijjah, 838 A.H. The Cambridge History of India, page 352, gives July 6th, 1435, as the date of Sultān Hūshang's death. The correct A.D. date according to Sewell and Dikshit's Indian Calendar appears to be 7th September, 1435.

⁴ I cannot exactly find out what *Jām Kū* means.

Where we gone Shapūr and Bahram ¹ Gur
 They all rest their heads on brick and dust
 Happy he who s^owed good sowed not seed !

A grand assemblage was convened in the palace of Sultan Hushang and Malik Mughīth Khan Jahan and all the other *amirs* rendered homage and performed the ceremony of making thanks offerings

The period of Hushang's reign was thirty years. The date of his death (838 A.H.) can be found and understood from the words
 Alas ! Shah Husbang is no more

AN ACCOUNT OF MUHAMMAD SHAH SON OF HUSHANG SHAH GHURI

When Hushang Shah accepted the summons of the just God on the 11th Dhī hijjah the *amirs* against their wishes but by the exertion of Malik Mughīth and the arrangements made by Mahmud Khan rendered homage anew to Ghaznīn Khan who had been chosen by Hushang. He distinguished each one of the *amirs* by conferring on them robes of honour and titles and assured them (of safety) - The great and well known men of Malwa were made happy by the grant of rewards and stipends. The city of Mandu received the name of Shadiabad and the public prayers having been read and the eoms struck in the name of Ghaznīn Khan he received the title of ² Sultan Muhammad Shah. Every one who had a fief or a stipend anywhere had it confirmed and resettled. In short although the *amirs* had not been pleased with Ghaznīn Khan being made the Sultan yet owing to the excellency of the management and the skill of Malik Mughīth and Mahmud Khan a new grandeur and splendour appeared in the administration. The people became the new Sultan's adherents and an affection for him gained an ascendancy over the empire of men's heart. He conferred the title of Masnad ¹ Ali Khan Jahan on

¹ One MS has كور the other MS and the lith ed of Firishtah have كور. The lith ed of the Tabaqat has كور. The name of Bahram is so closely associated with كور or the wild ass which he hunted that I have thought that the reading should be كورم كورم ² Hidayat Hosain has كورم كورم in the text edition.

One MS inserts an و before كورم

³ One MS omits the word كورم

Malik Mughīth, and kept the reins of the *nazārat*, as before, in his powerful grasp.

But as after some days he made attempts on the lives of his brothers, and shed unrighteous blood, and drew the pencil across the eyes of Nizām Khān, his nephew and son-in-law, and of the three sons of the latter, men's heart were filled with abhorrence of him, and hatred took the place of love in them. The blood of his murdered brother was necessarily not a good omen for him, and in a very short time the rule of the empire passed out of his dynasty.
¹ Disturbances and rebellion,² which had fallen asleep in the country, awoke again, and refractory and turbulent men³ raised the standard of violence, and the dust of disturbance and rebellion.

Couplet

If evil thou hast done, hope not danger to escape,
 For, it is right for nature to retaliate

Among the others the Rājpūts of the country of⁴ Hārūtī placed their feet outside the circle of allegiance and raided a part of the kingdom. When this news reached Sultan Muhammad Shāh, he nominated Khān Jahān on the 11th of Rabī'-ul-āwwal 839 A.H., to punish them and bestowing two elephants and a special robe of honour on him, started him on the expedition.

He placed the affairs of the soldiery and the *ra'īyats* on the shelf of oblivion, and contracted the habit of continual drinking. He always united and joined up the morning draughts with the evening draughts and *vice versa*. At last one day a number of the old witches sent him a message through an inmate of his harem, to the effect,

¹ One MS has حادیت instead of اشوب

² One MS has حواب instead of حادیت

³ One MS has در انگیخته instead of در آنگیخته

⁴ The name is هاروتی in the MS and in the lith ed. Firishtah lith ed has نادوی, and Col Briggs (vol IV, p 192) has Nandote. The Cambridge History of India does not mention the rebellion here, or the expedition under Malik Mughīth to crush it, but later on after Ma'lūmūd Khān had seized the palace, he is said, on page 353, "to have summoned his father, who was engaged in hostilities against the Hāra Rājpūts of Harātī" هاروتی cannot, however, be transliterated as Harātī. It can be translatable either as Hārūtī or Hārautī. M. Hidayat Hosain has حادوتی Hādūtī in the text.

that a crow of greed had laid an egg of pride in the brain of Mahmūd Khan and he was thinking how he could remove the Sultan out of the way and himself sit on the throne of empire. Sultan Muhammad made an agreement with those men that before Mahmud Khan could carry this wicked wish from potentiality to actual facts he himself should be removed out of the way. When this news reached Mahmud Khan he said ¹ Praise be to God! that the breach of the agreement has not occurred from my side. He occupied himself in attending to his own affairs and always collected troops and retainers. He went to wait on Sultan Muhammad with great caution and care. When the Sultan observed the cautious ways of Mahmud Khan it became the cause of increased anxiety and fear. One day he seized Mahmud Khan's hand and took him into the harem. He called his wife who was a sister of Mahmud Khan and said in her presence

It is my hope that you will not do any harm to my life and the affairs of the kingdom will be in your charge without any contention or hostility. Mahmud Khan said. Perhaps the engagements and oaths have passed out of the Sultan's mind that he brings such words on his tongue. If some malicious persons for their own wicked purpose have spoken words to him he will in the end be abashed and ashamed. If there is any fear or apprehension of me in the mind of the Sultan I am now alone and there is nothing to prevent it (my death)

Couplet

If for loyalty you are here are my heart and life
If for enmity here are the charger and my head

Sultan Muhammad then made his excuses and the two men behaved with softness and flattery. But as the Sultan was obsessed by his suspicions words and gestures indicating his ² distrust appeared

¹ The phrase is written in different ways. It is لله الحمد in one MS and in the lith ed and is لله الحمد لله in the other. Firishtah lith ed has كل الله على الحمد M Hidayat Hosain has correctly لله الحمد الله على كل in the text edition.

فَهُدَى وَفَتْ حَمْدَنْ بِرَدْ رَا مَحَافَظْ مَيْ سَوَدْ instead of حَمْدَنْ بِرَدْ رَا مَحَافَظْ مَيْ سَوَدْ which occurs in the other and in the lith ed اسْعَدَادْ اسْعَادْ بَرَدْ

² One MS and the lith ed have نَا اعْمَادِي but the other MSS have what looks like نَا اعْمَادِي

from him every moment. Mahmūd Khān began to make great exertions and endeavour in gaining his objects. He tempted the Sultan's cup bearer with much gold, and had the Sultan killed by giving him poison in his wine. The tongue of the circumstances of Sultan Muhammad thus victimised and done to death, began to sing in this time, and the faithless time threw up this noise into the curve of the arch of the sky.

Complets

A few breaths, I said with pleasure, shall I take,
 Alas! they were stopped on the path from my heart
 Alas! that at the table of the viands of life,
 I, for a moment partook, and then they said "stop"

When the *amīrs* became cognisant of this,¹ Khwājah Nasr-ul-lah² Parīyānī and Malik Mashīr-ul-mulk, and Latīf Zakariyā and some other *sardārs* combined together, and bringing Shāhzāda Mas'ūd Khān, who was in his thirteenth year, out of the harem, placed him on the throne. They agreed among themselves, that they would remove Mahmūd Khān out of the way by any means that they could. They sent Malik Bāyazīd Shānkha to him, and told him, "Sultan Muhammad Shāh has sent for you to come with great quickness, and wishes³ to send you as an ambassador to Gujrāt". As Mahmūd Khān was aware of the death of Sultan Muhammad he replied, "I have relinquished the duties of the *vazīrat*, and wish to pass the remaining years of my life, as a sweeper of the tomb of Sultan Hūshang. But notwithstanding this determination of mine, as the marrow of my bones has been nourished by the beneficence of Hūshang Shāh,

¹ The names are as I have them in the text in one MS except that of Mashīr ul-mulk, which is that of Shēr ul mulk. In the other the name is Malik Mashīr-ul-mulk, and in the lith ed Parīyānī is written as Harānī, otherwise they agree with the first MS. Firishthah lith ed has Khwājah Nasr Ullah, *vazīr*, and Mashīr ul-mulk and Latīf Dhakāriyā. The names are not given by Col. Briggs and in the Cambridge History of India. The former (vol. IV, p. 193) has, "The officers about the king's person", and the latter (page 353) "a faction among the nobles".

² M. Hidayat Hosain has دیر ساری Dirmibānī in the text

³ The MSS have رسول رسولی (رسولی It is in the corresponding passage in the lith ed of Firishthah. This would mean, wishes to send you on an embassy, and appears to be a better reading than the others.

if all the *amirs* would come to my house then after discussing ¹ all differences of counsels we would report to the Sultan whatever is determined upon as appears to be right and proper

Mūlik Bayazid Shaikhha returned to the *amirs* and informed them that Mahmud Khan has not yet received the news of the Sultan's death if you will all go together to his house he will go with you to the palace and he can then be disposed off Acting on Bayazid Shaikhha's words the *amirs* went to Mahmud Khan The latter had kept his men ready in concealed places When the *amirs* entered he asked Has the Sultan recovered his senses or is he still lying drunk? ³ The *amirs* knew what he was saying After a moment his men came out of the chambers and fell upon the *amirs* They seized all of them and made them over to guards As the lofty edifice of the remaining *amirs* who were with Mas ud Khan tottered under the blow of this news they collected their troops and made the retinue of the Sultan ready and bringing the royal umhrella from the tomb of Sultan Hushang raised it over the head of Mas ud Khan

Mahmud Khan on hearing this news mounted and advanced towards the palace with the object of seizing both the Shahzadas and disposing off them When he got near the palace both sides seized their arrows and spears and the battle of slaughter and bloodshed lasted till night When the lord of the stars (that is the sun) hid himself behind the veil of darkness Shahzada Umar Khan got down from the fort and took the path of flight and Mas ud Khan took sanctuary with Shaikh Jaildab who was one of the great (holy) men of the age The *amirs* fled and betook themselves to the corners of safety Mahmud Khan remained in front of the palace till the morning fully armed and ready for all emergencies When the white light of morning appeared from the sea of the darkness of night

¹ One MS has سوں و کنکاس سوون کنکاس the other has سوون و کنکاس and the lith ed has سوون و کنکاس Firishtah lith ed has سوون و کنکاس The first reading is followed in the text edition

The word is بار حابا The corresponding word in Firishtah lith ed is بار کو سپے corners

³ The meaning of this is not quite clear but the same words occur in the MSS and in the lith ed and also in the lith ed of Firishtah

news was brought to him, that the palace was empty, and the enemies, each one of them, had hid themselves in corners

Mahmūd Khān then entered the palace, and sent a swift messenger to summon his father Khān Jahān. The latter arrived on the wings of speed. Mahmūd Khān assembled the *amīrs* and *Maliks* and sent the following message to Khān Jahān.¹ “The world cannot exist without a² ruler. If the throne of the empire remains unoccupied by the person of a sovereign, many disturbances are produced in the world from the womb of time, the suppression of which becomes difficult. The kingdom of Mālwa has become extensive and refractory, and turbulent men have not yet wakened from sleep. Also the news has not yet reached the Sultāns of the surrounding countries. Otherwise they would have advanced towards us from all directions.” Khān Jahān sent the following reply.³ “No one should attempt to assume⁴ this exalted position, which is a twin brother of the rank of the Prophet, unless he is possessed of the qualities of exalted lineage and perfect generosity and bravery and justice and wisdom, (and unless this is the case) the affairs of the empire do not acquire grandeur and glory. Praise be to God! that my son has all those qualities, which a Sultān should possess. It behoves him (therefore) that at an auspicious moment, he should place his foot on the *masnad* of the *sultanat*, and seat himself on the throne of

¹ The message does not contain a direct appeal to Malik Mughīth to assume the sovereignty of Mālwa, though it implies it. Firishtah lith ed., however, says that Mahmūd Khān wrote to Khān Jahān, that the *sultanat* belongs by right to you, and you should come quickly and seat yourself on the throne. The Cambridge History of India, page 353, also says that Mahmūd Khān “offered the crown to his father”, but the latter “declined the honour”

² Both MSS. have incorrectly حکایان, people of the world. The lith ed. has the correct reading حکایی a ruler. Firishtah in the corresponding passage also has حکایی

³ Khān Jahān’s message as given in the MSS., and in the lith ed. appears to me to be incomplete. It appears to me that some word like کس should be inserted before متقاعد and some words like دعوے سے after دعوے, and the کسی after گی is changed to اور! Firishtah lith ed. omits the words from متقاعد to دعوے سے, and then the sentence makes good sense.

⁴ One MS. and the lith ed. have اے but the other MS. has این! This latter appears to me to be better.

empire When the messenger brought this message all the *amirs* and great men applauded this sentiment and attested to the truth of the word The astrologors who knew the stars were ordered that they should select an auspicious moment for the accession All the *amirs* and the wise men of the kingdom and the great men of the city kissed Mahmud Khan's hand and eongratulated him on his accession

Couplet

If one goes another in his place doth eome
The world never without a bridegroom (ruler) is

The period of the rule of Sultan Muhammad was one year and some months

AN ACCOUNT OF SULTĀN MAHMŪD KHĀLJĪ

The narrators of the histories of the Sultan have related that on Monday ¹ the 29th of the month of Shawwal in the year 839 A.H. Sultan Mahmud Khalji ascended the throne of the *Khilafat* of Malwa His age at that time had attained to 34 years In the whole of the country of Malwa public prayers were read and coins struck in his name All the *amirs* were gladdened with kindness and favour and the stipends and rank of each were increased A number of them were selected and received titles Among these Mashir ul mulk had the title of Nizam ul mulk conferred on him and the reins of the *vazarat* were placed in his powerful hands Malik Burkhdar received the title of Taj Khan and the office of the pay master of the kingdom was entrusted to him Khan Jahan received the title of Azam Humayun and an umbrella and white quiver which were specially reserved for sultans were bestowed on him and it was also settled that the harems and equerries of Azam Humayun should have staffs of gold and silver in their hands and whenever he should mount or dismount should say in a loud voice In the name of the benevolent and merciful God! which in those days was the exclusive privilege of sultans

¹ Col Br ggs (vol IV page 196) gives the corresponding A.D. date as May 16th 1435 The Cambridge History of India page 353 gives 13th May 1436 as the date of Mahmud Khalji's accession According to Sewell and Dikshit's Indian Calendar the day and date appear to be Thursday the 9th of August 1435

When the empire was firmly fixed on Sultān Mahmūd, he devoted his energy to the support of learned and wise men, and whenever he heard of any person of great ability, he sent money to him, and summoned him. He also established colleges in his kingdom, and granted stipends to the learned men and to students, and kept them occupied with imparting and receiving knowledge and learning. In short, the country of Mālwa in the period of his rule became an object of envy to Shīrāz and Samarqand.

As the work of the government was properly administered and all the affairs of the kingdom acquired order,¹ Maṭlik Qutb-ud-dīn Shaibānī and² Maṭlik Nasīr-ud-dīn Dabīr, and a number of the other Hūshang Shāhī *amīrs*, owing to their envy, attempted to act treacherously in concert with³ Maṭlik Yūsuf Qawām. With the object of carrying out their intention, they placed a ladder one night, and climbed to the roof of a *masjid* which was adjacent to the palace of Mahmūd Shāh. From that place they came down to the courtyard of the palace, and were thinking what they should do next. At this time Mahmūd Shāh appeared there, and with very great bravery came out of the house with his quiver bound round him, and coming within bow-shot wounded some (of them). About this time⁴ Nizām-ul-mulk and Maṭlik⁵ Mahmūd Khīdr arrived fully armed.

¹ The suffix to the name is شایبانی Shaibānī in both MSS, but it is رستمی Rustānī in the lith ed and سمنانی Sumnānī in the lith ed of Firishtah. Col Briggs (vol IV, p 197) has Sumnānī.

² He is called ملک نصیر الدین دبیر in one MS, and in the lith ed and ملک نصر الدین دبر in the other MS. Firishtah lith ed has ملک نصر دربیر حرجانی and Col Briggs has Nuseer-ood-deen Joorjany. Is he the same man as Khwājah Nasr-ul-lah Parniyāni mentioned on page 494 and in note 1 on the same page?

³ He is so called in both MSS. The lith ed calls him, evidently by mistake, Maṭlik Yūsuf Qānum. Firishtah lith ed has Maṭlik Yūsuf Qawām-ul mulk. Col Briggs does not mention him. The Cambridge History of India does not give the name of any of the conspirators.

⁴ Firishtah lith ed calls him Mashīr-ul-mulk, who had the title of Nizām-ul-mulk.

⁵ Both MSS call him what I have called him in the text. The lith ed erroneously inserts a و between Maṭlik Mahmūd and Khīdr. Firishtah lith ed has Malik Muhammad Khīdr.

from outside with a body of *silahdars*. The conspirators fled by the very route by which they had entered and made their escape. One of them however who had been wounded by an arrow could not descend by the ladder and threw himself on the ground from the roof of the mosque. His leg was broken and he was seized and was taken (before the Sultan?) and he wrote down the names of all the men who were among the conspirators. Early next morning they were all brought before the Sultan and were punished.

But Azam Humayun begged for the ¹ pardon of the offences of Shāhzada Ahmad Khan son of Hushang Shah and Malik Yusuf Qawam and Malik Anchhā and Malik Nasir ud din Dabir although they had had a full share in creating the disturbance and selected the fort of Islamabad for the Shābzada and conferred the title of Qawam Khan and the fief of Bhilsa on Malik Yusuf Qawam the fief of Hushangabad on Malik Anchha and the title of Naṣrat Khan and the fief of Chanderi by deputation (*Niyabat*) to Malik Naṣir ud din. They obtained leave to go to their *jagirs*. When Shahzada Ahmad Khan reached Islamabad he at once raised the dust of disturbance and rebellion. His forces began to increase day by day and although Taj Khan who had been nominated to suppress them sat down at the foot of the fort of Islamabad he was unable to effect any result. Ahmad Khan sent out a detachment every day from the fort and kept (the men at) the foot of the fort hotly engaged in battle. Taj Khan sent a petition and begged for reinforcements. About this time scouts brought the news to the Sultan that Malik Anchha the feudatory of Hushangabad and Naṣrat Khan the feudatory of Chanderi had raised the flag of hostility and the standard of revolt. Sultan Mahmud sent Azam Humayun Khan Jahan to teach the rebels a lesson and to arrange all the affairs of the country. When the latter arrived within two *lakhs* of Islamabad Taj Khan and the other *sardars* hastened to meet him and explained the true state of

¹ The word is *لئے* in one MS and *لئیں* in the other. The lith ed has what looks like *لے*!¹ Firishtah lith ed has *لئے*! M. Hidayat Hossain has adopted *لے*! in the text edition.

² He is not mentioned by Firishtah here but later on in the distribution of fiefs he is called *ولی* *کلہ* in the lith ed and Mullik Itihad by Col Briggs (vol IV p. 198)

things to him. On the second day, he started, and having occupied the environs of the fort, distributed the batteries. The next day he sent a number of wise men and Shaikhhs to Ahmad Khān, so that they might after filling his ears with the pearls of advice and the gems of precepts, warn him of the evil effects of a breach of agreements and engagements. Although the Shaikhhs and learned men read the texts of persuasion and intimidation to him, his stony heart did not become affected. In reply to the sound precepts he gave equally rare replies, and having given permission to the kind-hearted preceptors sent them out of the fort. Qawām Khān also, acting in a spirit of hostility, sent some arms and other war-like materials to him from his own battery, and strengthened the ¹ foundations of amity by promises and engagements. When the ² siege was prolonged, ³ one day one of the musicians gave poison to Ahmad Khān in his wine, and throwing himself out of the citadel joined the camp of Ā'zam Humāyūn, and the fort was captured. Ā'zam Humāyūn after arranging matters there left one of his trusted men at that place, and marched towards Hūshangābād.

On the way Qawām Khān fled from Ā'zam Humāyūn's camp, and went away towards Bhilsā. Ā'zam Humāyūn considered the overthrow of Malik Anchhā to be of primary importance, and continued his advance to Hūshangābād. Malik Anchhā, finding that he had not the strength to meet him, left all his equipage and other things, and went away towards the foothills of Gōndwāna. When the Gōnds knew that he had turned his face from his lord and master, they collected in large numbers and blocked his way, and killed all of them by pelting them with stones, and shooting them with arrows, and plundered all their goods and property. Ā'zam Humāyūn on

¹ One MS and the lith ed have بندان, but the other MS has بیاد

² One MS has کار مسحاصرة, the other omits کار, while the lith ed has طول مسحاصرة. Firishtah in the corresponding passage has ساحتگی احمد همایوں

³ Firishtah makes this somewhat clearer by saying ساحتگی احمد همایوں رہو داد نکست, i.e., either at the instigation of Ā'zam Humāyūn or for some other reason, and adds رہو داد نکست. The Cambridge History of India, page 353, says positively that Ahmad Khān was poisoned "at the instigation of Mughīs."

hearing this news was highly pleased and entered the fort of Hushangabad. He arranged the affairs of that quarter in the best manner and left one of his trusted men there and advanced towards Chanderi to chastise Nasrat Khan.

When he arrived within two stages of Chanderi Nasrat Khan finding himself weak and helpless came out to meet him and wanted¹ to cover up his misdeeds with grass. Azam Humayun sent for the Sayyids and the learned and great men of the city and collected them together and asked each one of them to describe the behaviour and circumstances of Nasrat Khan. Each one of them told a story most of which were that the crow of pride and vanity had laid an egg in his brain so that marks of hostility and rebellion have made their appearance. Azam Humayun transferred the government of Chanderi from Nasrat Khan to Malik ul umar Hajji Kimal and advanced towards Bhilsa. Although he sent men of rank to Qawam Khan and tried to guide him in the right path it was productive of no good result. Qawam Khan got out of Bhilsa and fled. Azam Humayun halted there for a few days and after assuring his mind of the affairs of that country turned his face towards the capital city of Shadiabad.

On the way news was brought to him that Sultan Ahmad Gujrati was advancing with the object of conquering Malwa and had sent Shabzada Masud Khan with a large army and twenty elephants² to attack him. Azam Humayun started with rapidity and passing the army of Sultan Ahmad at a distance of six krohs entered the fort of Mandu by the Tarapur gate. Mahmud Shah was delighted at the arrival of his father and performed the rites of offering thanks to God. He sent out detachments every day from the fort and went on fighting hard. With great bravery and courage he wanted to sally out of the fort and engage in a drawn battle. But as the thorn of the hostility of the Hushang Shahi amirs had evught in his skirts

¹ The words are سے جوں مس in the MSS and in the lith ed and also in the lith ed of Firishtah

² The name is a in the text in the MSS and in the lith ed but Col Briggs (vol IV p 713) Muluk Kaloo

³ Both MSS and the lith ed have فیضتہ فیضتہ lith ed in the corresponding passage has فیضتہ

and a sort of caution had taken possession of his mind, so that he considered those who were near him, in spite of the kindness with which he had treated them, to be his ¹enemies. But having regard to their hostility and opposition, he stretched out his hands of generosity and benefactions from the sleeve of liberality and munificence, and kept all the men, even in the narrow and straitened circumstances of the siege, ²satisfied and contented. He also distributed grain from the (royal) granaries to *faqīns* and poor men. On account of his great generosity, grain was cheaper in the fort than it was in Sultān Ahmad's camp. He established boarding houses for *faqīns* and poor men, and gave them cooked and uncooked food. He also summoned to his service some *amīns* such as ³Saiyid Ahmad and Sūfi Khān, son of 'Alā-ul-mulk, and Malik-ush-sharq, and Malik Muhammad, son of Ahmad Silāh, and Malik Qāsim, and Hisām-ul-mulk Hāndērī who had an attitude of rebellion and hostility to

¹ The MSS have اعداً وعدوٌ حودٌ and the lith ed has اعداً وعدوٌ خودٌ. Firishtah in the corresponding passage has اعداً وعدوٌ خودٌ. The necessity of the insertion of the words وعدوٌ و خودٌ is not very clear.

² Both MSS and the lith ed have اسودٌ و مدعٌ but the other MS has اسودٌ و سعٌ. Firishtah lith ed has only اسودٌ.

³ There is considerable difference in the names. There is no difference as regards the first name, but one MS omits the ^و after it, which makes it doubtful whether Saiyid Ahmad and Sūfi Khān are two men or only one. There is also no ^و between Saiyid Ahmad and Sūfi Khān in the lith ed of Firishtah, and the father's name is given there as 'Imād-ul mulk and not 'Alā-ul mulk. The name of Malik-ush-sharq occurs in the MS but is omitted from the lith ed, and is changed to Malik Sharf in the lith ed of Firishtah. Malik Muhammad has that name in one MS, but is called Malik Ahmad in the other and Malik Mahmūd in the lith ed, and also in the lith ed of Firishtah. His father who is called Ahmad Silāh in both MSS and in the lith ed is called Ahmad Silāhdār in the lith ed of Firishtah. The name of Hisām-ul mulk which is found in both MSS, and in the lith ed is changed to Malik Qiyām ul-mulk and the suffix to his name is rather difficult to decipher but appears to be Handbārī. The names are not given by Col Briggs (vol IV p 200) who describes them collectively as the "Malwa officers in Ahmad Shah's camp who were at all discontented". The Cambridge History of India (p 353) refers to the chapter about Gujarat for a detailed account of these transactions, but even there very few details are given, and there is no mention of any of the names.

Sultān Ahmad by promising them gold and *jagirs* Owing to these acts there was a certain amount of wickedness in Sultān Ahmad's affairs and by the advice of some men who had come from the latter's camp and had joined him Sultān Mahmūd intended to make a night attack It so happened that ¹ Qai ar Khan the inkstand bearer of Sultān Hushang informed Sultān Ahmad of this intention So when Sultān Mahmūd's army came out from the fort they found the men in the camp ² ready and all the paths closed In the end they pulled down a wall and the battle began Up to the rising of the true dawn it went on furiously from both sides and a large number of men were wounded and killed About the time of the rising of the sun Mahmud Shah retraced his steps and went into the fort of Mandu

After some days the scouts brought the news that the inhabitants of Chanderi and the troops in that neighbourhood had rebelled against Malik ul umara Haji Kamal and had made Umr Khan son of Sultan Hushang their leader and to ⁴ add to the guitar of music Shahzida Mahmud Khan son of Sultān Ahmad Gujrati was advancing towards Sarangpur with five thousand horsemen and thirty elephants On hearing this news Sultān Mahmud held a consultation and it was decided that Zam Humayun who was ⁵ the nursery of the empire should occupy himself in the guarding and arranging of the fort and Sultan Mahmud should himself come out of it and taking up a position in the centre of the country arrange for its protection

¹ The name and description of this man is as I have written them in the text in the MSS as well as in the lith ed But Firishtah lith ed has Nasir Khan the *dauadar* of Sultan Hushang and Col Briggs (vol IV p 200) has Noosruti Khan the officer he had lately been removed from Chundery

The word is حاضر ساحب in the MSS as well as in the lith ed Firishtah lith ed has حر ساحب

³ The word here also حاضر in the MSS in the lith ed and also in the lith ed of Firishtah

⁴ The words appear to be طنبر راد فی الطنبور نعمہ A *ṭanbar* is a kind of lute or guitar with a long neck I do not know the meaning of the phrase but it appears to be a proverbial saying to express to add to the other difficulties Firishtah has no analogous phrase

⁵ The word is درجہ دار in the MSS and in the lith ed of Firishtah but it is درجہ in the lith ed of the Tabaqat According to the dictionary درجہ means a groove an orchard درجہ درجہ in the text edition

In accordance with this intention (Sultān Mahmūd) turned his face of determination in the direction of Sārangpūr, and sent Tāj Khān and Mansūr Khān in advance of himself As Sultān Ahmad had left Malik Hājī 'Alī at the fort of Kanbal to guard the road and keep it open, Tāj Khān and Mansūr Khān, who had arrived there before Sultān Mahmūd, fought with him The latter fled and took the news to Sultān Ahmad, that Sultān Mahmūd had come out of the fort, and was marching towards Sārangpūr Sultān Ahmad sent a messenger to Sārangpūr (with the direction), that the Shāhzāda should, before the arrival of Sultān Mahmūd, betake himself to Ujjain After the arrival of the messenger Shāhzāda Muhammad Khān started from Sārangpūr, with great caution and vigilance, and came and waited upon Sultān Ahmad at Ujjain

¹ Malik Ishāq, the son of Qutb-ul-mulk, the feudatory of Sārangpūr sent a petition to the Sultān, and asking for pardon for his guilt, wrote that Muhammad Khān had left Sārangpūr, and had gone away to Ujjain on hearing the news of the advance, but Shāhzāda 'Umr Khān had sent an army in advance of himself with the object of seizing Sārangpūr, and was himself following behind it On becoming acquainted with the purport of the petition Sultān Mahmūd was highly pleased, and drew the pen of pardon across the page of Malik Ishāq's offences, and sent Tāj Khān in advance of himself to Sārangpūr and he himself also advanced in that direction When Tāj Khān arrived at Sārangpūr, he comforted and re-assured Malik Ishāq and all the inhabitants and leaders of the bands of Sārangpūr of the Sultān's rewards and favours On the Sultān's arrival after they had rendered homage, the Sultān conferred the title of Daulat Khān on Malik Ishāq and bestowed on him a standard and a ² *tās* and a gold embroidered *qabā* (robe), and ten thousand gold *tankas* in cash and doubled his stipend He also bestowed on the heads of the different groups and the residents of the city some horses, and fifty thousand

¹ The name is ملک اسحق in one MS and in the lith ed It is ملک اسحاق in the other MS and in the lith ed of Firishtah I have adopted ملک اسحق

² The dictionary gives cup, goblet, dish and brocade as meanings of طاس *tās* None of these meanings appears to be appropriate

tankas to distribute among themselves. When he reached Sarangpur the scouts brought the news that Shahzada Umr Khan had burnt down the town Bhilsa and had arrived at the boundary of Sarangpur and that Sultan Ahmad Gujrati had also come out of Ujjain with thirty thousand horsemen and three hundred elephants and was advancing towards Sarangpur. Sultan Mahmud considered that it would be advisable to undertake the destruction of Umr Khan in the first instance and commenced an advance at the end of the night.

When there was a distance of six *karohs* between the two armies (he) sent a detachment as an advance guard and they seized some prisoners from whom a knowledge of the condition of the enemy's army could be obtained and brought them to the Sultan who made an enquiry from them of the state of Umr Khan's army. He sent Nizam ul mulk and ¹ Malik Ahmad Silahi and a number of others so that they might reconnoitre the jungle and the roads. He arranged the army in four detachments and advanced early in the morning to attack Umr Khan. The latter also becoming aware of Sultan Mahmud's advance hastened to meet him and having arranged his troops sent them to confront him. But he himself took up a position "on the top of a hill and there remained in ambush waiting for an opportunity. It so happened however that some one brought the information to Sultan Mahmud that Umr Khan was hiding in ambush with some troops on the top of a hill. Sultan Mahmud with a well equipped force advanced towards him. Umr Khan said to the ² soldiers who were with him "It would be a reflection on their good name to fly from the son of a servant and it is better to be slain than to baulk behind." He then fell upon Sultan Mahmud's army with the men who were united with him but was taken prisoner and was put to death by the Sultan's order. His head was placed on the top of a lance and was shown to the army of Chandeli. The leaders and commanders of that army were amazed and thunder-

¹ The name is Malik Ahmad Silahdar in Firishtah. See note 3 on page 50 where also the name is Malik Ahmad Silah in the MS and in the 11th ed. of the Tabaqat but Ahmad Silahdar in Firishtah.

Firishtah 11th ed has *کوہ سر* instead of *سر کوہ* this is better but as the MSS and the 11th ed have I have retained it.

² One MS has *پشاوری* but the other and the 11th ed. have *پشاور*.

struck, and sent the following message, "Please cease the ¹ battle for this day, so that early next morning, we may wait on you and render homage to you anew" On this agreement, both the armies encamped for the night (But) when night came on, the Chandērī army retired towards its own country, and when it arrived at Chandērī, the *amīrs* joined together, and placed Malik Sulaimān, son of ² Malik Shēr-ul-mulk Ghūrī, who had been the *nāib* of 'Umrī Khān, giving him the title of Sultān Shīhāb-ud-dīn.

Sultān Mahmūd detached an army for crushing him, and advanced himself to fight with Sultān Ahmad But the two armies had not yet met each other, when some of ³ the pious men in the army of Sultān Ahmad saw His Holiness the last of the Prophet, on whom be the benediction and salutation[!], in a dream, as declaring that, "A calamity has descended from the sky, tell Sultān Ahmad, that he should carry the goods of his safety out of this country" When they informed Sultān Ahmad of this dream, he did not put much faith in it (But) within the next two or three days a pestilence appeared in his army, so that the soldiers had no time even for digging the graves Sultān Ahmad now having no alternative, went back to Gujrāt by way of Āshta, but he gave a promise to Shāhzāda Mas'ūd Khān that he would seize the country in the course of the next year, and would deliver it over to him

~~و~~ Sultān Mahmūd then went to the fort of Mandū, and having, within the course of seventeen days, re-equipped his army advanced to quench the flame (of rebellion) in Chandērī When he arrived there Malik Sulaimān came out of the citadel with the *amīrs*, and made brave efforts, but as they had not the requisite strength, they fled,

¹ The words را یک occur in one MS, but not in the other or in the lith ed I have inserted them as they make the meaning complete The words مسون و دارند are in one MS, and in the lith ed, but in the other MS they are مسون و دارند I consider this is better and have adopted it M Hidayat Hosain has retained مسون و دارند in the text edition

² Firishtah calls him Malik Mashīr-ul-mulk who was the *nāib* and a near relative of Sultānzāda 'Umrī Khān M Hidayat Hosain has ملک مسون instead of ملک مسون in the text edition

³ Firishtah lith ed has صاحبان instead of صالحان

and again taking shelter in the citadel fortified themselves in it But Malik Sulaiman died there quite suddenly

The amirs selected another to be their leader and making the necessary preparations for carrying on the warfare came out of the citadel They fought but again had to flee and take shelter in the fort When the period of the siege had extended to ¹ eight months Sultan Mahmud ² took advantage of an opportunity and ³ one night climbed over the wall of the fort and after him other brave men did so and the citadel was seized and a large number became food for the sword But one party fled and ⁴ fortified themselves in a fort which was situated on the top of a hill After some days Isma'il Khan (of) Kalpi obtained quarter and brought them down from the fort Sultan Mahmud having arranged the affairs of that territory in the best way and having allotted Chanderi as a jagir to Malik Muzaffar Ibrahim intended to return But his scouts brought the news that Dungar Sen had come from the fort of ⁵ Gwalior and had besieged the ⁶ city of Narwar In spite of the fact that his army

¹ The period is eight months in both MSS and in the lith ed of Firishtah and in Col Briggs (vol IV p 204) It is seven months in the lith ed of the Tabaqat and in the Cambridge History of India

The word is اسٹار in one MS and in the lith ed of Firishtah اندھائی in the other MS and in the lith ed of the Tabaqat The dictionary meaning of اندھائی as act of rising getting up another word اسکار means watching for finding an opportunity I think اسکار is more appropriate than اسٹار or اندھائی and this is adopted by M Hidayat Hosain in the text edition

³ One MS has سس instead of سدی This appears to be a mistake

⁴ There are some variations in the readings One MS and the 1st ed have سدی سدی سدی the other has سدی سدی سدی and further on one MS and the lith ed have اسکار حل کالی اندھائی را اعلان گردید while the other has اسکار حل حاں کالی ناسکھائی اعلان گردید As to the other difference there is apparently not much to choose I have adopted the readings of the first MS and the lith ed In the text edition M Hidayat Hosain has ان حماعہ instead of ان حماعہ Firishtah gives the conditions on which quarter was granted

⁵ Gwalior is spelt گوالئر in both MSS and in the lith ed but on previous occasions it was spelt as گوالیار and is so spelt here also in Firishtah

⁶ The name is سہر نور in one MS and in the lith ed of Firishtah It is سہر نور the city of Narwar in the other MS and سہر نور the city of Nur or

was, owing to its being the rainy season and the long period of the siege,¹ in much distress, Mahmūd Shāh advanced towards Gwāliar by successive rapid marches. When leaving his own territory, he arrived near Gwāliar, he commenced to plunder and ravage the country. A body of Rājpūts came out of the fort, and engaged in a battle, but as they had not the strength to withstand the assaults of Mahmūd Shāh's army they fled, and entered into the² aperture of the fort. Dūngai Sēn on hearing this news decided on a retreat and raised the siege, and fled to Gwāliar. As Mahmūd's object was to release Narwar from the siege, he did not occupy himself with besieging Gwāliar and returned to Shādiābād.

† In the year 843 A H., (1439 A D.), he commenced the erection of the tomb of Sultān Hūshang, and the completion of the *Jāma' Masjid* of Hūshang Shāh, which is situated near the³ Rām Sarāī gate, and

Naur in the lith ed of the *Tabaqāt*, though later on, it is نور in it also Col Briggs (vol IV, p 205) has Nurwur. The Cambridge History of India, page 354, has "a town named Shahr-i-Nau, not now traceable". The evidence in support of the reading *Shahr-i-Nau* appears to be good, but I think نور or the city of Narwar is the correct reading. Narwar is situated on the river Sind opposite to Jhānsī, and would be on the way from Gwāliar. The Cambridge History of India (p 354) calls Dūngar Sēn "Dongai Singh the Tonwār of Gwalior". The name is Dūngar Sēn in the MSS and in the lith ed of the *Tabaqāt* and also in the lith ed of Firishtah, but Col Briggs has Dongar Sing. After Timūr's invasion, Gwalior according to the Cambridge History of India, page 241, was held by the Tonwar Rājputs, but the name of Tonwar does not appear in the list of the Rajpoot royal races given on page 63 of Tod's *Rajasthan*, vol I, the nearest approach to that name being the Tuars, which appears in the lists by the Kheechie Bard and by the author (Col Tod). It is true that the Imperial Gazetteer of India, vol XII, page 441, agrees with the Cambridge History of India in saying that "After Timur's invasion Gwalior was seized by the Tonwar Rajputs". But Tonwar is spelt there as it indeed is on page 241 of the Cambridge History with the short a and not with the long a as on page 354. M Hidayat Hosain has دروازہ رام سرای in the text edition.

¹ The MSS have دریسان, and the lith ed has دریسان کہ در شہل. Firishtah lith ed has دریسان. This appears to be the correct reading and I have accepted it.

² The MSS and the lith ed and the lith ed of Firishtah all have دروازہ رام سرای

³ The name of the gate is variously given. One MS has دروازہ رام سرای, Another has what looks like the Hārāsūī gate, Rām Sarāī gate.

had two hundred and thirty enpolas and three hundred and eighty
¹ pillars (minarets²) and these were completed in a short time

In the year 845 A.D. petitions from the amirs of Mewat and the great and holy men of the metropolitan city of Dehli came in rapid succession to the effect that Sultan Muhammad (son of Mubarak Shah) was unable properly to discharge the high and onerous duties of sovereignty and consequently the hands of the oppressors and of turbulent men had come out of the sleeve of tyranny and oppression and there was nothing left of peace and quietness except in name and a story. As the tailor of faith and providence had sown the robe of sovereignty on the elegant stature of that asylum of sovereignty the generality of the residents of this country wish that they should place the collar of allegiance to him on their neck of submission and subjection with willingness and alacrity. In the latter part of the year Sultan Muhammad advanced towards Dehli with a well equipped army. In the neighbourhood of the town of Hindaul Yusuf Khan Hundal waited on him. When he encamped in the village of³ Panna Sultan Ahmad took up a position with Tughlaqabad at his rear. The

دوارة راصموی دروازہ راصموی Firishtah lith ed has and Col Briggs (vol IV p. 05) has the Rumpoora gate

¹ The MSS. & 1st lith ed have اسٹراؤنڈ which according to the dictionary means a cylinder. In lith ed has مینار a pillar. The mosque according to Firishtah lith ed has two hundred and eight minarets, and according to Col Briggs (vol IV p. 05) two hundred and thirty minarets and two hundred and sixty arches.

The MSS. as well as the lith ed have 845 A.D. but Firishtah lith ed has 844 A.D. and Col Brigg has 844 A.D. 1440 A.D. The Cambridge History of India page 34 also has 1440 A.D. For an account of these transactions as given in the history of Sultan Muhammad Shah of Dehli see page 271 of vol I Persian text and pages 3 7 3 8 of vol I English translation of this work. The Dehli Sultan is here called Sultan Mahmud Mubarak Shah in one MS. and in the lith ed and Sultan Muhammad Mubarak Shah in the other MSS. and in the lith ed of Firishtah though in the Dehli section he was called Sultan Muhammad Shah. He was the adopted son of Mubarak Shah and the correct reading here should be Muhammad Shah son of Mubarak Shah. The Cambridge History of India page 34 calls him Sayyid Muhammad Shah.

² One MS. has دیو Panna while the other has what looks like دیو Tabra while the lith ed has دیو Patna

next day Sultān Mahmūd divided his army into three detachments. He placed two of them under the commands of Sultān Ghīyāth-ud-dīn, and of¹ Ghaznīn Khān who had the title of Sultān ‘Alā-ud-dīn, and sent them against Sultān Muhammad’s army and kept the third force of selected soldiers with himself. ² Sultān Muhammad sent out Malik Bahlūl Lūdī and Sayyid Khān and Dāiyā Khān and Qutb Khān and other commanders, and engaged them in battle. Up to nightfall, brave men experienced in warfare stepped out from both sides and gave proofs of their courage and bravery. In the end both parties sounded the drum of retreat and took up their positions in their original stations.

³ It so happened that on that very night Sultān Mahmūd saw in a dream, that some audacious low men had risen in revolt in the fort of Mandū, and had brought the royal umbrella from the tomb of Sultān Hūshang, and raised it over the head of a man of obscure descent. In the morning there were signs of anxiety and ⁴ distress in him. At this time Sultān Muhammad sent emissaries, and struck at the door of peace. Sultān Mahmūd immediately agreed to a pacific settlement, and started on the journey back to Mālwa. On the way, news came to him, that as it had happened, on that very night a mob of the common people had raised the dust of disorder and disturbance in Mandū, but it had been quelled by the exertions and

¹ He is called Qadm Khān in one MS and Ghaznīn Khān in the other and Nasrat Khān in the lith ed. Qadm Khān seems to be the correct reading, see note 4, page 327, vol I, English translation of this work, and I have adopted it.

² One MS has by mistake Sultān Mahmūd

³ Firishtah agrees mainly as to the three versions of the reason of Sultān Mahmūd’s return to Mālwa, though the lith ed says that he saw the revolt in the fort of Mandū in an واعده, happening and not in a dream. Col Briggs (vol IV, p 206) says that he saw it in a dream. But the Cambridge History of India, page 354, says that Mahmūd readily accepted Muhammad Shāh’s proposed terms of peace, as he “had learnt that during his absence the mob had risen in Māndū, removed the gilded umbrella from the tomb of Hūshang, and raised it over the head of a pretender”. It has thus converted what Sultān Mahmūd saw in a dream into a series of actual events.

⁴ The MSS have دارگی and بیو دارگی after سرگی while the lith ed has no similar words. Firishtah in the corresponding passage has سرگی, and I have adopted it. M. Hidayat Hosain has بیو مردگی in the text edition.

management of Āzam Humayun. It has however come under my notice that it appears in some history that now was conveyed to Sultan Mahmud that Sultan Ahmad Gujrati was about to invade Malwa and for this reason Sultan Mahmud came back. This version appears to be the most correct.

¶ In short Sultan Mahmud arrived in Shadiabad on the ¹ 1st of Muharram 846 A.H. and made the deserving men there partakers of his gifts and bounties. In the same year he laid out a garden in the land appertaining to the town of Nalolia and built a dome and a few great palaces in it and remained for some time in Shadiabad.

- After a short time he repaired the casualties and the damages sustained by his army and marched out towards Chitor with the determination of chastising the Rajputs. At this time ³ news was brought to the Sultan of the arrogance of Nasir ⁴ son of Abd ul qadir the governor of Kalpi who had assumed the title of Nasir Shah and had declared his independence and letters had come from both the great men and the ordinary inhabitants of the country that he had placed his foot outside the straight and strong path of the law of the Prophet and was straggling on the path of heresy and oppression and (they) were crying for justice from his oppression and tyranny. Sultan Mahmud placed the destruction of Nasir Shah in the forefront of his energies and ⁵ advanced towards Kalpi.

¹ The name of the month is left out in the MSS and in the lith ed of Firishtah but is given as Muharram in the lith ed of the Tibaqat. Of course the first day of Muharram is also the first day of the year. The year is 846 A.H. in the MSS and in the lith ed but is 845 A.H. in the lith ed of Firishtah and 845 A.H. 1441 A.D. in Col Briggs (vol IV p 907).

² One MS has و نہ ارائکہ ب و ریس سکر حود را درس کرہ instead of what I have in the text which is the reading of the other MSS and the lith ed.

³ The sentence is long and rather clumsy worded.

⁴ The word حنفی is omitted in one MS and in the lith ed.

⁵ The word راجه after نصر is omitted in the MSS and the text edition. It is in the lith ed of Firishtah and as it is required to make sense I have inserted it.

⁶ One MS has instead of عارم کالی گسپ which occurs in the other and in the lith ed and in the lith ed of Firishtah by mistake ملعون سواد اکبل which ملعون سواد اکبل occurs in the other and in the lith ed and in the lith ed of Firishtah by mistake همارون کالی گسپ.

+ Nasīr¹ (son of) 'Abd-nl-qādū, having received information of the advance of Sultān Mahmūd, sent² 'Alī Khān, his uncle, with many beautiful things and presents and various kinds of tributes, and submitted a representation to the effect, that "Whatever they have said in respect of me, is entirely false and a fabrication, and in order to decide this matter, if you will send truthful men and will find out the truth, you can mete out any punishment that I may deserve if even a small part of it be proved to be true" Sultān Mahmūd³ did not grant an audience to the emissary for some days and advanced stage after stage When he arrived in the neighbourhood of Sāiāngpūn, he, at the suggestion of Ā'zam Humāyūn and other chief men of the state, drew the pen of forgiveness across the⁴ page of Nasīr's offences, granted permission to his emissary to make his *kūnish*, accepted his tribute, and sending him letters containing counsel and precepts gave permission to 'Alī Khān to go back, and turned towards the country of Chitōr

When he crossed the⁵ river of Bhīm, he sent detachments every day in different directions in the country of Chitōr and devastated it and plundered and took the people prisoners, and pulling down idol temples, laid the foundations of mosques He halted for three or four days at each stage When he encamped at Kōnbhalmīr, which is one of the greatest forts of that country, and is famous for its strength in the whole country of⁶ Hindūstān, there the *vakil* of Rāy Kōnbhā, who was named Dēbā, fortified himself, and sent out troops

¹ Here also the man is named میر عد القادر and the word وَلَدْ or سُنْ is omitted in the MSS, the lith ed, and the text edition

² One MS has instead of عالی حان علي حان Firishtah calls him Nasīr Khān's معلم or tutor and not his uncle

³ One MS has بادیه instead of بادیه بار

⁴ The word میر ات is only in one MS before میر ات, but I have inserted it, as it is required to make the metaphor complete

⁵ Both the MSS and the lith ed and the lith ed of Firishtah call it the اب سہم There was a river حوش سہم mentioned before, see page 481, but it cannot be identical with اب سہم Col Briggs (vol IV, p 208) calls it the Bunas river

⁶ Both MSS have ارابخا, but the lith ed and the lith ed of Firishtah have درابخا This is better, and I have adopted it It would appear that according to the Tabaqāt and Firishtah it was the fort of Kōnbhalmīr itself that Dēbā Rāy fortified himself in, but according to Col Briggs (vol IV, p 208)

to carry on skirmishes It so happened that they had built a grand temple opposite to the fort and had drawn a line of fortifications round it and had stored provisions and war materials in it Sultan Mahmud directed his energies to the capture of the fortifications round the temple and seized them in the course of a week A large number of Rajputs became food for the sword and others were plundered and taken prisoners Sultan Mahmud ordered that the buildings appertaining to the temple should be filled with firewood and set on fire and he poured ¹ water and vinegar over the walls and in the twinkling of an eye those grand edifices which had taken so many years to erect were rent asunder and crumbled down The idols were also broken up and given to the butchers (Col Briggs adds of the camp) so that they might use them as weights for their scales for the sale of meat The largest idol which had been fashioned in the shape of a ² sheep was converted into lime and given with the

it was one of the forts in the Koombulmore district And he calls its defendant Beny Ray The Cambridge History of India page 355 is delightfully vague here and says he captured a fort and destroyed a temple and advanced to Chitor It is curious that there is no mention of these incidents in Tod's *Rajasthan* On the other hand Tod (vol I p 2²⁹) says that in S 1436 A D (1440 A D) the kings of Malwa and Guzerat at the head of powerful armies invaded Mewar Koombho met them on the plains of Malwa bordering on his own state and at the head of one hundred thousand horse and foot and fourteen hundred elephants gave them an entire defeat carrying captive to Chetore Mahmood the Khilji sovereign of Malwa We have no mention of this victory in either the Tabaqat or in Firishtah but according to Col Tod Abul Fuzil mentions it and dilates on Koombho's greatness of soul in setting his enemy at liberty not only without ransom but with gifts Col Tod also says that Mahmood was confined for six months in Chetore that Rana Sanga's son gave Baber the crown of the Malwa king one of the trophies of the conquest and finally that there is a more durable record of the victory in the inscription on the triumphal pillar of Chetore of which Koombho laid the foundation eleven years after the event and which was completed in ten years

¹ One MS and the 1st ed have اب و سرکه while the other MS has اب سرکه but Firishtah 1st ed has اب سرکه He however agrees with the Tabaqat in saying that water was poured over the wall but Col Briggs says that cold water was thrown on the stone images

Col Briggs (vol IV page 209 footnote) says probably the figure was one of a bull for as he says there is no other instance of the image of a sheep or a ram being treated as an object of worship by the Hindus

pān leaf to the Rājpūts, so that they should have to eat of the object of their worship

After he had done all this, he turned the bridle of his determination towards Chitōr, and after his arrival in that quarter, he seized, after some fighting, a fort, which was situated at the foot of the Chitōr hill, and slew a number of Rājpūts there. He was, after this, engaged in preparations for the siege of Chitōr, when the scouts brought the news, that Kōnbhā himself was not in the fort, but had on that day come out of it, and had gone away in the direction of the foot hills, which were situated in that neighbourhood. The Sultān started in pursuit of him and sent several detachments separately in different directions after him. It so happened, that one of these encountered Kōnbhā, and a great battle took place, in which Kōnbhā was defeated, and entered the fort of Chitōr. Sultān Mahmūd detached one army to besiege the fort, and himself took up a position in the centre of the country, and sent detachments every day for ravaging, and laying the country waste.

He then summoned Ā'zam Humāyūn Khān Jahān, so that he might take possession of ¹ the country belonging to the Rājpūts, which was situated round about Shādiābād. When Ā'zam Humāyūn arrived at Mandisōr, he fell ill, and surrendered the deposit of life. Sultān Mahmūd on receiving this news became extremely disconsolate and sorrowful. He wept much, and in his great grief and distress wounded his face. On arrival in the fort of Mandisōr, he sent the body of his father to Shādiābād, and made Tāj Khān, who was the pay-master of the army, its commander, and returned to his own camp.

As the rainy season had now arrived, the Sultān resolved, that he should select an elevated position, and take up his quarters there, and after the end of the rains again go on with the siege of Chitōr. On the night of the 25th of Dhi-hijjah, 846 A.H. (April 24th, 1443 A.D.)

¹ The MSS. and the lith. ed. agree, but Firishtah says وَلَمْ يَرُدْ رَأْيَهُ كَمَا دَرَأَ طَرَافَ مَدَنَ سُورَ وَاعِظَ اسْتَمْسِرَ شَوَّدَ, so that he might occupy the part of the country of Jaitōr, which was situated around Mandisōr. The Cambridge History of India (p. 355) does not say that Sultān Mahmūd asked his father to occupy the country round Mandisōr, but that the latter led an expedition against that place, and there fell ill and died.

Kōnbha made a night attack with ten thousand cavalry and six thousand infantry but Sultan Mahmūd had arranged for the protection of his camp with such care and vigilance that he was unable to do anything and a large number of ¹ Rajputs were slain. The next night Sultan Mahmud made a night attack on the army of Konbha with an army in battle array. Kōnbha was wounded and fled towards Chitor and many Rajputs became food for the sword and much booty fell into the hands of - the followers of Mahmud. The latter carried out the rites of offering thanks to God and deferring the capture of the fort of Chitor to the next year returned to his capital of Shadiabad for protection and safety.

Towards the end of Dhū lūjjah of the same year he planned the erection of a college and a minaret ² seven stories high in front of the Hushāng Shahī Jama Mosque.

In the year ⁴ 849 A.H. an ambassador came from Sultan Mahmud son of Sultan Ibrahīm Sharqī the ruler of Jaunpur with gifts and presents of rare excellence and after placing them before the Sultan gave a verbal message to the following effect Nasir ⁵ son of Ahd ul qadir the governor of Kalpi has turned his face from the strict path of the law of the Prophet has adopted the ways of heresy and heterodoxy has given up the practice of fasting and prayer and has made over Musalman women to Hindu Nayikas so that they might teach them the art of dancing. As the governors of Kalpi have from the time of Sultan Hushāng been nominees of the rulers of Malwa it is right and proper that I should in the first instance reveal all

¹ One MS and the lith ed have مساجر راحبوں سے but the other MS has راحبوں مساجر

² One MS and the lith ed have مساجر دل نہیں، but the other MS has مساجر سکر سلطان محمود

³ The words are مساجر عالیٰ منظر Col Briggs (vol IV p 210) has translated it a beautiful pillar seven stories high. I have found that the dictionary gives face aspect a lofty building tower and palace among the meanings of منظر but none of these is quite appropriate. M. Hidayat Hosain has مساجر instead of مساجر in the text edition.

⁴ The MSS and the lith ed all have 849 A.H. but Firishtah and Col Briggs have 847 A.H. and Col Briggs (vol IV p 210) has 1444 A.D.

⁵ One MS omits the word ن

his circumstances to your right-thinking mind, but if you should not have the leisure to punish and chastise him, you may indicate the fact to me, so that I may chastise him in a way, that may be deterrent to others" Sultan Mahmūd said in reply, "The greater part of my army has gone to punish the rebels of¹ Mandisōi, and as you have placed the defence of the faith in the forefront of your energies,² may your undertaking be of good omen, and it has my approval" In the same *majlis* he bestowed a robe of honour, and the usual money, which had become customary in that age and which had been paid to ambassadors, on the ambassador of Sultan Mahmūd Sharqī, and granted him permission to return

+ When the ambassador arrived at Jaunpūn, and reported (Sultan Mahmūd Khaljī's) reply, Sultan Mahmūd, on account of his great pleasure and joy, sent twenty elephants as a final present to the Sultan He then advanced towards Kālpī with a well-equipped army, and³ expelled Naṣir (son of) 'Abd-ul-qādū from that country

And Naṣir (son of) 'Abd-ul-qādū sent a petition to Mahmūd Shāh to the following purport, "I have been obedient and submissive to your well-wishers from the time of Hūshang Shāh to this day Now Sultan Mahmūd Sharqī has, with violence and tyranny, seized this *faqīr's* territory As you have always been my protector, now also knowing your high threshold to be the altar of my hopes, I have turned (my face) towards the country of Chandērī" Sultan Mahmūd sent 'Ali Khān with elegant things and presents to Sultan Mahmūd

¹ The MSS have میوات, and سواد, and the lith ed has مدوایر which all appear to be incorrect The lith ed of Firishtah has محسور, and I have adopted it M Hidayat Hosain, however, has retained سواد in the text edition

² There is some difficulty about the meaning of the passage, which is written in one MS as مبارک باشد که وحدت مقتول نموده اد In the other MS the word و is substituted for ک, and the word است for the last two words اد نموده اد In the lith ed the conjunction is و, and the sentence ends with the words مقتول, and both نموده اد and است are omitted

³ The expression in the MSS and in the lith ed as well as in the lith ed of Firishtah is حواحہ دار ارائے دیار سروں کرد I cannot find out the exact meaning of the word حواحہ دار It would be noticed that it was used in two previous passages

Sharqi and begged him that As Nasir Khan son of Abd ul qadir has through your exertions and activities repented of his evil acts and has adopted the path of the law of the Prophet and as he has from the time of the fortunate Sultan Hushang been under our protection it is hoped that accepting and taking into consideration the purport of the text that one who has repented of his sin is as if he had not sinned at all he would draw the pen of forgiveness over his offences and would deliver his country back to him After the arrival of Ali Khan Sultan Mahmud Sharqi did not give any distinct reply and passed the time by saying may be and perhaps

Mahmud Shah Khalji owing to his sense of honour and manliness considered the protection of Nasir (son of) Abd ul qadir incumbent on his spirits and started on the 1st Shawwal 848 towards Chanderi and in the neighbourhood of that place - Nasir Khan came and rendered him ³ homage and ⁴ (Sultan Mahmud then) immediately advanced towards Erij and Bhandir When this news reached Sultan Mahmud Sharqi he came out of the city and encamped in the territory of Erij and having seized Hubarak Khan son of Junaid Khan who was the hereditary ruler of that place took him along with him Starting from that place he encamped in the broken ground near the river Jamuna to which there was only a narrow

¹ The corresponding A.D. date is given by Col. Briggs (vol. IV p. 21) as January 8th 1446 A.D. while the Cambridge History of India pag. 33 gives January 1st 1446 as the date on which Sultan Mahmud I Khalji commenced his march towards Chanderi

He is called Nasir Shah in this place in the MSS. and in the lith. ed. of Firishtah but more correctly Nasir Khan in the lith. ed. of the Tabaqat-i-Hidayat Hosain has Nasir Shah in the text-edition

² The words كُرْدَلَى , occur in one MS after سُورَى مَوْلَى but not in the other MS or in the lith. ed.

³ The words from مَوْلَى to مَوْلَى occur in the MS. but are omitted from the lith. ed. There are slight differences in the MS also the initial ل is omitted in one and the name of the second place is differently spelt in the two MSS. In one it is بَهْنَدِر which I suppose is Bhandir though there is no dot below the first letter while in the other it is written as بَهْنَدِر which is probably Bhandir. In the lith. ed. of Firishtah it is بَهْنَدِر Thandir Col. Briggs (vol. IV p. 212) has Bhandero. The Cambridge History of India mentions Erij but not Bhandir

passage, and where a hostile army could not come up to him, and strengthened the position by the erection of works round it. Mahmūd Shāh leaving him alone there advanced towards Kālpī, and Mahmūd Shāh Sharqī becoming impatient also marched towards that place. At this time the warriors of the Khiljī army attacked his base, and took an immense quantity of booty. Upon this he turned round with a body of his men, and engaged in a battle, and the fight and slaughter continued till the evening. After the lord of the stars (the sun) had set, the two armies returned to their original stations, and remained there. After two or three days, as the rainy season had already made its approach, Sultān Mahmūd Khaljī returned to Fathābād after plundering and ravaging some villages appertaining to Kālpī. He planned the erection there of a palace seven stories high.

The *rāiyats* and inhabitants of the town of Enj complained of the oppression and tyranny of Mubārak Khān, son of Jumād Khān. Sultān Mahmūd Khaljī sent Malik-ash-sharq Muzafrā Ibrāhīm, the governor of Chandī, with a large army to Enj. When he arrived in the neighbourhood, news came that Sultān Mahmūd Sharqī had sent Malik Kālū to attack and destroy him and had reached the village of ¹ Rātah. Malik Muzafrā Ibrāhīm also turned to Rātah and after they had met Malik Kālū fled. The inhabitants of Rātah came and saw Muzafrā Ibrāhīm ² he seized them all, and sent them to Chandī, and again advanced towards Enj. He learnt on the way that Sultān Mahmūd Sharqī had sent the major portion of his army to make a raid on the territory of ³ Barhār, the Rāy whereof was a dependant of Mahmūd Shāh Khaljī. Malik Muzafrā considered the guarding of his (master's) dominions must have precedence over the conquest of Enj, and advanced in that direction and the Sharqī army, hearing

¹ The name is written as راتہ and راتھ in the MS and راتھ in the lith ed., and in the lith ed of Firishtah Col Briggs (vol IV, p 213) calls it Rohut. The Cambridge History of India does not mention the place, or the incidents connected with it.

² It is not at all clear why he did so. Firishtah does not mention the incident.

³ The place is called Barhār in one MS and in the lith ed., and بارہار Parbād in the other MS. It is not mentioned in the lith ed of Firishtah. M Hidayat Hosam has adopted بارہار Parhārah in the text edition.

the news turned back and went to the town of Ratah As the war was being prolonged and Musalmans belonging to both sides were being wounded and slain ¹ Shaikh Jalaldah who was one of the great men of the age and was famous for revelations and miraculous acts wrote and sent with the concurrrence of Sultan Mahmud Sharqi a letter to Mahmud Shah Khalji on the subject of a peace and by the exertions of His Holiness the Shaikh the peace was effected in this way that Sultan Mahmud Sharqi should at once make over the towns of Ratah and Mahobah to Nasir Khan and when four months should have elapsed after the return of Mahmud Shah Khalji he should deliver to him the territory of Kalpi also The period of four months was mentioned for this reason that in that time the truth about his religion and creed would be disclosed and on this agreement Mahmud Shah Khalji returned to Shadiabad

In the year 848 A H the Sultan planned the establishment of a ² hospital and he created an endowment by the gift of some villages for paying the charges of medicines and all the other things required for the sick He also appointed Manana Fadl ul lah hakim (physician) who had the title of Malik ul hukama for observing the condition of the ³ sick and the insane

On the ⁴ 20th of Rajab al murajjab in the year 950 A H (Sultan Mahmud) advanced with the object of capturing the fort of Mandalgarh

¹ The name is written as حافظ and حافظ in the MS and as خالدہ in the lith ed of the Tabaqat and خالدہ in the lith ed of Firishtah Col Briggs (vol IV page 213) calls him Sheikh Chand of Malwa

² Firishtah lith ed gives 819 A H as the year of the foundation of the hospital Col Briggs (vol IV p 214) gives 1446 A D as the corresponding year of the Christian era

³ This is one of the earliest mentions of the establishment of a hospital and it certainly as far as I know is the earliest mention of a hospital for mental diseases Col Briggs (vol IV page 214) gives a description of the hospital and mentions apartments for maniacs but the Cambridge History of India page 306 only incidentally mentions the building of the hospital

⁴ The MSS are incorrect here One has مرصع و حادث and the other مرصع و محاسن The lith eds of both the Tobaqat and of Firishtah have the correct reading

⁵ Col Briggs (vol IV p 214) gives September 11th 1446 A D as the corresponding date The Cambridge History of India page 306 says Mahmud Khalji invaded the Rana's dominion in October 1446 A D

When he arrived in the neighbourhood of the fort of Ranthambhōr, he transferred the command of it from Bahār Khān to Malik Saif-ud-dīn, and marching by successive stages encamped on the bank of the river Benāres. As Rāy Kōnbhā did not possess the strength to meet him, he fortified himself in the fort of Mandalgarh, and on the 2nd and 3rd day, the Rājpūts salved out of the fort, and exerted themselves bravely. But in the end, they came in with weakness and humility, and agreed to pay tribute. Sultān Khaljī, owing to the exigencies of the time, agreed to a peace, and returned (to his own dominions).

In a short time, having newly equipped his army, he advanced with the object of capturing the fort of Bijāna. When he arrived within two *farsangs* of that place,¹ Sayyid Muhammad Khān, the governor of the place, sent his son Aūhad Khān to wait on him, and sent one hundred horses, and one *lakh* of *tankas* in cash as tribute. Mahmūd Shāh having honoured him with a special robe of honour, gave him permission to go back. He also sent a gold embroidered *qabā* (robe) and a head-dress decorated with gems, a gold belt and horses with saddles and bridles adorned with gold for Muhammad Khān himself. The latter put on the *qabā*, and opened his mouth in praise of Mahmūd Shāh, and had the public prayer read and the coins struck² in his name. The Sultān on hearing this news returned from the place where he was. On the way he captured the town of³ Alhanpūr which is situated near Ranthambhōr. He next⁴ sent eight thousand

¹ He is called Mahmūd Khān in one MS. In the other he is called Mahmūd Khān in one place and Muhammad Khān in the other. The lith ed and the lith ed of Firishtah call him Muhammad Khān.

² It appears from Firishtah that he did so by removing the name of the *Bādshāh* of Dehlī. The Cambridge History of India, page 356, says Muhammad Khān substituted the name of Mahmūd Khaljī for that of 'Ālam Shāh of Dehlī. As a matter of fact, the Sultān of Dehlī at this time was Sultān 'Alā ud-dīn, who was succeeded by Bahlūl Lūdī, and no 'Ālam Shāh reigned in Dehlī at that time.

³ The name of the town is variously given. The MSS have علپور Alhanpūr, and the lith ed has پتھر Pahtūr, while the lith ed of Firishtah has نےوار Nēwar. Col Briggs has the *fort* (not the *town*) of Anundpoor, and the Cambridge History of India, page 356, cuts the Gordian knot by calling it "a minor fortress."

⁴ Under Tāj Khān, according to Firishtah, Col Briggs and the Cambridge History of India

borsemen and twenty five elephants with the object of capturing the fort of Chitor and after taking one *lakh* and five and twenty thousand tankas from the Raja of Kotah in the way of tribute returned to Shadiabad.

In the year 854 A H 1450 A D ¹ Gangdas the Raja of the fort of Champanir sent him tribute and submitted that Sultan Muhammad son of Sultan Ahmad is besieging the hill of Chāmpānīr as this slave has always carried his prayers to Your Majesty he now hopes for aid and support Sultan Mahmūd turned his attention to give him help On the way news came that ² Sultan Qutb ud dīn son of Sultan Muhammad Gujrati had come towards Idar with the object of demanding tribute from the Raja of that place Sultan Mahmud considering him to be ³ weak started towards ⁴ BarasInor On hearing this news Sultan Muhammad as his ⁵ baggage animals had become lame and disabled burnt his tents and other equipages

¹ He is called Gangadas or گنگ داس in the MSS and in the lith ed and the lith ed of Firuztah Col Briggs (vol IV p 216) calls him Gungadas The Cambridge History of India which on page 301 in the chapter about the history of Gujarat had Gang das calls him here on page 306 Kannak Dás

² He is called Sultan Quṭb ud din Muhammad Gujrati in one MS and in the lith ed but the other MS has Sultan Quṭb ud din son of Sultan Muhammad Gujrati Firishtah lith ed ha Sultan Muhammad Shah Gujrati Sultan Muhammad Shah died soon after the invasion of Sulṭan Val mud Khalji and Sultan Quṭb ud din succeeded him This is probably the reason of the confusion in the names of the Sultan

³ There is some difference in the readings here. One MS. has what looks like حَرَرْوَهُ The other has حَرَرْوَهُ It is omitted in the lith ed. Firishtah has عَلَّهَرْوَهُ It is rather far fetched but the reading may be عَلَّهَرْوَهُ in the text the لَهُ having been omitted by some scribe. In the text edition M. Hidayat Hosain has دَادِسَهَ حَرَرْاً which seems more appropriate.

⁴ The name is مارسکور in one MS and مار اسکور in the other and in the lith ed Firshthah lith ed has what looks like مار اسلکور Neither Col Briggs nor the Cambridge History of India mentions this place VI Hidayat Hoain has مار اسکور in the text edition

⁵ The MSS and the lith ed have حاروایی تاریخ Firishtah in the corresponding passage has حاروایی تارکس This appears to me to be correct and I have adopted it M Hidayat Hosain has حاروایہ تارکس in the text edition

and retired towards Ahmadābād. When Sultān Mahmūd received this information, he also turned back from the way, and encamped on the bank of the Mahindri. Gangdās came to him at this place, bringing with him thirteen *lakhs* of *tankas* in cash, and some horses in the way of tribute. Sultān Mahmūd bestowed on him a gold embroidered robe (*qabā*) in the same *majlis*, and gave him permission to go back, and himself returned to his capital of Shādiābād. On the way, he gave permission to Rāy Bī, Rāja of Idāi, to go back, after bestowing on him, as a reward, five elephants and twenty-one horses and three *lakhs* of *tankas* in cash. He remained for a time at Shādiābād and occupied himself with the affairs of his dominions and army.

In the year 855 A.H., (1451 A.D.), he advanced with more than one hundred thousand horses to conquer Gujārāt and having passed ¹ Ghāti Bawālī, besieged the town of Sultānpūr. Malik 'Alā-ud-din Suhrāb, who was the deputy of ² Sultān Qutb-ud-din for some days sallied out of the fort and fought bravely. (But) when he ³ became hopeless of receiving any reinforcement he begged for quarter and joined Sultān Mahmūd. The latter sent his family and ⁴ children to the fort of Mandū, and made him swear that he would never turn his face from his master. He then gave him the title of Mubārnz Khān, and made him the commander of the army, and advanced towards Ahmadābād. On the way news came that ⁵ Sultān Muhammad had surrendered the deposit of his life, and his son Qutb-ud-din had taken his place. Sultān Mahmūd, in spite of the fact that his object was the destruction of the mansion of Sultān Muhammad's government, owing to his great humanity, assumed

¹ The name is written as گھاپی توالی, and گھاپی سوالی in the MSS, and as کارپی سوالی in the lith ed. Firishtah lith ed has کارپی سوالی I have not been able to find the name elsewhere. M. Hidayat Hosain has adopted کھانپی سوالی in the text edition.

² But see below where it will be seen that Sultān Muhammad was yet alive.

³ مدد in one MS, and in the lith ed, but مددت in the other MS

⁴ عمال و اطفال او را in one MS, and in the lith ed, and عمال و اطفال او را in the other MS

⁵ One MS inserts مدد after سلطان احمد, while the other quite erroneously substitutes سلطان احمد for سلطان احمد

mourning and in accordance with a custom of the time distributed *pan* and *Sharbat* (betel and sweet drinks) to the *amirs* and learned men in his army. He also wrote a letter to Sultan Qutb ud din offering him condolences on his father's death and congratulations on his accession. At the same time however he laid waste the town of Baroda and left no stone unturned in the matter of plundering and seizing the inhabitants. He made prisoners of some thousands of Musalmans and *Kafirs* and after halting for some days in that town advanced towards Ahmadabad.

At this time Malik Ma ud din Sulrab who had been waiting for a time and opportunity fled and went to Sultan Qutb ud din.¹ It would appear that when he took the oath and engaged that he would not be false to the salt of his master he had his old (original) master in his mind and owing to his great regard for his salt had abandoned his family and children. Sultan Mahmud marched by successive stages and encamped at Kaparbanj which was situated at a distance of 25 *Larohs* from Ahmadabad. Sultan Qutb ud din halted at the village of Khanpur which was three *Larohs* from Kaparbanj. For some days the two *Budshahs* confronted each other and on the night of² the last day of Safar in the afore mentioned year Sultan Mahmud mounted his horse with the determination of making a night attack and came out of his camp. But he misled the way and remained all night seated on his horse in an open plain. Early in the morning he placed the army of Sirangpur on his right wing and entrusted the command of it to his eldest son Chiragh ud din and nominated the *amirs* of Chanderi to the left wing and arrayed it under the command of³ Qadam Khan who was his younger son.

¹ There are differences in the readings here. The MSS have with slight variations the reading I have adopted; the lith. ed. has a very imperfect reading

سرکج سرکج Sarkaj in the text-edition

² The date is محرم ۱۰۷ in the MSS and in the lith. ed. both of the Taliqat and Firishahī محرم as applied to a month mean toward the close of and in respect of a particular day means the 1st of Sussur 86 as the date of the proposed night attack and gives the 10th of February 143 as the corresponding date of the Christian era. Both the date and the year of the Hijri era and consequently the date and the year of the Christian era are incorrect.

³ عربس حل عربس حل in the text edition

He placed himself in the centre of the army and commenced the battle. Sultān Qutb-ud-din also placing the army of Gujrāt in battle array advanced to the (battle-) field. The vanguard of Sultān Qutb-ud-din's army fled before the vanguard of Sultān Mahmūd's army, and joined Sultān Qutb-nd-din. Muzaflar Khān, who was one of the great *amirs* of Chandēlī, separated himself from the left wing of Sultān Mahmūd's army, and attacked the right wing of Sultān Qutb-nd-din's army, and its soldiers being unable to withstand the attack turned their faces in flight. Muzaflar Khān pursued them as far as Sultān Qutb-nd-din's camp, and his men stretching their hands to plunder and ravage entered the treasury in the camp, and loading all their elephants with treasure sent them at once to their own camp. When the elephants returned, and they wanted to load and send them a second time, they heard that a detachment of Sultān Qutb-nd-din's army finding Shāhīzāda ¹ Qadam Khān's troops to be weak and in distress had attacked them, and as they were unable to withstand them, they carried away their lives ² on one foot (*i.e.*, with much difficulty). Muzaflar Khān withdrawing his hand from plunder went into a corner. Sultān Mahmūd was amazed at seeing his army dispersed and his left wing routed, and stood with two hundred horsemen on the field of bravery, and acting as an expert archer, as long as he had any arrows left in his quiver, gave proof of his great courage. At this time Sultān Qutb-nd-din came out of the corner, in which he was concealed, with a detachment in battle array and confronted Sultān Mahmūd. The latter having exerted himself to the utmost retired to his camp, with (only) thirteen men. Sultān Qutb-ud-din considered this victory a great gift of God, and did not engage in pursuit. Eighty-one elephants and an immense quantity of booty fell into his hands.

Sultān Mahmūd remained on horseback in his place till nightfall.

[†] When five or six thousand horsemen had collected round him, he started for Mandū at midnight. On the way, his army was badly harassed by *kōkīs* and *bhīls*. Sultān Mahmūd did not, from the time of the rising of the sun of his greatness and up to the end of the period

¹ شاہی حان in the text edition

² The MSS have تک بے یک بے and تک بے یک بے, and the lith ed has تک بے یک بے. I cannot find the meaning of بے یک بے, of course means one foot

of his reign suffer any defeat except this. When he arrived at Mandu and the damages sustained by his army had been repaired¹ he appointed Sultan Chiyath ud din who was his true born son to raid the town of Surat which had been founded on the bank of the Tapti and was one of the famous ports of Cujrat. Sultan Chiyath ud din returned after having ravaged a number of places pertaining to Surat. It so happened that (at this time) information of the deceit and treachery and hostilities of Nizam ul mulk the *ra'is* and his sons reached Sultan Mahmud and by his order they were punished.

In the year 857 A.H. 1453 A.D. Sultan Mahmud confirmed his determination to conquer the country of Marwar. But as he was not assured in his mind from the side of Sultan Qutb ud din he thought it advisable that he should in the first instance conclude a treaty with the latter and after that undertake the conquest of Kumbha's dominions. He kept this hidden in his mind and gave orders for the equipment of his army and went from Shadiabad to the town of Dhar. He sent Taj Khan from that place with a well-equipped army to the border of Gujarat so that he might introduce the matter of the treaty. Taj Khan wrote letters to the *ra'is* of Sultan Qutb ud din and sending them by the hands of eloquent emissaries conveyed the message that disputes and hostility between the two sides were a cause of injury to the people and peace and amity the curse of safety and prosperity. After much discussion Sultan Qutb ud din expressed his consent to a treaty of peace and great and pious men from both sides having intervened strengthened the treaty by engagements and oaths. It was settled that the Qutbi army should plunder and ravage such parts of Kumbha's dominions as were contiguous to Gujarat and Mahmud Shah should take possession of the country of Mewar and Ajmir and all the neighbouring countries and whenever necessary either of the parties should not refuse to aid and help the other.

¹ I in lith. lith. ed. agree but Col Brigg (vol. IV p. 18) says that Ghias-ood-deen with the right wing of the army fl. to Surat where he plundered the country etc.

² The word حُرْمَى appears to be required after حُلُولٌ سُـ وَ سُـ but does not appear either in the MSS or in the lith. ed. It is in the lith. ed. of Firishtah and I have inserted it in the text.

THE SULTĀNS OF MĀLWA

the year 858 A.H., 1454 A.D., Sultān Mahmūd advanced to the rebellious Rājpūts, who had raised the standard of recusancy first in the territories of ¹ Hārautī, and made many Rājpūts own of ² Mahōli food for the sword, and having seized their men and families sent them to Mandū. From that place he marched towards Bīyāna, and when he arrived near it, and as Dāud the governor of Bīyāna sent much tribute, and came in the way loyalty and sincerity, he left the territory in his possession. He by his excellent exertions, changed a ³ dispute, which had existed between Yūsuf Khān Hindauñi and the governor of Bīyāna, into friend- and attachment. At the time of his return, he left the command of the forts of Rantambhōr and Hārautī in the charge of Khān who had the title of ⁴ Sultān ‘Alā-ud-dīn, and spread the news of peace and hope on the residents of Shādiābād.

In the course of the same year, Sikandar Khān and Jalāl Khān ī, who were among the great *amīrs* of Sultān ‘Alā-ud-dīn Dakīni, sent petitions and incited Sultān Mahmud to seize the fort of Māhūr, which was one of the great forts of Berār. The Sultān advanced towards Māhūr ⁵ by way of Hūshangābād where Khān came and waited on him in the neighbourhood of

The name is written as مہادوی in the MSS and in the lith. ed. In the of Firishtah it is written as هاروی Col Briggs (vol IV, p 219) has The Cambridge History of India, page 356, does not give the name country, but calls the people the "Hāra Rājputs"

The town is called مہولی and مھولی in the MS, and مھولی in the lith. of Firishtah lith. ed has مھولی Mahōtī. Neither Col Briggs nor the Cambridge History of India mentions the name

The word which I have translated as "dispute" is written in the MS لغای واری, and لغای واری In the lith. ed it is لغای واری, and in the lith. ed of Firishtah لغای None of these words have any meaning in the dictionary which is appropriate. I believe "dispute", " railing at", than the "dandying" which is the meaning of لغای as the nearest M Hidayat Hosain used نقصانی in the text edition

Both MSS have Sultān Ghiyāth-ud-dīn. This is incorrect. Sultān ‘Alā-ud-dīn was the title of the elder son Qadam Khān's title was ‘Alā-ud-dīn. Firishtah lith. ed has عدای خان Fidāi Khān instead of Qadam and Col Briggs (vol IV, p 219) has Fidwy Khan

Mahmūdahad When he laid siege to Mahur Sultan Ala ud din came with an army as numerous as the stars and as splendid as the sky to aid the besieged garrison Sultan Mahmud finding that he had not the strength to meet him turned back The pen perfumed with musk has narrated these incidents clearly and in detail in the section about the Bahmani Sultans

At the time of his return news came from the ¹ enemies that Mubarak Khan the ruler of Asir had invaded the country of Baklana which is situated between Gujerat and the Deccan and owed fealty and allegiance to Mahmud Shah The latter considering it incumbent on his spirit to protect and favour the ruler of the country turned the reins of his determination in the direction of Baklana and sent Iqbal Khan and Yusuf Khan in advance of himself Mubarak Khan came with a large army to oppose but fled after a massacre Sultan Mahmud returned to Shadiabad after raiding some villages and towns in the territory of Asir

In the year 858 A H news was brought to Sultan Mahmud that the son of Ray Babu the Raja of Baklana wanted to come to him but Mubarak Khan the ruler of Asir had invaded his country and was laying it waste and was preventing him from coming Sultan Mahmud sent Sultan Ghiyath ud din on wings of speed to put him (Mubarak Khan) down When the news reached the latter he turned back and went to his own country A son of Babu came with much tribute and received favours and having obtained permission to return went back proud and happy to his own country and Sultan Ghiyath ud din went towards Rantambhor

About this time the Sultan advanced towards Chitor Konbha met him in the way of affability and gentleness and sent a quantity of ² coined gold and silver as tribute As the coins bore Konbha's

¹ The word is صدريدين in one MS and in the lith ed and صدر دين in the other MS The only meaning of صدر دين that can at all apply is enemies but even that is not appropriate صدر دين cannot be found in the dictionary Fir hi tah leaves out the words فارق صدر دين in the corresponding passage and gives the full name of Mubarak Khan as Miran Mubarak Shah Faruqi

ررو دهرا مسکوک ² دهرا مسکوک The other has دهرا مسکوک both these readings are partly incorrect The reading in the lith ed appears to be correct and I have retained it

stamp, they became the cause of an increase of Mahmūd's wrath, and ¹ he returned them, and his men stretched their hands in the way of plunder and rapine, and did not leave a vestige of cultivation and population. He also appointed Mansūr-ul-mulk to lay waste the country of Mandisōr. And with the object of leaving *thānadarīs* there, he wanted to found a town of the name of Khaljpūr in the centre of the country. On hearing this, Kōnbhā came in a state of distress and humility and sent a message to the Sultān, that he was prepared to send any amount of tribute that the latter might demand, and after that would never transgress the path of devotion and loyalty on the condition that the Sultān would abandon the project of building Khaljpūr. As the rains were approaching, Sultān Mahmūd took as much tribute as pleased his heart, and turned towards Shādiābād. After remaining there for a time, he again advanced in the year 859 A H., 1454 A D., with the object of conquering the country of Mandisōr. On arriving in that neighbourhood, he sent detachments in different directions, and himself took up a position in the centre of the country. Every day news of a fresh victory came to him, and he performed the rites of offering thanks to God.

✓ It so happened that one day a petition came from a detachment, which had been sent in the direction of Hāīautī, to the purport that, the beginning of the rising of the sun of Islām in the country of Hindūstān was from the horizon of Ajmīr, and His Holiness the most learned of the sects ² Shaikh Mu'in-ud-din Hasan Sanjāri was at rest in that place, and now as it had come into the possession of the *Kāfirīs*, there was no vestige left there of Islām or Musalmāns. As the purport of this petition was received, Sultān Mahmūd turned in the direction of Ajmīr that very day, and after successive marches,

¹ Col Briggs (vol IV, p 221) says in a note that Chittoor was never subjugated by the kings of either Guzerat or Malwa, and therefore Sooltan Mahmood did not return the tribute, because the coins bore Koombho's stamp, but because he did not consider it to be large enough. It appears to me that Sultān Mahmūd did not admit the independence of Rānā Kōnbhā, who was paying tribute off and on, and, therefore, resented the fact that the tribute sent contained coins which bore the Rānā's stamp, and he was probably also dissatisfied with the amount of the tribute.

² The Cambridge History of India, page 357, calls him Shaikh Mu'in-ud-din Chushtī

encamped opposite the tomb which was the receptacle of light and asked for help from the spirit of the *Khwajah* may his tomb be sanctified! (He then) ordered the *bakhshi* (pay master) of the army that he should in concert with the *amirs* reconnoitro round the fort and distribute the battories At this time ¹ Gajadhar who was the commander of the garrison sallied out with a body of renowned Rajputs to give battle He was however unable to withstand the assaults of Mahmud's troops and retired again into the fort After that bloody skirmishes were carried on for four days On the 5th day Gajadhar again came out with all his troops and was slain in the full swing of the fight A body of Mahmud Shah's soldiers being mixed with those who were fleeing got inside the gates and the conquest of the fort fell to the lot of the Musalmans In every lane thereto lay heaps of Rajputs that had been slain Sultan Mahmud having carried out the rites of offering his thanks to God attained to the honour of circumambulating the grave of the great saint and made plans for the erection of a grand mosque He conferred the title of *Sufi Khan* on *Khwajah Na mat ul lah* and entrusted the rule of the fort to his charge He made the attendants of that holy place happy by bestowing rewards and stipends on them and then returning towards the fort of Mandalgarh encamped after successive marches on the bank of the river Banas He nominated *amirs* to different points round the fort Könbha also sent out his army from the fort dividing it into three detachments The division which confronted Taj Khan and that which was opposed to Ali Khan fought with arrows and lances and there was "a great battle and a large number of Mahmud

¹ The name is written as *جعادر* Gajadhar in the MSS as well as in the lith ed and as Gajadhar in the lith ed of Firishtah This latter is of course correct Gajadhar is a corruption of Sanskrit *Gadidhar* i.e one who bears the mace Col Briggs has got *Gungodhur Ray* which may be derived from *Gangadhara*—a name of Siva—meaning one who carries the goddess or river Ganga The Cambridge History of India page 307 has *Gajanhar* which has no meaning at all M Hidayat Hosain has retained *جعادر* in the text edition

² Col Briggs (vol IV page 3 footnote) suggests that this was the battle which was commemorated as a great victory obtained by Rana Koombho over Sooltan Mahmood on the superb column which the former erected but there is very little similarity between this battle and the victory claimed

Shāh's troops were slain, while an innumerable host of Rājpūts became food for the sword. When the sovereign of the stars turned his face from the arch of ¹ the fourth heaven towards his private chamber (*i.e.*, the sunset), the two parties took up their quarters in their respective stations. In the morning, the *amīns* and *vazīrs* collected in the royal pavilion, and submitted that as during that year the troops had been fighting repeated campaigns and the rainy season was near, it would be fitting and proper, if he would rest and repose for a few days in the capital city of Shādiābād, in order to repair the damage and injury to the army, and make after the rains, with a fully equipped army, a king-like attempt to capture the fort. Sultān Mahmūd returned and rested for some days.

On the 26th Muharram 861 A.H., 23rd December, 1456, the Sultān marched with a great army to capture the fort of Mandalgārī. In the neighbourhood of Mēwāī, the armies of Nāgōr and Ajmīr and Hārautī came and joined him. From that place they marched together to besiege Mandalgarh. On the way, wherever they saw a

✓ by the Rājpūts. According to the Rājpūt Annals, the victory took place in 1440 A.D., while the date of this battle was 1455 or 1456, 15 or 16 years later, while to take one of the incidents, Sultān Mahmūd was said to have been taken prisoner, and kept in confinement for six months, and then released, see note 6, pages 512, 513. There is no mention of this in the Musalmān histories, and it is scarcely possible that such a thing should have occurred without being noted.

The Cambridge History of India, page 357, does not mention this battle at all, and the account given by it is entirely different. According to it, "the siege was opened and the approaches carried up to the walls. On October 19th, 1457, the place was carried by assault, with great slaughter, etc., etc." There is no mention of Rānā Kōnbhā and of his army, and instead of the retreat mentioned by Nizām-ud-dīn and Fīrishtah, we have Sultān Mahmūd advancing towards Chitor, and sending columns in different directions to harass the Rājpūts and to reduce them to subjection. Later on, however, on page 361, when giving a summary of the qualities and achievements of Sultān Mahmūd it says "The more famous column of victory at Chitor is said to commemorate victories over Mahmūd of Gujarāt and Mahmūd of Mālwa. If this is so it, 'like some tall bully lifts its head and lies'."

¹ The MSS. and the lith. ed. of Fīrishtah have طارق ملک چهارم the arch of the fourth heaven or sky, and I have accordingly adopted it, but the reading in the lith. ed. of the Tabaqāt طارم چهارم, which has the same meaning, sounds very well, and I had a mind to retain it.

temple they razed it to the ground. On their arrival at their destination he gave orders to cut down all the trees from the roots and having pulled down all structures left no trace of cultivation or population. Then they commenced the siege and carrying the batteries beyond the ditches took them close to the wall of the fort. In a short time the citadel was captured by the help of Divine Providence. A large number of men were taken prisoners or¹ were slain. The Rajputs took shelter in a second fort which was situated on the top of a hill and felt proud of its strength and protection. But as the water of the reservoirs above the fort had failed owing to the concussion of the cannon and the water which had been stored in the first fort had fallen into the hands of Mahmud Shah's troops owing to the want of water cries of weeping and anguish rose from all sides and the garrison crying thirsty, thirsty begged for quarter and agreed to pay a sum of ten *lakhs* of *tankas* as tribute and coming out² with an assurance of safety surrendered the fort. This great victory appeared on the stage of events on the³ 1st *Dhu hijjah* in the year 871 A H. Sultan Mahmūd performed the rites of offering praise and thanks to God in a spirit of great humility and submission and entering the fort on the following day demolished the idol temple and used the materials for the construction of a *Jama* Mosquo. He appointed a *Qadi* (judge) a *Musti* (judge or one who issues fatwas or decisions) a *Muhtasib* or censor of public morals a *Hatib* or a reader of prayers and a *Muadhan* or one who calls worshippers to perform the *Nama* at fixed hours and having arranged the affairs of that neighbourhood in the best way advanced on the⁴ 15th Muharram in the year 862 A H in the direction of Chitor.

¹ One MS and the lith ed have *لے* while the other MS has *لے*

One MS and the lith ed have *لے* while the other MS has *لے* below

³ Firishtah lith ed has the 20th *Dhu hijjah* 86 A H as the date of the victory and Col Briggs (vol IV p 24) has Zeehuj 20 861 A H 8th November 1457

⁴ Both MSS have 15th Muharram 86 A H while the lith ed has 15th Muharram ul haram in the year 89 which is manifestly incorrect as to the year. Firishtah lith ed has 15th Muharram 863 A H and Col Briggs (vol IV p 224) has 16th Mohurrum A H 86° December 4th 1457

When he arrived in that neighbourhood, he sent Shāhzāda Sultān Ghīyāth-ud-dīn to raid and ravage the countries of Kilwārah¹ and Dilwārah. The Shāhzāda laid the country waste, captured many prisoners, and returned under the wings of help and safety. After some days Shāhzāda² Qadam Khān and Tāj Khān were nominated to attempt the capture of the fort of Būndī. When the Shāhzāda arrived in the vicinity of the fort, the Rājpūts came out of it and commenced a fight. They exerted themselves to the best of their ability, but being in the end routed, became food for the sword, and a number of them having thrown themselves into the ditch were taken prisoners. On the first day of the attack they captured the fort by the strength of their arms, and their bravery and courage. The Shāhzāda having offered thanks for this great gift in the best way, left one of his trusted chiefs in that place, and with victory and triumph, returned to the capital city of Shādiābād in the foot steps of his father and patron.

In the year 863 A.H., 1458 A.D., (the Sultān)³ again mounted to punish and chastise the Rājpūts. When he encamped in the village of⁴ Ahār, he appointed Sultān Ghīyāth-ud-dīn and⁵ Qadam Khān to raid the countries of Kilwārah and Dilwārah. They ravaged that country, and also raided the country round Kōnbhalmīr. When they waited on their father, and Sultān Ghīyāth-ud-dīn dilated on the praise of that fort, Sultān Mahmūd advanced the next day towards it. On the way he demolished temples and traversed the different stages. When he encamped in the vicinity of Kōnbhalmīr, he mounted his horse one day, and went to the top of a hill which was situated on its eastern side, and reconnoitred the city. He then declared that the

¹ One MS and the lith ed have Kilwārah and Dilwārah, while the other MS has Kilwārah and Malwārah.

² The text edition has حان دن

³ One MS omits the words سواری نمود - و چون and باو تقادیب کلواڑہ بیل وارہ نامزد فرمود and has instead موضع اهار فروود آمد then as in the other MS and in the lith ed and in the lith ed of Firishtah

⁴ One MS and the lith ed and the lith ed of Firishtah have اهار موضع, but Col Briggs (vol IV, p 225) has the town of D'har.

⁵ The name is variously written as Qadam Khān, Fidāī Khān, and Fidwī Khān.

capture of the fort would not be possible without a siege lasting some years. The next day he started from that place and advanced towards Dungarpur. When he encamped on the bank of the Dūngarpur reservoir¹ Ray Syam Das the Rajā of the place fled and took shelter in the foot hills and coming out again from that place in great humility and distress gave a tribute of two *lakhs* of *tankas* and twenty one horses. The Sultan then returned to his capital of Shadiabad.

In Muḥarram 866 A.H. September 1461 A.D. he advanced by rapid stages to conquer the country of the Deccan at the instigation of Malik Nizam ul mulk Ghuri.² When he crossed the river Narbada the scouts brought the news that Mubarak Khan the ruler of Asir had surrendered the deposit of his life. And Ghazi Khan his son who bore the title of Adil Khan had taken his place. In the beginning of his rule he had stretched out his hands of tyranny from the sleeve of oppression had unjustly ordered³ Sayyid Kamal ud din and Sayyid Sultan to be slain and had laid waste the houses of the victims. After some days their brother named Sayyid Jalal ud din came to Sultan Mahmud praying for justice. The latter in order to help him determined to chastise Adil Khan and with this intention marched towards Asir. Adil Khan in his helplessness and humility sent one of the grandsons (descendants) of Qutb Alam

¹ He is called Ray Syam Das in one MS and Ray Sam Das in the other and Samu Das in the 11th ed. Firishtah 11th ed has Ray Sam Das and Col Briggs (vol IV page 2 & 5) has Sham Das. I have adopted Syam Das as it is nearest to the Sanskrit name.

² Firishtah and Col Briggs agree see also page 87 in the account of Nizam Shah Bahmani from which it would appear that the invasion was at the instigation of Malik Nizam ul mulk Churi but the Cambridge History of India page 3.7 says that Humayun Shah caused Malik Nizam ul mulk Ghuri to be assassinated and it was at the instance of his family who escaped to Mandu that Sultan Mahmud Khalji invaded the Deccan.

³ The Cambridge History of India page 358 dismisses the matter of the advance on Asir with the rather inadequate and misleading statement composed a recent quarrel with Adil Khan II of Khandesh.

⁴ Both MSS have ^م but the 11th ed and the 11th ed of Firishtah have ^ط

⁵ Col Briggs (vol IV pp 2 & 6) has Syud Kumal and Syud Sooltan two of the most respectable and holy persons of the age but I cannot find his authority for doing so.

Shaikh Farid-ud-din Mas'ud Shakaiganj to wait on him, and sending some tribute, prayed for the pardon of his offences. As Sultān Mahmūd knew that the arrow of the plan of no conqueror of forts had ever reached the battlements of the strong bastions of Asīr, and besides the real object of this expedition was the conquest of the Deccan, he drew the pen of forgiveness over the volume of 'Ādil Khān's offences, and having given him some advice, turned towards the country of Beīr and Elīchpūr.

On his arrival in the town of Bālāpūr, his scouts brought the news that the *vazīrs* of ¹ Nizām Shāh had summoned and collected the troops from the different frontiers and having drawn two *cores* of *tankas* from the treasury, had disbursed it, in the way of help to their expenses, to the *amīns* and the commanders, and they had come out of the city of Bidar with a large army and one hundred and fifty elephants of mountain-like size, and were waiting for the appearance of secret hidden in the providence of God, may His greatness be glorified! Sultān Mahmūd, on hearing this news, put his troops in order, and by repeated marches arrived within three *farsangs* of Nizām Shāh. ² The *vazīrs* placed the eight year old Nizām Shāh

¹ The eight years old son of the tyrant Humāyūn Shāh, who had in the meantime succeeded him

² There are some differences in the readings. One MS has دراء نظم شاه ورای نظم شاه را سوار کردند, while the other has دراء ساله را سوار کردند and the lith ed has the same reading as the first MS, with the difference that it has وزراء instead of دراء. I have adopted the reading of the first MS. Col Briggs (vol IV, p 226) says that the young king was placed on an elephant, but the use of the word عین bridle, shows that this is not correct. The account of the battle as given in the Cambridge History of India, page 358, is somewhat misleading. It is said there that, "when the two armies met, that of the Deccan got some slight advantage, but the precipitate action of a slave named Sikandar Khān, who had charge of the person of the child king, decided the fate of the day." As a matter of fact the Deccan army gained a decisive victory and the Mālwa army fled and was pursued for two *karōhs*, and Sultān Mahmūd's camp was plundered, and the fate of the day was not decided by the precipitate action of the person in charge of the child king, but as so often happened in other battles, was due to the victorious troops having dispersed in search of plunder, and Sultān Mahmūd coming out of ambush with a body of fresh troops at the psychological moment. The person who took away the young king towards Bidar was not, according to the Tabaqāt and Firishtah, Sikandar

on a horse and raising the royal umbrella over his head placed the bridle of the horse in the hand of Khwajah Jahān Mahk Shah Turk The command of the left wing was entrusted to Mūlik Nizam ul mulk Turk and of the right wing to Khwajah Mahmud Gilani who had the title of Mūlik ut tujjar When the two *Badshahs* arrived in front of each other Malik ut tujjar acting with great quickness fell on the left wing of Sultan Mahmud's army and both Mahahat Khan the governor of Chanderi and Zahir ul mulk the *zāir* who wore the commanders of it were slain and a great defeat fell on the Mandu army so that it was pursued to a distance of two *karohs* and Sultan Mahmūd's camp was plundered

At this time Sultan Mahmud who had betaken himself to a corner and was waiting for an opportunity (saw that) most of the Daknis were engaged in plundering and Nizam ul mulk was standing with only a few men round him appeared with twelve thousand horsemen from behind Nizam Shah's army Khwajah Jahan Turk who was the leader of the centre of the army turned round and seizing the bridle of Nizam Shah's horse turned towards the city of Bidar The tables were now turned and the men who had gone away in search of plunder were deprived of the beautiful capital of their lives

Malka-i-Jahan the mother of Nizam Shah having suspicion of deceit and treachery left Mallu Khan to guard the city of Bidar and went away herself to Firuzabad taking her son with her From that place she sent a letter to Sultan Mahmud Gujrati and asked for his help and reinforcements And Sultan Mūlimūd followed on and besieged Bidar When the people having run away gathered round Nizam Shah at Firuzabad and the news was received that Sultan Mahmud Gujrati who had determined to help Nizam Shah with a huge army would be soon arriving Sultan Mahmud having held a consultation decided in the end that as the air had become hot and the month of Ramudan had drawn near it would be best and

Khan but Khwajah Jahan Turk It is true that in the letter which Nizam Shah or his mother or his ministers wrote to Sultan Mahmud Gujrati they said that Sikandar Khan and Khwajah Jahan carried him off to Bidar but not till an arrow from Sultan Mahmud's army hit the elephant on which Sikandar Khan was riding and the animal became unruly so that Sikandar Khan's action can scarcely be described as precipitate (see note 1 pp 87-89)

most proper, that he should defer the conquest of the country till the next year, and should then return, and with this pretext, he started on the following day for his own territory.

Again in the year 867 A.H., 1462 A.D., as he had the conquest of the Deccan in his mind, he again equipped his army, and encamped at ¹ Nasratābād Nāleha, and he was still there, when a petition of Shīrāz-ul-mulk the *thānādār* of the fort of Kehlā arrived with the information, that Nizām Shāh Dakmī had sent Nizām ul-mulk with a large army to attack the *thāna* of Kehlā, and on the way news came that Nizām-ul-mulk Tmīk, having arrived, had attacked the fort of Kehlā, and also that when Nizām-ul-mulk had arrived in the neighbourhood of the fort, Suāj-ul-mulk was intoxicated, and had no notice of what was happening, but his son came out of the fort, and after putting up some fight fled. ² Nizām-ul-mulk, owing to his great pride and haughtiness, did not occupy himself in arranging the affairs of the place. Sultān Mahmūd, on receiving this news, sent Maqbūl Khān with four thousand horsemen in the direction of the fort, and himself advanced towards Daulatābād to have his revenge. On the way, the adherents of the Rāy ³ Sukāja and the *rakīls* (representatives) of the Rāy of Jājnagar brought five hundred and thirty elephants as tribute. Sultān Mahmūd bestowed robes of honour and rewards on them, and gave them permission to return. When he encamped in the village of Khalisa-ābād, one of the servants

¹ Both the MSS have *نالہ سریت*, but the lith ed has only *نالہ*, while Firishtah lith ed has *نالہ سریت*. Col Briggs (vol IV, p 228) has Naleha. The Cambridge History of India does not mention the incidents connected with Kehlā.

² This is the version of Nizām ul mulk's proceedings in the Tabaqāt, both in the MSS and in the lith ed, but Firishtah has a different account. According to him, Nizām ul mulk entered the fort with the troops which were fleeing, and took possession of it, but was murdered the same day by some Rājpūt foot soldiers. Col Briggs (vol IV, p 228) makes the matter clearer, by saying that "the place had fallen into the hands of Nizam ul Mook, but that he, having exercised excessive tyranny towards the inhabitants had been put to death by a party of Rajpoot infantry". The Cambridge History of India, page 359, mentions the fact of Nizām ul mulk's occupation of Kehlā but does not mention his death.

³ The word is written *سکوچ* in the MSS and in the lith ed, and also in the lith ed of Firishtah, but Col Briggs (vol IV, p 228) has Surgooja.

of the *Amir ul mu minin* (tho *amir* of the Musalmans) *Mustanjad Billah Yusuf bin Abbas* brought for him a mandato conferring imperial rule under a robo of chieftainship from Egypt In his great joy and delight ho carried out the rites of welcoming the servants of the *Khahfa* treated them with great honour and bestowed on them horses with jewelled saddles and bridles and embroidered robes of honour

Whon he arrived on tho frontier of Daulatabad (they) informed him that Sultan Mahmud Gujrati had eomo out of his capital and was advancing towards tho place Sultan-Mahmūd advanced towards the fort of ¹ Malkonda and having raided and ravaged somo villages and bamlets returned to his erital of Shadiabād by way of Gōndwara He rested there for some days and sent somo troops under tho com mand of Maqbūl Khan in Rabi ul awwal in the year 871 A H to plunder and - ravago tho town of Elichepur When thoy plundered tho city after occupying tho surrounding country tho governor of tho place after a part of tho night had pissed collected his neighbours such as Qadi Khan and Pir Khan and with fifteen hundred horsomen and innumerable foot soldiers camo out to fight When Maqbul Khan got this news ho despatched tho booty and other goods and his equipments with ono body of troops and ho selected and kept tho most useful men with him and appointed ² somo detachments

¹ Col Briggs says in a note in vol IV page 2 9 of his History I am not aware of any town in Berar bearing this name and the Teloogoo termination *ronda* renders it likely to bo an error of transcribers It may be in Muklapoor which lies in the direct route of tha King's retreat

² One MS substitutes ساخته for ساحده

The reading in tha MSS and in the lith ed appear to be incorrect The MSS have براى حندولى and براى حندارل while the lith ed has حمی حند براى حنک The reading in Firishtah is براى حندولى This appears to be the correct reading and I have adopted it As to the incidents connected with Elichepur Firishtah agrees generally with the exception pointed out in the preceding note Col Briggs (vol IV page 2 9) quotes an account of the incidents from what he calls the best authenticated history I have seen without however giving its name It agrees generally with the Tabaqat and Firishtah In this account however it is stated distinctly what is perhaps implied in the other accounts viz The enemy as ho anticipated attackel the army for tho sake of plundering the camp equipage etc and at the very

for engaging in a battle, and himself remained in ambush. When the two parties engaged each other Maqbūl Khān came out of ambush, and Ghāzī Khān fled towards Elchpūn. Maqbūl Khān pursued him to the gate of the city. On the way twenty of the notable leaders were slain and thirty were taken prisoners. Maqbūl Khān returned from that place victorious and triumphant to Mahmūdābād (*i.e.*, Kehrla).

In Jamādī-ul-āwwal 871 A.H., January 1467 A.D., the ruler of the Deccan sent a man of the name of ¹ Qādi Shaikhan to the capital city of Shādiābād for effecting a treaty of peace, and after much interchange of views peace was concluded on these ² terms that the ruler of the Deccan should leave the country of Berāī as far as Elchpūn in the possession of Sultān Mahmūd, and the latter should not henceforward cause any damage to the country of the Deccan. A treaty of peace was written containing these terms and received the agreement of the *amīns* and great men and divines of the kingdom. In the month of Jamādī-ul-ākhir in the aforementioned year, a robe of honour and the usual remuneration was bestowed on the ambassador Shaikhan, and ³ Mashir-ul-mulk was sent with him so that the treaty and the agreement might be confirmed in the presence of each other.

moment they expected to be crowned with victory, Mukbool Khan charging with his cavalry on the rear of the assailants gave them a total defeat ”

¹ The name is فاصی شیخن in one MS and in the lith ed., and in the other MS. It is not mentioned by Firishtah, who says the rulers of the Deccan and Mālwa sent their emissaries to meet together and does not mention the names of those emissaries.

² The terms are slightly different according to Firishtah lith ed., which says that the ruler of the Deccan should leave Sultān Mahmūd in possession as far as Elchpūr and of the country of Gōndwāra and Baqālī, as far as Kehrla, and Sultān Mahmūd should cause no injury to the country of the Deccan. Col Briggs (vol IV, page 230) says that “it was agreed, according to some historians, that Kehrla should be retained by Malwa, and that it should be considered as the southern limit of the kingdom, while others have asserted, that Elchpoor was ceded to Malwa on condition of the King refraining from invading the Deccan in future.” The Cambridge History of India, page 359, says that Mahmūd’s possession of Kehrla was confirmed, but the integrity of Berar, with that exception, was maintained.

³ The name is Mashir-ul-mulk and Shēr-ul-mulk in the MSS and Sharf-ul mulk in the lith ed. It is not mentioned anywhere else. M. Hidayat Hosain has سیر المک in the text edition.

After some days Sultan Mahmud ordered that the accounts of the offices should be kept according to lunar dates and these dates should be written instead of the solar dates and from the year 871 A.H. the lunar dates were entered in the accounts of all offices.

In the month of Rabi ul awwal of the aforementioned year ¹ Shaikh Nur ud din who was one of the most learned men of the age arrived in the neighbourhood of Mandu. Sultan Mahmud went as far as the *Hand-i-rāni* the rani's tank or reservoir to meet him and they embraced each other at the heads of their horses and the Sultan showed him great honour and respect.

In Dhū hijjah of the aforesaid year Maulana Imad an emissary of Sayyid Muhammad Nur Bakhsh came and waited on Sultan Mahmud. He brought the pitebed garb of the Shaikh as a gift of good omen. The Sultan considered the arrival of the garb a sign of good fortune and welcomed the arrival of Maulana Imad ud din with gratitude and owing to his great pleasure and happiness kissed the garb and opening his hand of liberality and lavishness made all the learned men and Shaikhs and honoured men of the country who were present in the assembly delighted and fortunate.

In the month of Muharram 872 A.H. August 1467 ² swift messengers who could race with the wind brought to the notice of

¹ The name is Shaikh Nur ud din in the MSS. and also in the lith ed and the place of his arrival is مندو in one MS and مدن in the other while it is مدن سور in the lith ed. Firishtah lith ed calls the man Shaikh Ala ud din and the place of his arrival the neighbourhood of Shadiabad Mandu.

² One MS has لـ instead of حـ and حـ رـا بـسـدـي instead of حـ رـا بـسـدـة by metako. M. Hidayat Hosain has however retained حـ رـا بـسـدـة in the text edition.

³ Firishtah and Col Briggs agree generally but the Cambridge History of India page 359 says that Muhammad III of the Deccan tampered with the loyalty of Maqbul Khan and the latter surrendered the fortress to the son of the Raja when Mahmud had imprisoned and it also calls Taj Khan and Ahmad Khan Mahmud's sons. I cannot find any authority for these statements. In the genealogy of the kings of Malwa on page 713 of the History Ghiyas ud din is shown as the only son of Sultan Mahmud I though we know that there was at least one other son Qadam Khan or Fidai Khan also known as Sultan Ala ud din. It may be that the name of the only son of Sultan Mahmud

the Sultān, that Maqbūl Khān, of perverted destiny, had ravaged the town of Mahmūdābād, which is now celebrated as Kehila, and had applied to the ruler of the Deccan for protection, and had also made over some elephants, which had for administrative purposes been kept with him to the Rāyzāda of Kehila, and the latter had taken possession of the town, and had put all Musalmāns, who had been residing in the fort, to death. He had also made a tribe of Gōnds join him, and had by then help closed up all roads. Immediately on hearing this news, Sultān sent Tāj Khān and Ahmad Khān to put down this rebellion, and he himself also encamped at N'alcha on the 20th Rabī'-ul-ākhiū of the aforementioned year, and after a few days he started towards Mahmūdābād. News reached him on the way that Tāj Khān and Ahmad Khān had reached that place on the ¹ Dussehra day, which is a great day of the Brahmins, after making a forced march of seventy *karōhs*. When they were informed that the Rāyzāda was at his meal, Tāj Khān said, "It is not the act of a brave man to attack an enemy, when he is unaware of his danger." He therefore stopped his horse there, and sent a man to the Rāyzāda and gave him notice. The latter withdrew his hand from his food, and took up his arms and with his men came out to give battle. Such great exertions were made by the two parties, that nothing greater can be imagined. In the end most of the Rāyzāda's men became food for the sword, and he himself fled with head and feet bare, and sought the protection of the Gōnds. The elephants which had been with Maqbūl Khān and other booty and the town of Mahmūdābād again came into Sultān Mahmūd's possession. When the report of Tāj Khān reached Sultān Mahmūd he was extremely delighted. He appointed Malik-ul-umrā Malik Dāūd to chastise the tribe who had given shelter to the Rāyzāda. When this news reached them, they sent the Rāyzāda under confinement to Tāj Khān.

After the victory Sultān Mahmūd marched towards Mahmūdābād, and encamped on the 6th of Rajab-ul-murajjab, in the town of Sārangpūr. At that place, after a few days Khwājah Jamāl-ud-dīn

who became a ruler of Mālwa is given in the genealogy, but the names of five sons of Hūshang Shāh, none of whom ascended the throne, are given

¹ One MS has, by mistake, دار

Astrabadi came as an ambassador from the honoured ¹ Mirza Ahu Sa id with fine presents and gifts Sultan Mahmūd was very pleased and delighted on his arrival and made him happy with royal favours and gave him permission to return He also sent various presents of the articles of Hindūstan such as different kinds of silk and linen fabrics and some ² slave girls skilled in dancing and singing and some elephants and some eunuchs and a few Shariks and talking Tutis (parrots) and some Arah horses in charge of Shaikhzada Ala ud din in company with Khwajah Jamal ud din The Sultan then remained (for some time) in Shadiyahad

In the year 873 A H 1468 A D a petition came from Ghazi khān to the effect that the zamindars of Kachwarah had placed their feet outside the high road of allegiance Immediately on its arrival Sultan Mahmud taking the difficulties of the entrances and exits from the country into his consideration planned the erection of a fortress in the centre of the country which was completed in the course of six days It received the name of Jalalpur and ⁴ Mirza Khan was placed in charge of it

On the 8th Sha ban of the aforementioned year ⁵ Shaikh

¹ Ruler of Transoxiana third in descent from Timur and grandfather of Babar

سُوْحَابَ بْنُ مُحَمَّدٍ اَيْ

³ One MS has حَدَدَ كَسْرَكِي رِفَاعَ وَگُونَدَةَ the other has حَدَدَ سِرَ وَگُونَدَةَ while the lith ed has حَدَدَ سِرَ وَگُونَدَةَ The first is the correct reading and I have adopted it Col Briggs (vol IV page 232) says that dancing women and singers mounted on elephants superbly caparisoned together with a number of Indian and Abyssinian slaves for the seraglio He calls the shariks meinas but this is not correct The dictionary describes shariks as a species of talking bird a grackle a nightingale In Bengali *suls* and *saris* are said to be two kinds of talking birds the former being supposed to be the male and the latter the female and as far as I know the sharik is a variant of *sari* the tuti being the *sul* or parrot The Cambridge History of India does not mention the presents but otherwise generally agrees with the text

⁴ The name is مُحَمَّد حَلَّ in one MS and in the lith ed It is مُحَمَّد حَلَّ in the other MS and in the lith ed of Firishtah and Meer Khan in Col Briggs (vol IV p 233) The name is not mentioned in the Cambridge History of India M Hidayat Hosain has مُحَمَّد حَلَّ in the text edition

⁵ The name is Shaikh Muhammad Farmah in the MSS and in the lith ed of Firishtah but the lith ed of the Tabaqat and the Cambridge History of India have Shaikhzada Muhammad Qarmah (p 360)

Muhammad Farmalī and Kapūr Chand, son of the Rāja of Gwāliar came as ambassadors of Sultān Bahlūl Lūdī, the *Bādshāh* of Dehlī, and waited upon the Sultān Mahmūd, in the neighbourhood of Fathābād, and offered the presents which they had brought They also submitted the following by word of mouth, "Sultān Husain Sharqī does not keep his hand from me If his Majesty the Sultān comes to the neighbourhood of Dehlī to help and reinforce me, and removes from me the disturbance created by him, I shall make over the fortress of Bīyāna with its dependencies as tribute at the time of his return, and whenever the Sultān would advance in this direction I shall send six thousand horsemen, with necessary equipments, to wait on, and accompany him" Sultān Mahmūd said, "Whenever Sultān Husain should advance towards Dehlī, I shall with great rapidity betake myself to you and support you" Upon this agreement he conferred great favours on the ambassadors, and bestowed on them valuable robes of honour, and bade them farewell

On the following day he started from that place, and advanced towards his capital of Shādiābād As the air was extremely hot on the road, his health fell out of ¹ equability and his illness became greater day by day, till on the 19th *Dhi-q'adah* in the year 873 A.H., ² May 26th 1569, he passed away in the country of Kachwārah from the waste country of the world to the happy land of the after life The period of his reign was thirty-four years

Couplet

Although with grandeur to the sky he lifts the throne,
To the ³ grandeur of the burial, at last, he carries his all

¹ The readings in the MSS are اَعْتَدَالٌ and حَدَّ اَعْتَدَالٌ and in the lith ed اَعْتَدَالٌ سا I have adopted the first reading, while in the text-edition it is اَعْتَدَالٌ حَدٌ

² The Cambridge History of India (p 360) gives June 1st 1469 as the date of the death Firishtah agrees with the *Tabaqat* in saying that the Sultān died in the country of Kachwārah, but the Cambridge History of India, page 360, says he expired shortly after his arrival at Mandū, or as it always wrongly calls it Māndū

³ The MSS and the lith ed of Firishtah have سَقَابَةٌ سَقَابَةٌ, but the lith ed of the *Tabaqat* has سَقَابَةٌ سَقَابَةٌ, which would of course mean to the well or pit of the burial, this last has been adopted in the text edition

The similarity between the age of Sultan Mahmud at the time of his accession with the period of his reign is not without a certain singularity and curiosity His Majesty the Lord of the Conjunction Amir Timur Gurgan also ascended the throne of the empire as a matter of permanence in his 36th year and the period of his reign was also 36 years and after his death 36 of his sons and grandsons were ¹ living and in their places

AN ACCOUNT OF SULTAN GHIYATH UD DIN SON OF SULTAN MAHMUD KHALJI

When Sultan Mahmud Khalji passed away his eldest son Sultan Ghiyath ud din sat on the throne of the empire and putting out the hand of liberality and lavishness from the sleeve of generosity and beneficence made all the sections of the people satisfied and grateful He distributed the gold which had been scattered over his umbrella among men of culture and other deserving people ² He confirmed the territory of Ranthambhor which have been already allotted to him to his younger brother who bore the title of Sultan Ala ud din and was known as Qadam Khan He in order to please him also bestowed on him certain other *parganas* which had been in his

¹ There are slight differences in the readings One MS has حی و دارہ اور another has حی و فام مقام و دارہ اور while the lith ed has فام Firishtah lith ed has no corresponding passage The second reading has been adopted in the text edition

There are differences in the heading also One MS has what I have got in the text the other has دکر سلطان عباد الدین - امی while the lith ed has only دکر سلطان عباد الدین

² Firishtah has he made سدھن Fidi Khan his brother happy by conferring on him شہر نو شہر *Shahr e Nau* and certain other *parganas* which he had in his possession in the time of Sultan Mahmud Khalji Col Briggs (vol IV p 36) calls the brother Fidwy Khan but agrees with the Tabaqat in saying that Ranthunbhore was conferred on him to be held in perpetuity The Cambridge History of India page 361 says that his next brother Taj Khan was confirmed in his fiefs and received the title of Ala ud din and his younger brother Fidai Khan was permitted to retain Ranthambhor and other districts Neither the Tabaqat nor Firishtah mention Taj Khan as a son of Sultan Mahmud Khalji and they say that Qadam Khan or Fidi Khan had the title of Sultan Ala ud din دفن حل in the text edition

possession in the time of Sultān Mahmūd He made Shāhzāda 'Abd-ul-qādū his heir, after conferring on him the title of ¹ Nāsir Shāh, and entrusted the duties of the *vazārat* to him He conferred on him the umbrella and palanquin and polished still-ball as ensigns of royalty, and a *jāgīr* of twelve thousand horsemen He also gave orders to the *Khāns* and *amīrs*, that they should go every morning to salute him, and come to the palace in attendance at his stirups When he had finished the festivities and rites of the accession, he sent for the *amīrs* one day, and said, "As I have spent 34 years at the stirups of my father in labours and expedition, it now comes to my mind, that I should endeavour to guard what has come to me from my father, and should not give myself the trouble to acquire more, and should open the ² door of peace and rest, and pleasure and enjoyment on me, and those depending on me It is better to keep the territories in ³ peace and quiet, than to strike one's hand on those of others" He commenced to endeavour to collect musicians, and they came to his threshold from all directions He filled his seraglio with ⁴ beautiful slave girls and daughters of Rājas and *zamīndārs*, and in this matter made very great exertions He taught an art and a profession to each of the beautiful girls, and taking their fitness into consideration, taught some the arts of dancing and singing, and others those of reading and recitation and playing on the flute, and a small number the art of wrestling He had five hundred Abyssinian slave

¹ Firishtah and Col Briggs say that the title of Sooltan Nasir-ood-Deen was conferred by Gheias ood-deen on his eldest son, and he was made heir-apparent and *vazīr* The Cambridge History of India, page 362, says that Sultān Ghiyās-ud-din "associated him with himself in the business of government" It appears, however, more correct to say that the Sultān left the government entirely in his hands

² One MS has امام و آسایس و عشرط در امیں The other has ، incorrectly، عیش و عشرط در امیں The lith ed has before عیش در امیں This appears to me to be better than either of the two other readings, and has been adopted as correct

³ One MS has در دامن و امان داشن and both MSS have دست instead of دست ردن and دست روپ سهتر instead of در دامن , in the text edition M Hidayat Hosain has adopted the first reading

⁴ One MS and the lith cd have کندران صاحب ~ الـ , while the other MS has کور فا صاحب ~ الـ

girls dressed in male attire and arming them with swords and shields gave them the name of the *Habuash* band. He also called five hundred Turkī slave girls in the Turkī dress as the *Mughul* band. He also trained five hundred slave girls who were distinguished for the strength of their genius and the keenness of their intelligence in various kinds of learning and he had one of them join him every day at his meals. He selected a number of them and entrusted various affairs of state such as the office of demands and the watching of receipts and expenditure of the country and the supervision of various factories to them.

¹ He also established a market in his harem so that whatever went to the market of the city for sale was also sold there. Altogether sixteen thousand slave girls were collected in his harem and each one of them had every day two silver *tankas* and two *mans* of grain and in equalising this allowance he acted with the greatest meticulousness so that Rani Khusurshid who was the highest of the members of the serigho and had great love for him and great authority in all affairs also had two *mans* of grain by lawful weight and two *tankas*. He had also ordered a servant that he should place every day cooked food at the mouths of the holes of mice and rats. He had also ordered his officers that when he offered thanks for the gifts of the great and holy God and when the benefits which the great God had showered on him came before eyes they should give fifty *tankas* by way of thanks offering to deserving men and should not suspend it during

¹ The Cambridge History of India page 362 says A replica in miniature of the great bazar in the city was erected within the precincts of the palace and was filled with the artists artisans and craftswomen of the harem. This does not convey the meaning of the statement in the text.

² Firishtah agrees but he adds سرداران و مداران i.e. except *sardars* (chiefs) and *mansabdars* but this does not agree with Tabaqat according to which even Rani Khusurshid had the usual allowance. Col Briggs (vol IV p. 36) gives each of them two seers of grain and two tunkas of copper. The Cambridge History of India does not give the exact amount paid to each woman but adds (p. 36) that the King himself regulated with meticulous nicety the pay and allowance of all even to the quantities of grain fodder and meat allotted to the various animals employed or domesticated in the harem.

³ The reading is doubtful and the meaning is obscure. The readings in MSS. are داریاں عبار مداریاں ، عبار و مداریاں ، and داریاں عبار مداریاں which are clearly incorrect.

sleep. ¹ He also ordered that to each person young or old to whom he might speak anything outside, they should give one thousand *tankas* in the shape of a reward Most of his time was passed in pleasure and enjoyment After a watch of the night had passed, he girded the belt of service, in the middle of his life, and occupied himself with the ceremonies of worship, and rubbed his forehead in the dust of humility and poverty, and entering by the door of humility begged for the grant of his object and desires from the great and holy God

He had given an order to one who was near him, that he should bring to his notice at a fitting place, whatever might take place in his kingdom, and any petition that might come from any frontiers (of his kingdom) If in any affair of the country, there was doubt among the *vazirs* they used to write a statement of the facts and send it to the palace, and he wrote a fitting reply and sent it to them It is stated that Sultān Bahlūl Lūdī the *Bādshāh* of Dehlī railed the ² town of Alhanpūr, which appertained to the Sultāns of Mālwa, and great injury was done to the residents of the town No one could place his foot of daring forward and bring this matter to the notice of Sultān Ghīyāth-ud-dīn In the end by the advice and counsel of the *vazirs*, Hasan took advantage of an opportunity one day, and reported that Sultān Bahlūl used to send every year the whole of the profits, in the form of tribute and *salāmī* (bonus) to the fortunate Sultān Mahmūd Shāh, and it was now being heard that he had committed an act of audacity, and his troops had stretched the arm of plunder and rapine to the town of ³ Alhanpūr On hearing this news, he immediately sent an order to Shēr Khān, son of Muzaffar Khān,

The lith ed has سروں میں مطلع نہاریہ، this seems to be the correct reading, and has been adopted M Hidayat Hosain, however, has retained the first reading

¹ The meaning of the payment of this large reward is not clear It is not clear also what is meant by در سروں Does it mean outside the harem ?

² Both MSS have وسیعہ الہمبوڑہ، but the lith ed has فضیلہ رستہ ورہ Firishtah lith ed has in the corresponding passage رانٹھامبھور Col Briggs has Runthun-bhore, and the Cambridge History of India, page 361, has Pālampur near Ranthambhor The fact that Sultān Ghīyāth-ud-dīn did not attack Buhlūl Lodī when the latter invaded Mālwa, but ordered Sher Khān to do so is given in the Cambridge History of India, as an illustration of his being averse to war I think it was due to his laziness and inertia

³ Here also the MSS have الہمبوڑہ

the ruler of Chanderi that he should take the armies of Bhilsa and Sanrangpur with him and proceed to chastise Sultan Bahlul After receiving the order Shér Khan collected his troops and advanced towards Biyana As Sultan Bahlul saw that he did not possess the strength to meet Sher Khan he abandoned Biyana and went to Dehl Sher Khan pursued him and advanced towards Dchli Sultan Bahlul then by offering terms of peace and making presents turned him back and the latter then rebuilt ¹ Alhanpur and then came back to Chanderi They narrate that every night he placed some gold *mohurs* under his pillow and every morning he gave them away to deserving people ² He had ordered seventy slave girls who had memorised the holy *Quran* that at the time when he changed his clothes they would finish the *Quran* and ³ blow their breath on the garment In ⁴ respect of the beauty of his hebef and simplicity they narrate that one day a man brought to him a hoof of an ass and said This is a hoof of the ass of Jesus He ordered that they should bestow on the man fifty thousand *tankas* and he bought the hoof To make the story short three other men who brought three othor hoofs also sold each of them for a similar sum It so happened that another man also brought one in and the Sultan gave orders for giving fifty thousand *tankas* to him One of the attendants of His Majesty said

Perhaps the ass of Jesus had five legs so that such a sum is being paid for the fifth hoof The Sultan said that perhaps this man is telling the truth while one of the others may have brought a wrong

¹ See notes 2 and 3 on page 546 Col Briggs (vol IV p 238) calls the place Lallpoor The year of Bahul Ludis invasion is not given in the *Tabaqat Firishtah* says it was in 889 A H while Col Briggs has 887 A H and 1482 A D as the year (vol IV p 237)

This is mentioned by Firishtah also but he says that there were one thousand and not seventy slave girls who had memorised the *Quran* and they recited it together when he changed his clothes

³ This means that each of the slave girls used to blow on the garment after reciting three sevenths of each *parah* of the *Quran* (the *Quran* being divided into thirty *parahs* or parts) in order to render the garments of the king pure blessed or holy

⁴ This story is mentioned in the Cambridge History of India see page 363 but while the Musalman historian mentions it as an illustration of the Sultan's حسن ایجاد و ساده لوحی the English historian calls him the crowned fool

hoof He had also ordered those who were near him, that when he was engaged in pleasure, or was occupied in talking with worldly people, they should bring a piece of cloth before him to which he gave the name of a shioud, and he, taking alarm, would perform his ablutions anew, and having prayed for pardon again occupy himself in worship He had also told the members of his harem with great emphasis, that they should wake him up for the night prayer, and (if necessary) dash water on his face If it so happened that his sleep was heavy, they pulled him out by force and wakened him And if he was engaged in any festive function, and did not rise on receiving one or two intimations, they, according to his orders, caught his hands, and lifted him up People never said a word in his *majlis*, which was contrary to the law of the Prophet or which would cause pain And he never saw (partook of) any intoxicating drinks One¹ day they had made an electuary for him, and had spent a *lakh* of *tankas* on it He ordered that they should tell him the name of the ingredients, and it then appeared that there were three hundred and odd drugs in one *dham* of nutmeg The Sultān said, "This electuary cannot be used by me," and ordered that it should be converted into a morsel of fire Someone said, "Let it be bestowed on someone else" He said, "Alas! that I should prescribe for another, what I do not consider right for myself"

² At one time one of the neighbours of Shaikh Mahmūd Na'mān, who was one of the companions of the Sultān, came to him from Dehlī, and said, "I have come remembering the promises and gifts of the Sultān, so that by your intervention, I may get from him the wherewithal for the marriage of my daughter" The Shaikh said, "I am prepared to pay myself the amount you require" He replied "I will not take it from you, I wish that I may partake of the gifts of the Sultān, and my respectability may thereby be increased The

¹ The matter of the electuary is mentioned by Firishtah and his account agrees with that in the text

² This is preceded in the lith ed by the words عربیت کا، a strange story, but these words are not found in either MS The Cambridge History of India, page 363, gives this story also, but omits most of the particulars The man is described as a beggar from Dehlī, but the reason of his journey is not mentioned, nor is Shaikh Mahmūd Na'mān, who engineered the fraud

Shaikh insisted but the other did not agree At last the Shaikh said I recommend those who come to me on the ground of the greatness of their ancestors or on their own excellences You do not possess either of these qualifications With what qualities shall I praise you ? The man replied I have brought myself to you you act according to your own intelligence and wisdom The Shaikh took the man with him to the audience hall of the Sultan and he told him to take a handful of the wheat which the men were weighing there for the *faqirs* When the Shaikh met the Sultan that man was also behind him The Sultan said Who is this man ? He replied This man has memorised the holy *Quran* He has brought a handful of wheat as a present on each grain of which he has finished the *Quran* The Sultan said Why did you bring him here ? I should have gone to him The Shaikh said He does not possess such a position or qualifications that the Sultan should go to him The Sultan said If he is not fit for it his present is priceless As the Sultan insisted the Shaikh settled that the man should bring his presents to the *Jama* Mosquo on the following Friday When they had finished their prayers the Sultan ordered that the man should mount the pulpit and throw the grains of wheat in the lap of the Sultan's skirt and the Sultan favoured him with a variety of gifts

¹ They have narrated that one day the Sultan said to his intimates I have collected some thousands of beautiful women in my harem but I have not yet found a person such as my heart desires Of the men who were present one said Perhaps the men who were employed in this service were not perfect in discerning a beautiful person If this slave is employed in this work it is likely that he should find a person that may be agreeable to the Sultan The Sultan said What do you consider a beautiful person ? He said It is one each part of whose person which comes to the beholder's sight deprives the latter of the desire to see any other part for instance if he sees her figure he becomes so fascinated with her that he has no desire to see her face The Sultan was pleased with

¹ This is also preceded by the word *waka* story in the lith ed but the word is omitted in both MSS This story is also narrated by Firishtah but it does not appear to be mentioned by Col Briggs or in the Cambridge History of India

this judgment of his about a woman's beauty The man then took leave of the Sultān and went round the country But although he cast his eyes over all the world, he did not find what he wanted However he arrived at a place, where he saw a young woman, who went walking gracefully Her gait and figure enchanted him When taking great care he cast his eyes on her beautiful face, he found something much better than what he wanted He remained there for some days and, by such trickery as he knew, took her along, and placing her in the service of the Sultān made him happy He told the Sultān that he had bought her for so many thousands *dīrams*

After some days, the father and mother of the young woman became acquainted with this matter, and knew that a man, who had stayed in the village for some time, had taken away their daughter Having sought a clue to his name and country, they came to the Sultān praying for justice They happened to meet him at the crossing of two roads and begged for justice The Sultān knew that they were complaining about that particular young lady He did not take a single step from the place where he was, and ordered that men learned in the law should be directed to attend there Then he asked them to pass on him the sentence directed by the law of the Prophet The complainants, on becoming acquainted with the truth of the matter, submitted that their complaint was for this reason that that man had taken away their daughter As she had now become an inmate of the harem of Sultān, it was a matter of honour and happiness to them, more specially as she had become a Musalmān, and had left their faith, and they were now pleased and satisfied

Then the Sultān told the learned men, the woman has now become my lawful wife, but for the time that has passed, you should carry out in respect of me whatever might be the order of the law If I deserve to be put to death, I shall hold you absolved for causing my death The learned men said that whatever is done without knowledge is pardoned in the law, and is absolved by penitence In spite of this decision, the Sultān was repentant about this, and forbade his servants to seek for and produce any women

¹ In the year 887 A H, 1482 A D, there was a conjunction of

¹ These conjunctions are mentioned by Fīrishtah also He, however, says distinctly that he took the account from the Tabaqāt, and also says that

planets that is Saturn and Jupiter became contiguous and near to each other in degree and minute in the sign of Syrpio and the ¹ five stars were also collected in one sign of the Zodiac. The evil caused by these conjunctions appeared in most countries and specially in K̄halji territories there was much ² disturbance as will clearly be seen from the account of Naṣir Shah.

In the year 889 A H 1484 A D an ambassador came from the Ray of Champānīr and submitted a petition to the following effect:

When in former times ³ Sultan Mahmud son of Sultan Ahmad besieged Champānīr Sultan Mahmūd Shāh came to help and assist the slaves and ⁴ released us from the siege and now Sultan Mahmud Gujrātī has come and is again besieging Champanīr. If your Majesty considering our ancient relations of servitorship to you would advance to release us it would be the cause of an increase of your protection and bravery. A sum of one *lakh* of *tankas* would be remitted to your officers as a contribution towards your expenses. When the report reached Sultan he collected his troops and came and took up his residence in the palace of Na Icha. The next day he sent for the learned men and the *Qadis* to his *majlis* and asked them for a ruling on this point. A Musalman *Badshah* has besieged a hill of a *Kafir*. Is it allowed to me according to the law of the Prophet that I should

the coming of Bahul Ludi and the destruction of Alhanpur or Palanpur was among the effects of these conjunctions. They do not appear to be mentioned either by Col. Briggs or in the Cambridge History of India.

¹ The five stars are سرطان Mercury, زورہ Venus, مسیحی Jupiter, مریخ Mars, رحل Saturn.

² The MSS have احتلاجی and the lith ed has احتلاجی while Firishtah in the corresponding passage has احتلالی. This last seems to be the most appropriate word and I have adopted it.

³ So in both MSS and in the lith ed. As a matter of fact the correct name of the son of Sultan Ahmad was Sultan Muhammad. Probably Sultan Mahmud who ascended the throne in 862 A H and was contemporaneous with Sultan Mahmud K̄halji who reigned from 839 A H to 873 A H is meant but he was the son of Sultan Muhammad and grandson of Sultan Ahmad. Firishtah lith ed mentions the fact of Sultan Ghuyath ud din's march to Na Icha but he does not mention the particulars of the previous siege. Neither Col. Briggs nor the Cambridge History of India mentions the matter.

⁴ One MS has by mistake حلاق بودہ instead of حلاق کردا.

advance to aid the *Kāfiṣ*? ” All the learned men said, “ It is not allowed ” Sultān Ghiyāth-ud-dīn then bade farewell to the ambassador from Chāmpānīr, and went back to his own capital

When old age overtook the Sultān, disputes commenced about the possession of the kingdom between Sultān Nāṣir-ud-dīn and ¹ Shujā‘at Khān, who had the title of Sultān ‘Alā-ud-dīn, and in spite of the fact, that they were twin brothers, things came to such a pass, that they made attempts on the lives of each other Rānī Khūrshīd, the daughter of the Rāy of Baglāna who was the chief inmate of the harem of Sultān Ghiyāth-ud-dīn, took the side of Shujā‘at Khān, and wanted to turn Sultān Ghiyāth-ud-dīn against Sultān Nāṣir-ud-dīn This matter will be described in the account of Sultān Nāṣir-ud-dīn To be brief, Sultān Nāṣir-ud-dīn lost the bridle of power and fled from Mandū, and having taken up a position in the centre of the kingdom, brought over the *amīrs* to his side, and coming back besieged the fort of Mandū Sultān ‘Alā-ud-dīn ² having given encouragement and comfort to a body of five thousand Gujrātis made vain efforts In the end, the Ghiyāth Shāhi *amīrs* opened the gates, and invited Nāṣir-ud-dīn into the fort When Shujā‘at Khān saw that Sultān Nāṣir-ud-dīn had entered by the gate, he went and took shelter with

¹ One MS has سعاع حاں Firishtah’s account of the quarrels between two brothers is somewhat more detailed He says they began in 903 A H, 1491 A D, when Sultān Ghiyāth-ud dīn had become old and decrepit Rānī Khūrshīd attempted to have Nāṣir-ud dīn seized, whereupon in 905 A H, he fled, and seeing that the Rānī was still bent on his destruction, he took up a position in the centre of the country, and *amīrs* and soldiers came, and joined him, and he assumed the emblems of royalty, and advanced and besieged the fort of Mandū As he had acted as his father’s *vazīr* for years, people knew him They opened the gates of the fort and brought him into it without the opposite party knowing anything about it Shujā‘at Khān or ‘Alā ud-dīn fled to his father’s palace, but he and the Rānī were dragged out, and he and his son were butchered like so many sheep Col Briggs (vol IV, p 239) gives a similar account, but he adds that Nasir ood-Deen was admitted into the fort by the Tarapoor gate, on the 24th of Rubbee oos-Sany, A H 906, October 22nd, 1500 A D, and also that Alla-ood-Deen and all his children and all his family were put to death The account in the Cambridge History of India, page 363, is somewhat different in some particulars

² One MS has مخود موافق سائے between نجھار گے رائی دا and دلسا کریسا , thus is followed in the text edition

his father and after some days when the foundations of the palace of the Naṣir Shahī rulo became stronger Shuja'at Khan and his sons were summoned to the Sultan's presence and were beheaded. On the 9th of Ramadan in the year 906 A.H. Sultan Ghīyāth ud din was attacked by the disease of dysentery and joined the vicinity of God.
¹ Some say that Sultan Nasir ud din killed his father by giving him poison. Sultan Nasir ud din sent a message to Rani Khurshid that she should make over to the treasurer all the treasures of the Sultan which were in her possession otherwise she would suffer much trouble. The Rani having regard to his probable harsh treatment brought over all the treasures and property which were hidden and concealed in the harem and made them over to the Nasir Shahi agents.

The period of his (*i.e.* Sultan Ghīyāth ud din's) reign was thirty two years and soventeen days.

AN ACCOUNT OF SULTĀN NĀSIR UD DÍN

Historians are agreed that the birth of Sultan Nasir ud din took place during the reign of Sultan Mahmud Khalji. Mahmud Shah and Ghīyāth Shah in their great joy arranged festive entertainments and for one month kept the bed of pleasure and enjoyment spread out. In thanks giving for this great gift the ordinary *raiyats* generally and men of wisdom and deserving men specially were made participants in the hoard of their benefactions and the tables of their favours. Astrologers who knew the stars reported that the Shāhzāda was born with a happy fortune and in an auspicious moment and would get perfect nurture and full education from the nurse of the age and will he supreme and unrivalled in all the various arts and the different cultures and education. On the 7th day after the birth he was produced before the great and holy men and received the name of Ahd ul qadir. Both in the time of his youth and in that of his manhood the marks of royalty and empire were patent.

¹ Col. Briggs (vol IV p 240) thinks that the accusation is false as Nasir ood Deen had been already crowned by his father's consent but the fact that many of the important nobles rebelled against Na ir ud din would lead one to infer that the accusation had some foundation.

Firishtah and Col. Briggs make it thirty three years.

and clear and bright on his forehead When he reached the years of discretion, and excelled all his contemporaries in the matter of the duties of leadership and chieftainship, Sultān Ghiyāth-ud-dīn made him his heir apparent, and entrusted the duties of the *vazā'at* to him His younger brother, Shujā'at Khān, although outwardly he did not forget any of the minutiae of agreement, still being hostile to him in spirit, got a number of men to combine with him One day he represented in private to Sultān Ghiyāth-ud-dīn that "A number of audacious, low men have collected in the service of Sultān Nāsir-ud-dīn, and are inciting him to seize the kingdom It is better to remedy an event before it actually occurs" He made so many insinuations, that the intention of seizing the Shāhzāda and of imprisoning him became impressed on the Sultān's mind But as the marks of nobility and the token of sovereignty were evident in his countenance, his paternal affection induced him to apply the ointment of kindness and favour on the wound of his heart, and make him more powerful He accordingly ordered that the pay-master of the kingdom should send orders to the *amīns* and to heads of all bands, that they should go every morning to offer their salutation to Sultān Nāsir-ud-dīn, and should attend at his stirrups to the palace gate

Sultān Nāsir-ud-dīn now took up all the affairs of state permanently in his own hand, and appointed his own *gumāshias* (his agents) everywhere As he allotted the management of the *Khālsa parganas* (*i.e.*, *parganas* in the direct possession of the sovereign) to Shaikh Habib and Khwājah Suhail eunuchs, ² Yakān Khān and Amman and Mūnjā Baqāl, who had before this been the officers in charge of the *Khālsa* complained to Rānī Khūrshid, who was of a manly disposition The latter as she was inclined towards Shujā'at Khān, and her mind was not free from evil towards Sultān Nāsir-ud-dīn, reported (to the Sultān) through Shujā'at Khān that Mahk Mahmūd *kōtwāl* and

¹ One MS has the text I have adopted, while the other omits the word *رساید* در حلوی عیاں سلا بعرص

² The names in the MSS are as I have given them here The lith ed omits Āman Fīrishtah lith ed has موتی حان, and مسون حان The names are not in any other history that I have seen

¹ Sev Das Baqal who were the heads and chiefs of the rebels and traitors have become specially attached to Sultan Nasir ud din and have made the lease of certain *maudas* appertaining to his *jagir* the pretext of their visits to him Sultan Ghīyath ud din summoned Malik Mahmud and Sev Das and without asking them any questions and making any enquiries killed them and ravaged and destroyed the people in their houses

- After this Sultan Nasir ud din withdrew his hands from the duties of the ³ *tazārat* and did not for some days attend to salute the Sultan Rānī Khurshid and Shuja at Khan having got an opportunity through the exertions and management of Yakan Khan and Munja Baqal spoke words full of interested suggestions in the garb of disinterestedness and having stretched their misappropriating hands to the treasury with a composed mind took upon themselves the full management of the affairs of the government Owing to his great age Sultan Ghīyath ud din agreed to their doing so But as he had heard from disinterested persons that Rānī Khurshid and Shuja at Khan wanted to calumniate and falsely accuse Sultan Nasir ud din he waited to see their further proceedings As Shaikh Habib ul lah and Iliwajah Suhail knew that Mūnja Baqal was the prime mover in all this mischief and disturbance they waited for an opportunity and killed him and fled and went to the harem of Sultan Nasir ud din Ram Khurshid narrated this story to Sultan Ghīyath ud din with much exaggeration and embroidery and on hearing of this occurrence the flame of the wrath of the Sultan blazed up and he sent a number of men with Yakan Khan that they might seize the murderers and

¹ The name is سو داس Sawi Das and the lith ed has سوم داس Som Das

The account of the intrigues and fighting between Sultan Nasir ud din and his partisans on the one side and Shuja at Khan and Rānī Khurshid and their adherents on the other which extends over several pages in the *Tabaqat* is dismissed in the course of some twenty line by Col Briggs on pages 238-239 of vol IV of his history and also in some lines in the Cambridge History of India page 363

² One MS has رجائب and the other میہاں after سلیمان while the lith ed has neither the one nor the other I have adopted رجائب In the text edition however it is میہاں

¹ bring them out from the house of Sultān Nāṣr-ud-dīn When he gave these men permission to go, he told them that they were on no account to forego any of the minutiæ of respect and honour towards Nāṣn Shāh.

At this time Shaikh Habib-ul-lah and Khwājah Suhail mounted their horses from Sultān Nāṣr-ud-dīn's palace, and rode away to the open country On the way they went on saying, "We are going to the house of the Qādī Whoever wishes to make any complaint about the minister of Mūnijā Baqāl, let him appear there" Yakān Khān and the other amīrs on arriving at the Nāṣn Shāhī *darbār* sent a message The reply came, "Shaikh Habib-ul-lah and Khwājah Suhail did not kill Mūnijā Baqāl under my orders, and I do not know where they are gone" Yakān Khān did not accept this reply, and for three days kept the harem of Sultān Nāṣr-ud-dīn under guard When the Sultān knew that the ministers had fled, and giving further trouble to his son was wrong, he sent Mashīn-ül-mulk ² and Mālmī Khān to him, and sent him a message to say that, "If my son's heart has not been aggrieved and the dust of pain has not clouded the seat of his mind, he should, as in former days, come to me, for I have no more strength to endure the pain of separation and estrangement"

Sultān Nāṣr-ud-dīn, ³ notwithstanding a hundred reasons for caution, obtained the honour of kissing the feet of his benefactor and father, and the father and the son washed off the dust of disturbance from the pages of the age with their tears And Sultān Nāṣr-ud-dīn again became zealous in the Sultān's service, and every day saw fresh signs of the Sultān's affection towards him He planned the building of a palace for his residence in the vicinity of the Ghriyāth Shāhī palace, so that he might always, when he wanted to do so, have the honour of waiting on his father Rānī Khūrshīd took advantage of an opportunity one day, and said to the Sultān, "Sultān Nāṣr-ud-dīn has erected for himself a house close to the *Jahān-numā* palace, and

¹ One MS has بیاردہ، the other has بیاردہ، while the lith ed has بیاوردہ

² The name is مہمی خان in both MSS In the lith ed it is متنہی خان، Mustahī Khān, while in the lith ed of Firishtah it is متنہی خان Muntahī Khān

³ Firishtah makes the matter clear by saying ا وحود نعم حس و مدد و عذر، i.e., in spite of fear of imprisonment, etc

he apparently intends to act ¹ treacherously Sultan Ghiyāth ud din without any consideration or deliberation ordered Ghulib Khan *lotwal* in the year 905 A H to destroy completely the Nasir Shahi palace Sultan Nasir ud din started the same night with a body of his adherents in the direction of Dhar which is situated in the forest of Kishun Shaikh Habib ul lah and Ikhwāyah Suhail came there and waited on him Rani Khurshid and Shuja at Khan sent an army in pursuit of him without giving any information to Sultan Ghiyāth ud din of their having done so But Sultan Ghiyāth ud din sent Tatar Khan so that he might after conciliating Nasir Shah bring him back to the city Tatar Khan left his men in the village of ² Bakankalu and went in company with Malik Fadl ul lah Badeh *Mir Shikar* to Sultan Nasir ud din and gave him his father's message The latter wrote a petition which he gave to Tatar Khan and directed him that he should go and read it to the Sultan and bring his reply The well intentioned Tatar Khan went on wings of speed to Shadiabad and reported the substance of the petition to Sultan Ghiyāth ud din But he had not yet received any reply when Rani Khurshid who had very great influence on the mind of the Sultan sent an order to the pay master of the empire that he should appoint Tatar Khan to attack and destroy Nasir ud din When Tatar Khan became acquainted with these facts he came down from the fort and advanced towards ⁴ Birā

The army which had been sent to attack Nasir Shah was on arrival at ⁵ Bakankalu puzzled and amazed about the result of their acts (They knew) if they decided to fight they had reason to be afraid that when the turn of Nasir Shah came each one of them

¹ One MS has by mistake عدی instead of عدی

Frishtah explains that Sultan Ghiyāth ud din had on account of his great age lost his sense and intelligence

² The name appears to be بکانکالو Bakankalu in the MSS and Bakbakalu in the lith ed Frishtah in the corresponding passage has در کمکانو ³ in some secret place ⁴ کمکانو Kankanu is adopted in the text edition

⁴ I cannot make out whether بارہ or مارہ is the name of a place or otherwise

⁵ See note 3 above at this place one MS has بموضع بلکالو in the village of Bakankalu while the other has بلکالو Bakankalu The lith ed has بموضع کانکالو in the village of Kankalu

would receive capital punishment, and if they went back to Mandū they were afraid of punishment by Rānī Khūrshīd in the immediate future. They were still wandering in the plains of amazement when they heard that Sultān Nāṣir-ud-dīn had left that place and had marched to and encamped in the town of ¹ Thahnah. At this station, Maṭlik Mahta and Maṭlik Haibat, who were among the great *amīns* of ² the Ghīyāth Shāhī state came and joined him, and the power and splendour of Nāṣir Shāh were much increased. From that station he moved to the town of ³ Rājāwiyah, and Maulānā ‘Imād-ud-dīn Afdal Khān and a body of the *zamīndārs* ⁴ of that neighbourhood joined him there. He stayed there for a few days on account of the pleasant nature of the air, and the freshness and verdure of the fields, and had, with the consent of the *amīns* the royal umbrella raised over his head, on the day of the ‘Īd-i-fitr (the festivity of the breaking of the fast), and distinguished the *amīns* and dīvines and heads of groups by bestowing valuable robes of honour on them.

At this time news was brought to him, that Shujā‘at Khān’s troops had started from the village of ⁵ Bakankālū with the intention of giving battle, and had arrived in the village of ⁶ Kandūyah.

¹ The name looks like تہنہ Tahnah or نتنہ Natnah in the MSS, and بھلیاں Bhaliah in the lith ed. M Hidayat Hosain has حستہ Hastah in the text-edition.

² One MS has دولت عیاں الدین شاہی, while the other and the lith ed have دولت عیاں شاہی

³ The name is راحوارہ Rājāwiyah, in both MSS, while the lith ed has احصارہ Ajarnah, and the lith ed of Firishtah has حادیہ Jādiah. M Hidayat Hosain has احائہ Ajāiyah in the text edition.

⁴ The reading in one MS is میں داران ان ساختیہ which I have adopted. The other MS has الکھنا Alhanah and the lith ed has ریکھتہ Rēkhtah instead of بعضی اور صنداران ان ساختیہ Firishtah in the corresponding passage has بعضی اور صنداران کنکاتو some *zamīndārs*.

⁵ The name is here written as کنکاتو Kankātū in one MS and کیکالو Kikālū in the other, and بککالو Bakikālū in the lith ed. Firishtah lith ed has here کنکاتو Kankānū.

⁶ The name appears to be کندوبہ Kandūyah in the MS, and کندوبہ Kandūbah in the lith ed. In later passages it is written as کندوبہ Kandūyah in the MS, and I have adopted that name. Firishtah lith ed has کندوہر Kandūhar.

Nasir Shah sent ¹ Malik Malhu to chastise them As the star of his fortune had become resplendent over the horizon of greatness when the two armies met the breeze of victory and triumph blew over the plumes of Malik Malhu's standard and the enemy fled and went to Mandu and Malik Malhu joined Nasir Shah's camp at Rajawiyah with much booty On the 16th Shawwal in the year 905 A H 1499 A D he marched from that station towards the town of - Ajud Mubarak Khan and ² Himmat Khan now came and joined him And when he arrived in the town of Sundarsi Rustam Khan the governor of Sarangpur came and waited on him and brought some elephants and much other property as a tribute After his arrival at Ujjain amirs and faujdars and thanadars came to his threshold in great numbers Rani Khurshid and Shuja at Khan (now) in fear of their lives reported to Sultan Chiyath ud din that Nasir Shah had arrived at Ujjain and all the amirs and thanadars had turned to him and the fort of Shadiabad would be besieged in the near future

Chiyath ud din sent Shaikh Auliya and Shaikh Burhan ud din as ambassadors and sent the following message through them It is a long time since I have placed the bridle of the work of government in the grasp of my son's hand of power If acting in a spirit of superiority and attachment he would send away the mob of common people which has collected round him and would come and wait on me the affairs of the empire would again be entrusted to his penetrating intellect and judicious consideration At that time if he considers it advisable he can allot the territory of Ranthambhōr to Shuja at Khan who stands in the relation of a son to him and the flame of disturbance and revolt should be extinguished by the waters of peace Nasir Shah did not bind himself by any reply and towards the end of Dhu qādah of the aforesaid year marched from the town of Ujjain to the town of Dhar and halted there for some days About this time

¹ That is the name in both MSS and in the lith ed but Firi hīlah lith ed has رَدِيْه مَالِكٌ مُحَمَّدٌ

² One MS and the lith ed have the reading I have in the text but the other MS has مَوْلَى وَهُودَ كَسْب instead of مَلِكٌ وَهُودَ كَسْب Fīri Hīlah has adopted أَجْعَد for أَهْوَد in the text edition

³ The name is هَمَان حَلَن and هَمَان حَلَن in the MSS and without any dot above or below the third letter in the lith ed Firi hīlah does not name these men

news came that ¹ Yakān Khān had come down from Shādiābād, with three thousand horsemen, with the intention of giving battle. Immediately on hearing this news, Malik ² 'Atān was sent with five hundred horsemen to the village of Hānspūr. Yakān Khān receiving information of this advanced towards Hānspūr. After a fight between them, Malik 'Atān was victorious, and ³ one hundred brave men out of Yakān Khān's troops, who knew men, were slain. Malik 'Atān seized eighty horses and much booty, and returned to the town of Dhār. Yakān Khān with the men who had escaped the sword fled and entered the fort. After a few days, Yakān Khān, at the incitement of Rānī Khūrshid and Shujā'at Khān, again came out of the fort with a body of men whom he had got together, with the determination of fighting another battle. Immediately on hearing this news, Nāṣn Shāh nominated Khwājah ⁴ Suhaal and Malik Mahta and Malik Haibat and Miyān Jiw to attack and crush Yakān Khān, but as soon as the eyes of the latter fell on Nāṣn Shāh's troops, his foot of firmness and stability slipped, and he fled without attempting to fight, and, in short, wherever the two sides met, the breezes of victory and triumph blew on the plumes of Nāṣn Shāh's standards.

On the 22nd of Dhī'l-hijjā-ul-haiām of the aforesaid year, (Sultān Nāsir-ud-dīn) took up his quarters in the *Jahān-numā* ⁵ palace at

¹ See note 2, page 554. Here the name is حان کان without any dot above or below the first letter in one MS and يکان حان in the other MS, and يکان حان in the lith ed. Firishtah lith ed has حان مکون as before, and describes him as the مادِ میان و میراع cause of all disturbance and dispute I have adopted يکان حان.

² He is so called in both MSS. The lith ed has ارمان ملک. The name of the village is هاسپور Hānspūr in one MS and in the lith ed of Firishtah, هاں پور Hānsalpūr in the other MS and هانسپور Hānslūr in the lith ed of the Tabaqāt.

³ The MSS and the lith ed all have سناس مردم موردم سناس. I do not understand the exact meaning of these words. Firishtah simply has يکند سناہی مکھن حان.

⁴ The names are as I have got them in the text in one MS. There are slight differences as regards the second and the fourth in the other MS and in the lith ed. Firishtah does not give the names, though he mentions the second attempt.

⁵ One MS has کوسک, while the other MS and the lith ed have کوسک.

Na Ichā At this station his spies brought the news that Sultan Ghīyāth ud din in his old elegant person intended to come in order to comfort and counsel his son (i.e Nasir ud din) and in order to carry out this intention he had moved from the capital and had taken up his residence ¹ in the centre of the kingdom and he would move from the place at a moment which the astrologers had selected and after trying to please his son's heart he would return to Shadiab id Nasir Shah was pleased and delighted on hearing this news and waited in expectation of the joy giving arrival of his father but Shuja at Khan with the advice of Rani Khurshid had the Sultan's litter taken up and had it carried towards Na Ichā When they arrived at the Dehligate and as age and senility had overcome the Sultan he asked those who were near him where they were taking him to Some of them informed him of what had happened He said I will go another day You should turn back to day The servants having no alternative turned back When Rani Khurshid heard that Sultan Ghīyāth ud din had returned from the way she knew that this had happened at the incitement of Nasir Shah's well wishers She summoned the men into her presence and having used harsh words towards them demanded the reason of their action They said that the Sultan had returned according to his own wishes and no one else had any hand in the matter

Shuja at Khan then with the advice and consent of Rani Khurshid repaired the broken and ruined parts of the fort and distributed the bastions (among his commanders) Nasir Shah also advanced from his position and arranged batteries round the fort. Every day numbers of men were slain from each side. Sultan Chiyath ud din sent the ablest of the judges Mashir ul mulk to arrange for peace but as he did not get a reply like what he wanted and was afraid of Rani Khurshid he remained where he was. As the siege became close and the garrison was in great anxiety and distress owing to the non arrival of grain and other necessities and bearing in mind the purport of the text that change is best even though it may go against us directed their attention to this that the office of the Sultan

¹ The actual words are مالک عرض also I cannot find out the exact meaning of the first two words.

be fixed on Nāṣir Shāh Amongst the *amīns*, who were still in the fort, Muwāfiq Khān and Mālik Fadl-ul-lah, *Mīr Shikār*, (chief huntsman) availing themselves of an opportunity betook themselves to the service of Nāṣir Shāh The latter bestowed a *lakh* of *tankas* on Muwāfiq Khān When Rānī Khūrshid and Shujā'at Khān received information of this, they dismissed 'Alī Khān from the charge of the fort, and made over the guarding of the fort and the government of the city to Mālik Piyārā, on whom they conferred the title of 'Alī Khān They also sentenced ¹ Muhāfiz Khān and Sūrajmal to death The *amīns* and the great men and all the residents of the city became heartbroken on seeing this punishment, and sent petition to Nāṣir Shāh, and prayed for permits of protection After a few days the siege was carried on to such a point, that among the garrison, nothing was left of any grain except the name, and many people came out of the fort on account of the famine

Nāṣir Shāh mounted his horse on the night of 18th Safar in the year 906 A H, with the object of capturing the fort When he arrived close to the fort, the men in the bastions came up and shot arrows and musket shots, and many active and brave warriors were wounded In the end Sultān Nāṣir-ud-dīn advanced towards the bastion of seven hundred steps Dilāwar Khān Jangjū to his great honour, managed to get into the fort Sultān Nāṣir-ud-dīn also entered the fort Shujā'at Khān, with a number of trusted men, came out on a turret of the fort, and exerted himself, and showed great bravery Sultān Nāṣir-ud-dīn, in his own elegant person, shot many arrows, and ² many men fell under his arrows of fate As reinforcements reached Shujā'at Khān time after time, and brave warriors belonging to Nāṣir Khān's army received wounds, the latter thinking it advisable to return came out of the fort to his own camp He bestowed much favour and kindness on the men who had exerted themselves, and offered their lives in his service and comforted them by bestowing new robes of honour, and enquired about their health and condition

¹ Firishtah explains میدادست میسر الدین *Nāṣir-ud-dīn* *Khālji* whom they knew to be partisans of Sultān Nāṣir-ud-dīn *Khālji*

² The actual words are مردم حود بر سر تیر و صعاء او رفتند The meaning is not very clear, but I think my translation is correct Firishtah in the corresponding passage has مردم حود نتیر و صعای او در گفتگو شدند

After some days the sons of Sher Khan son of Muzaffar Khan the governor of Chanderi came and joined the camp of Nasir Shah with one thousand horsemen and eleven elephants In the first *majlis* after their arrival Nasir Shah conferred the title of Muzaffar Khan on the elder and Asad Khan on the second son Owing to the arrival of the army of Chanderi new vigour and strength appeared in the men of the army At this time some men in the garrison of Mandu who had the charge of guarding the ¹ Malpur gate sent a notice to the besieging army that if Nasir Shah's troops came in that direction the fort will come to his possession without any difficulty or trouble Sultan Nasir Shah sent Muharak Khan and Shaikh Habib ul lah and Muwafiq Khan and Khwaja Suhail and a number of others on the night of the 24th of Rabi ul akhir of the afore mentioned year Shaikh Habib ul lah told them that if they succeeded in capturing the fort he would send his ring that they might know that the fort had come into their possession When the amirs reached the gate the citizens in concert with Zahardast Khan son of Hazhar Khan who had charge of the *silahkhana* (armoury) of the fort slew the keeper of the Malpur gate and opened it and Nasir Shah's men galloped into the fort

Shuja at Khan with his army in battle array advanced to fight but was unable to do anything and fled and get into his own house and then taking his family and children with him retired into the harom of Sultan Ghiyath ud din Shaikh Habib ul lah then according to previous arrangement sent his ring and brought Nasir Shah in He reached the Malpur gate in a moment and get into the city The amirs hastened to wait on him and offered their congratulations Some foolish men set fire to some of the palaces and mansions of Sultan Ghiyath ud din without any order from Nasir Shah and they seized and brought Shuja at Khan and Rani Khurshid and some other persons and having commenced to plunder and ransack the city devastated it for two days Sultan Ghiyath ud din then made up his mind and formed a determination and moved from the place to the palace of Sarsati and took up his abode there

¹ One of the MSS has مالپور instead of Malpur The Cambridge History of India page 363 calls it the Balapur gate

One MS and the lith ed have می امر ناصر ساہی while the other MS has می اور حکم ناصر ساہی

On the 3rd day, which was ¹ Friday the 27th of Rabi'-ul-ākhir of the afore-mentioned year, Sultān Nāsir-ud-dīn sat on the throne of the empire and ² made over Shujā'at Khān and Rānī Khūrshid to custodians. He sent Malik Malita to Na'lcha (to bring) his ³ second son, who was known as Miyān Manjhila, and making the latter his heir, conferred on him the title of Sultān Shihāb-ud-dīn. He allotted to him the *Safa Bāgh*, which was situated near the palace of Sultān Ghīyāth-ud-dīn as his residence. The same day the *Khutba* was read in the name of Nāsir Shāh, and pearls and other gems, which were showered over his umbrella, were distributed among deserving men. Yakān Khān and Amman and Muhāfiz Khān Jadid and Mufarrah Pīdār Habshī and other men, who had been hostile to him, were punished with death, and some men were brought away from under the sword, and were kept in imprisonment. According to the established custom he confirmed fiefs ⁴ on the men who had sided with him. He conferred on Shaikh Habib-ul-lah the title of 'Ālam Khān, and to Khwājah Suhaile whom he ⁵ had given the *paigana* of Āshtah, he gave the post of *Sipahsālāri* (office of commander-in-chief). On the 3rd of Jamādī-ul-ākhir of the afore-mentioned year, Sultān Nāsir-ud-dīn was honoured by being allowed to do homage to his father and benefactor Sultān Ghīyāth-ud-dīn. The latter took him into his arms, and wept a great deal, and kissed his head and face, and on giving him permission to retire, bestowed on him the cap of state and the

¹ Firishtah lith ed gives the same day and date Col Briggs (vol IV, p 240) also has Rubbee oos Sany 27, A H 906, October 25, A D 1500, as the date of Sultan Nasir-ood-Deen's accession The Cambridge History of India, page 363, has October 22nd, 1500

² Nizām ud-dīn does not appear to mention the execution of Shujā'at Khān but Firishtah mentions it. See note 1, page 552. Col Briggs says Shoojat Khan and "all his children and the whole of his family" were put to death. The Cambridge History of India, page 363, also says that Shujā'at Khān was put to death.

³ Neither Nizām-ud dīn nor Firishtah gives any reason for the selection of the second son as the heir-apparent in preference to the eldest son, or whether the latter was dead or otherwise disqualified.

^٤ One MS inserts سیم before حبیب الله را و ائمه، اعات.

⁵ One MS omits **كَ** and **بُوْدَ**, and the other has **بُرْكَةً كَمَا دَادَتْ**

¹ robe of woven hair which he used himself to wear on the days of public audience and other auspicious days and placing the royal crown on his head made over to him the keys of the treasury and offering him felicitations and congratulations bade him adieu

On the 16th of Rajah of the afore said year he bestowed on Sultan Shah ud din the same fur cloth robe and the cap of state and also gave him twenty elephants and one hundred horses and eleven royal umbrellas two *palkis* and also a standard and a kettle drum and a red pavilion and twenty *lakhs* of *tankas* for his household expenses

After a few days Mughil Khan the governor of Mandesor fled owing to his extreme misfortune and Mahabat Khan in whose charge he was was sent immediately that he might seize and bring him back with the threat that otherwise he should expect the thunderbolts of punishment Mahabat Khan made great exertions but (being unsuccessful) went and joined Sher Khan (the governor of Chanderi)

Ali Khan and some other men of evil destiny who were suspicious and afraid owing to their evil deeds also went and joined Sher Khan The latter marched from the neighbourhood of Na lira and advanced towards Chanderi Sultan Nasir ud din sent Muhiyuk Khan and Alam Khan to Sher Khan so that they might in any way that they could reassure him Although they gave him words of sage counsel he spoke rare words in answer to all their arguments and wanted to imprison both of them On the pretext that he was going to consult

¹ The lith ed has *حکای مورده کلاہ دولت* before *کلاہ دولت* which however is printed as *سایی سرمه* in it The MSS omit *کلاہ دولت* though they mention it a little later I have therefore retained it *مرو* appears to mean made of woven cloth of hair and Firishtah explains the importance of sanctity of this robe by saying *اور ناپ سند متمدد بور بخش* appertaining to Sayid Muhammad Nur Bahsh

Firishtah says *مرو و وزیر* but like Nizam ud din he gives no reason for this Col Briggs quotes in a note (vol IV p 241) some of the intrigues and fighting between Nasir ood Deen on the one side and Shoojat Khan and Rany Khoorsheed on the other from the Muntukhoot Towareekh and say the two are not mentioned by Firishta although as a matter of fact they are The Cambridge History of India page 364 says that the *amirs* declined to believe that Sultan Nasir ud din had ascended the throne with his father's consent and therefore rebelled Firishtah does not say that Mughil Khan was in charge of Mahabat Khan He however agrees with the text in saying that he was sent to bring the latter

with his mother, he came out of the pavilion, and made over Mubārak Khān and ‘Ālam Khān to his own men. The latter seized Mubārak Khān, and slew two of his servants. ‘Ālam Khān took the opportunity to get to his horse, and with great quickness came out of the camp, and reported the matter to Sultān Nāṣir-ud-dīn. The latter left his son Sultān Shihāb-ud-dīn, in charge of the government of the fort of Shādiābād, and took up his quarters, on the 9th Sha‘bān of the afore-mentioned year, in the *Jahān-numā* palace at Na‘lcha. When Shēr Khān arrived in the fort of Ujjain, he again, at the instigation of Mahābat Khān turned back to give battle, and came to Dibālpūn, and plundered the town of Hindāh. Immediately on hearing this, Sultān Nāṣir-ud-dīn marched forward, and took up his residence in the palace of Dhār.

At this time they brought the news that Sultān Ghīyāth-ud-dīn had passed away from the waste place of the world to the popular land of after-world. According to one statement he was poisoned at the instance of Sultān Nāṣir-ud-dīn.¹ It is a matter of experience that a parricide never attains to old age and never becomes successful. Sultān Nāṣir-ud-dīn ruled for² eleven years. Therefore the allegation of his attempt on the life of his father may be a mere calumny, but knowledge is with God alone.

In short, Sultān Nāṣir-ud-dīn wept much at the death of his father, and was in mourning for three days.³ On the 4th day he

¹ Firishtah gives the same reason for disbelieving the guilt of Sultān Nāṣir ud-dīn, but he is not so positive as Nizam-ud dīn as he prefixes the word *كَلَّا* perhaps, to the sentence about Sultān Nāṣir-ud dīn's innocence. Col Briggs thinks that it is not just to accuse him of that crime, while the Cambridge History of India (p 364) says that the poison was "administered, as it was generally believed, by his orders". One would have thought, that seeing that the father was so weak in body and mind, and so helpless, it would be futile and unnecessary to cause his death, but there is the fact that some of the nobles rebelled, because they believed that Nāṣir-ud-dīn had not ascended the throne with his father's consent.

² Both MSS have سال ۸۵ سال ۱۳ years, but the lith ed has ۱۱ years. Firishtah lith ed has many years. As Nāṣir-ud-dīn's reign lasted from 905 to 916 A.H., the reading in the lith ed is correct and I have retained it.

³ Firishtah lith ed agrees generally with the text as to the Sultān's proceeding against Shēr Khān. Col Briggs however (vol IV, p 241) says

started on his march and Sher Khan in ¹ four of his life turned back to his own country Amul mulk and some other sardars separated from him and joined the camp of Nasir Shah. The latter pursued Sher Khan and the latter turned back in the neighbourhood of Sarangpur to engage him and after doing so fled. He could not stand firm in Chanderi itself and went away to the country of Frij and Bhandir and the dust of the disturbance settled down and Sultan Nasir ud din went to Chanderi. When some days had passed the Shaikhzadas of Chanderi sent a letter to Sher Khan saying that as most of the Shadiabad troops had dispersed and had gone away to their jagirs and as owing to the rains the amirs would not be able to assemble quickly if he would come to Chanderi and the men of the city should in conjunction with him come out in great numbers it was probable that they would be able to seize Sultan Nasir ud din and even if he should escape the city could be conquered in a very easy way. Sher Khan without any delay marched out and arrived within six laks of Chanderi. Sultan Nasir ud din ² became acquainted with the consultations of the Shaikhzadas and appointed Iqbal Khan and Malu Khan with a well equipped army and *mast* elephants to get rid of Sher Khan and sent two laks of tankas in cash with them to defray their expenses. They had not yet gone two laks when Sher Khan relying on the statements of

that Sher Khan's adherents wrote to him that the King had retreated to Mandu on account of the rains. This is not correct. The Cambridge History of India page 364 says that After an unsuccessful attempt to crush this rebellion and another attempt equally unsuccessful to conciliate the rebels he took the field against them. This also is incorrect if Nizam ud din and Firishtah are correct. Neither of them speaks of the first unsuccessful attempt to crush the rebellion.

¹ Both MSS have دعم حاں which I have adopted but the lith ed has نعم حاں

The MSS have Nasir Shah and Nasir Shahi and the lith ed has Nasir ud din

² The MSS as well as the lith ed have سید نوید which does not appear to be quite correct. Firishtah lith ed has اسٹن نوید which is better and I have adopted it. In the text edition M Hilayat Hosain has retained اسٹن نوید

the Shaikhzādas came forward to meet them, and after the arraying of the troops the two sides fought bravely In the midst of the struggle, Shēr Khān happened to receive a wound, became disabled, and ¹ got the fruit of his rebellion ² Sīkandar Khān was killed in the battle-field Kūwājah Suhail and Mahābat Khān placed the wounded Shēr Khān in a box (some sort of *howdah*) on the back of an elephant and took the way of flight As Shēr Khān died on the way, they buried him, and went on in their flight Iqbāl Khān returned after pursuing them for some distance Sultān Nāsir-ud-dīn was delighted and pleased on hearing this news, and went to the battle-field, and ³ from there sent Sīkandar Khān to Chandērī, so that he might expose Shēr Khān's body on a gallows He placed the bridle of the government and defence of that territory in the grasp of power of ⁴ Bihjat Khān, and marching by successive stages arrived in the pleasant town of ⁵ Sa'dulpūr There some men reported to him, that Shaikh Habib-ul-lah, ⁶ who had the title of 'Ālam Khān, intended to act treacherously, and was waiting for an opportunity Sultān

¹ The words in one MS and in the lith ed are کار حون کر د The other MS incorrectly omits the verb کر د, but in either case the meaning is rather obscure I think, however, my translation is correct Firishtah lith ed in the corresponding passage omits this semi-moral observation

² It is not stated who he was Firishtah in the corresponding passage says ک اعمدہ ان دو د Firishtah agrees generally with the text in respect of the battle and the incidents preceding and following it, and so do Col Briggs and the Cambridge History of India

³ Firishtah differs slightly, and says that the Sultān went to the battle field, exhumed Shēr Khān's body, and sent it to Chandērī, so that it might be suspended from the gallows there

⁴ Col Briggs (vol IV, p 242) calls him Hīmmut Khan, and the Cambridge History of India, page 364, has Bihjat Khān

⁵ Col Briggs (vol IV, p 242) calls the place Adilpoor It is not mentioned in the Cambridge History of India

⁶ The actual words are سنت عالم خان in both MSS and in the lith ed I do not actually understand the meaning of the word سنت in this context, Firishtah has شیخ حبیب اللہ المحتاط عالم خان which is perfectly clear, and I have translated the passage accordingly M Hidayat Hosain has retained the reading of the manuscripts, but refers to a variant ملک instead of سنت in another MS

Nasir ud din imprisoned him and sent him to Mandu in advance of himself

On the 10th Sha ban 907 A.D. he entered the fort of Shadiabad attended with victory and triumph. He then occupied himself with pleasure and dissipation and most of his time was spent in the drinking of spirituous liquor. In his drinks he ordered his father's amirs to be murdered owing to a suspicion of their treachery and he supported and favoured his own men. His immorality and tyranny reached such a pitch that one day when drunk he was asleep on the bank of a reservoir. By accident he fell into it. His attendants who were watching him brought him out of the water. When he came to his senses he asked who had taken him out. Four slave girls told him. We performed this service. He ordered all four of them to be executed. He had heard from the chief men of Ujjain (apparently the reservoir was in that city and this incident occurred there) that that reservoir or tank was the Kaliyudah. He planned the erection of a palace there in the *Bagh Firu* of such grandeur that people who had travelled over the inhabited fourth part of earth never saw anything like it. Gradually his desire for building reached such a point that out of the seventeen *krors* of Malwa money which had come to him by inheritance he spent five *krors* on different structures.

On the 22nd Dhu qa dah 908 A.D. he came to the town of Na Ichha with the intention of destroying the country of ²Kachwarah. And

¹ Firishtah narrates this incident in greater detail. According to him the Sultan rolled into the water and the four slave girl pulled him out some seizing hold of his hands and the others the hair of his head. They also put him into dry clothes. When he recovered his senses he complained of headache and the slave girl hoping for a reward told him what had happened after the usual prayers and praise he flew into a rage drew his sword and cut down the poor and helpless slave girl. And then Firishtah indulges in three couplet expressing the woes of the hapless women and their having their revenge on the day of resurrection.

Firishtah does not mention the erection of the wonderful palace and the other buildings.

² The name is written as *كچوارہ* and *کچوارہ* in the MS. and *کچوارہ* in the litho ed. both of the *Tabaqat* and of Firishtah. Col Briggs (vol IV p. 243) has *Keechiwara*. The Cambridge History of India does not mention this invasion at all.

when by successive marches, he arrived in the town of ¹ Āgār, he found the air of that place to be pleasant, and built a lofty and ² noble palace there which is now one of the wonders of the age. He remained in that town for some time, and sent his troops in different directions, and having chastised the rebels and taken tribute from them, returned (to his capital).

In the year 909 A.H., 1803 A.D., he again moved in the direction of ³ Chitōr, and when he arrived in the centre of the country, the Rāja of Chitōr and all the zamīndārs sent tribute. ⁴ Bhawānīdās, the son of Shevdās, who was a near relation of Rāymal Chitōri brought his daughter as tribute. Sultān Nāṣūn-ud-dīn gave her the title of Rānī Chitōr, and bestowed many favours on Bhawānīdās. In the course of the Sultān's return, scouts brought the news, that Nizām-ul-mulk Dakmī had invaded the country of Asīn and Burhānpūr. As Dāūd Khān, the ruler of Asīn, had always sought the protection of Nāṣūn Shāh, the latter sent Iqbāl Khān and Khwājah Jahān to Asīr and Burhānpūr. Nizām-ul-mulk then turned back and returned to his own country. Iqbāl Khan had the public prayer read in Asīr and Burhānpūr in the name of Nāṣīr Shāh, and returned to the capital city of Shādiābād Mandū.

In the year ⁵ 916 A.H., 1512 A.D., Sultān Shihāb-ud-dīn raised the standard of rebellion at the instigation of some of the amīrs of

¹ The name is written as اکر and اکور in the MS., and اگر and اگور in the lith ed of the Tabaqāt and Firishtah. Col Briggs (vol IV, p 243) calls the place Akburpoor. The Cambridge History of India does not mention the place here but later on (p 367) it calls it Āgar.

² One MS omits the word عالی after عمارت.

³ The MSS and the lith ed and Col Briggs (vol IV, p 243) all have Chittoor, but the lith ed of Firishtah has Jaipūr. The Cambridge History of India, page 364, says the Sultān in 1503 "led a marauding expedition into the dominion of the Rānā", but does not mention the place.

⁴ He is so described in the MSS as well as in the lith ed, but the lith ed of Firishtah calls him راجہ جوونداس کے فریب روانا داشت. Col Briggs (vol IV, p 243) has "Raja Jewundas, one of the subordinate rays". The Cambridge History of India has not mentioned it. Firishtah lith ed says the daughter of Jhūndās was named Rānī Jaipūrī, but Col Briggs says that she was afterwards dignified with the title of the "Chittoor Queen".

⁵ The Cambridge History of India, page 364, gives 1510 A.D., as the year of the rebellion.

perverted destiny and came out of the fort of Mandu. The amirs of the frontier districts mostly joined him and he marched from the town of Na Lehr to the town of Dhar. Sultan No r ud din arrived there with a body of his special troops and from that place he advanced towards Dhar with the intention of giving battle. Sultan Shihab ud din considering that his father's followers were weak advanced to engage him but in the end the breeze of victory and triumph blew on the plumes of Na ir Shah's standards. Sultan Shihab ud din fled towards Chanderi. The brave warriors in Na ir Shah's army pursued him and were about to take him prisoner but (on account of) fatherly love and paternal affection (he) forbade the men from further pursuit.

On the following day he marched from that station and went forward. When Sultan Shihab ud din arrived in the town of ¹Sipri Sultan Na ir ud din sent a number of wise men to him so that they might instruct him and lead him from the by path of error to the high road of guidance. But as the way of righteousness was hidden from his side and the veil of negligence and of the love of splendour had been drawn down on his eye he never gave a reply that might be of any use. On the following day he sent a reply. At present his shame and self abasement prevent his acquiring the good fortune of waiting on Your Majesty. If a small part out of the many portions of the empire be be towed on this slave he would after a few days honour himself by rendering homage. When the men who had been sent knew that it would be impossible to bring about an interview they came back and reported the matter. Sultan Na ir ud din said

Verily we are for God and verily we shall return to him.

Hemistich

The soil devoured the seed that in hope of thee I sowed

He then sent a *farman* to Raithubhor to summon Azam Humayun his younger son. The latter came on wings of speed and steps of eagerness and waited on his father in ir Chanderi. Sultan

¹ The name of the place is written as سپری in one or two places in the MSS and in the litho ed. But the سپری in other place in Cambridge History of India page 364 also has سپری. In litho litho ed. and C. T. Driggs (v. I IV p. 44) both have Delhi instead of Sipri. This of course is incorrect.

Nāṣir-ud-dīn started from Chandēī on the following day and advanced to the town of Sipī. At that station, he ordered the attendance of the *amīns* and the great men of the city, and said, "As Shihāb-ud-dīn has made unfaithfulness and revolt the return for paternal love, I am removing him from the position of the hen apparent, and I am making my son Ā'zam Humāyūn my hen." He then gave him the title of Sultān Mahmūd Shāh, and bestowed a robe and the crown of the empire on him, and returning from the town of Sipī resided for some days in the village of ¹ Belishtpūr. ² As the temperature of Sultān Nāṣir-ud-dīn was high and as in spite of the fact of its being the winter, he got into cold water and remained in it for a moment, his health immediately turned from the normal, and various diseases and ailments with mutually opposed results attacked him. Although the physicians tried to effect a cure, they had no success.

Couplet

³ Oxymal, by fate's decree, increased his bile,
The oil of almonds divness produced

Sultān Nāṣir-ud-dīn, seeing that his condition was unsatisfactory sent for Mahmūd Shāh, and the *amīns* and the great men of the country to his presence and opening his lips to give utterance to counsels and precepts said "As the great and holy God has selected this excellent

¹ The name is بور شہت in the MSS and in the lith ed of Firishtah, and بور دہب in the lith ed of the Tabaqāt. Col Briggs (vol IV, p 244) has Burtpoor. The name of the place is not mentioned in the Cambridge History of India.

² Firishtah's account agrees with that in the text, but he surmises that the fever was caused ار امراض شراب یا ار عقوبات احلاط و تحرف هوا, i.e., from excessive drinking or from infection of the humours of the body or the influence of the air. Col Briggs's account (so far it goes) agrees with that in the text. The Cambridge History of India, pages 364, 365, gives two accounts of the manner of Sultān Nāṣir-ud dīn's death. The first agrees with that in the text. According to the other he suspected many of his nobles to be secretly in correspondence with Shihāb-ud-dīn, and threatened them, so that they became apprehensive and poisoned him. I have not seen this said anywhere else.

³ A mixture of honey and vinegār prescribed for the bile.

⁴ Firishtah does not ascribe any speech to the Sultān, and considering the latter's disposition and habits, and his condition at the time, it is not likely that he could make such a sensible and eloquent address. However, as it is there, I have translated it.

son (of mine) from the entire people of the world and has entrusted the bridle of the affairs of all people to his grasp of power it behoves him that he should not place his foot out of the high road of worship of and submission to God and should not become subject to lust and sensuality and should write the text of love to the people of God on the leif of his mind and the page of his heart He should also not withhold the favour of God from the people as it has not been withheld from him He should also shorten his hand from the skirts of the oppressed He should not in his public audiences give way to hesitation and weariness and should not close the path of approach of the oppressed to him and should properly listen to their words He should not also in administering justice and equity allow any difference between the weak and the strong and the high and the low so that he may not become ashamed on the day of the judgment He should also treat with honour and respect all Sufis who are the fruits of the garden of the prophetship and of the emissary of God and should make the high society of the learned who are the heirs of the prophet green and fruitful by the beneficence of the clouds of his rewards He should also consider it right and proper to refrain from the society of stupid and foolish men who are satisfied with lust of words and are ignorant and unmindful of the purity and greatness of saints He should also lay the foundation of houses of piety and goodness which are the effects of one's good fortune in all parts of the dominions In short he should devote all his energy in carrying out the wishes of God and in the administration of the affairs of the state always take counsel (with wise men) Shahzadah Mahmud Shah and the great men of the kingdom were in great pain and anguish on hearing this speech (The Sultan) then with a true determination and a right resolution made repentance of all his sins and iniquities in the presence of the learned men and after a moment accepted the summons of the just God The period of his reign was eleven years and four months and twenty¹ three days

Couplets

From the cold earth rose this palace grand
But as you make it warm they tell you rise !

¹ Firishtah lith cd has eleven years and four months and three days and Col Briggs (vol IV p 244) has eleven years and four months

As this world of dust has such foundations weak,
Soon should it be scattered to the wings, and ruin be

AN ACCOUNT OF SULTĀN MAHMŪD SHĀH, SON OF NĀSIR SHĀH

On the ¹ 3rd day of Safar in the year 917 A H, Mahmūd Shāh, the son of Nāsir Shāh, ascended the throne of the Khaljī empire, in the village of Behishtpūl, with ² an auspicious and triumphant fortune and at a happy time. The rites of thanks-offering and of wave-offering having been performed, each one of the great men of the age was made happy with royal beneficence, and from the same *majlis* sent the coffin of Nāsir Shāh to the fort of Shādiābād.

³ Sultān Shihāb-ud-dīn on becoming acquainted with the event (*Hādītha*, i.e., probably his father's death), betook himself from where he was by rapid marches, to Nasratābād Na'lcha Muhāfiz Khān Khwājah Sarā and Khawās Khān shut the gates in his face. On the following day, he sent a message to them, by one of his immediate attendants, that if they would act in friendship with him, it ⁴ was certain, that the loosening and fastening of the affairs of the state would be entrusted to their wisdom. Muhāfiz Khān and Khawās Khān said, "As the ordinance of the empire, has been recorded in

¹ Neither Firishtah nor Col. Briggs nor the Cambridge History of India gives the date of the accession.

² There is some difference in the readings. One MS. has طالع فرود میرور ۸۵۱ھ و رمانی سعادت انور. This I have adopted. The other MS. substitutes انور for میرور. The lith. ed. has طالع فرحدہ فرود در رمان سعادت انور.

³ The Cambridge History of India, page 365, says "Shihāb-ud-dīn, on hearing of his father's death, returned to Mālwa and marched on Māndū, but Mahmud II outstripped him and arrived there first, and when Shihāb-ud-dīn reached the city, the gates were shut in his face." This appears to me to contain more than one inaccuracy. There was no race between the brothers, and it was the gates of Na'lcha and not of Mandū that were shut in Shihāb ud-dīn's face by Muhāfiz Khān, who was the governor of the former place and not of the latter. It is true that Col. Briggs also says that the gates of Mando were shut in his face and Mahafiz Khan refused him admission. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 246) also says that immediately after this the Prince "fled to Aseer", and says nothing about his defeat by Jāwash Khān. The Cambridge History of India appears here to follow Col. Briggs and does not refer to the Tabaqāt or Firishtah at all.

⁴ Both MSS. omit اسٹ after نہیں, but I have retained it.

the renowned name of Mahmud Shah in the office of destiny and fate
the best course is that you should join the camp (of Sultan Mahmud)
and should change the foulness and roughness of a strange man for the
purity of friendship ¹ Sultan Shihab ud din becoming despondent
retired towards Kandasah ² When Sultan Mahmud knew that Sultan
Shihab ud din had gone away towards Mandu he marched by
successive stages and took up his residence in *Jahan numā* (tomb of
Na lha) on the 2nd Rabī ul awwal of the afore mentioned year

From thence he sent ³ Jawish Khan with a detachment of troops
to crush Sultan Shihab ud din and he sent eleven elephants with
him He then went to the fort of Shadiabad on a date which had
been selected by the astrologers and at an auspicious moment on the
6th Rabī ul awwal had the golden throne enameled with gems and
pomegranate colour rubies in the open plain near the audience hall
and ⁴ had twenty one other thrones raised around it and Mahmud
Shah ascended the throne of the Khalji Sultans from the east of the

¹ One MS omits the whole sentence from سلطان to سد ملطف The name of
the place is گندوہاں Kandulah in the MS which has the sentence and گندوہاں
Kanduzah in the lith ed Firishtah is very brief here and does not mention the
place

سلطان محمود سندھوہاں سے ود راپ سد کے سلطان سہاب الدین سندھوہاں تکوچ
ار بوسنہ سلطان سے ود راپ سد کے سلطان سہاب الدین سندھوہاں تکوچ
سلطان محمود حون وادی سد کے سلطان سہاب الدین سندھوہاں تکوچ
سے ود راپ سد کے سلطان سہاب الدین سندھوہاں تکوچ The reading in the first MS is manifestly
incorrect and there is not much to choose between the other two but on the
whole I think the reading of the lith ed is the best

² The name is حاویس خان in one MS and in several places in the other
In the latter it is حلوس حل in one place The lith ed has حاویس خان The
expedition against Sultan Shihab ud din is not mentioned by either Firishtah or
Col Briggs or in the Cambridge History of India

⁴ I have translated the text as it is in the MSS and in the lith ed but I
am very doubtful about its correctness I cannot understand the reference to
the twenty one thrones and also to the rising of Mahmud Shah from the east
of the throne of the empire As regards the rising of Mahmud Shah from the
east the reading from Firishtah is a great improvement It is
و ایک دولت سے ود مسلم اور اپنی سربر جہادی طالع گسپ
probably the correct reading of the Tabaqat was something like this As to the twenty one thrones I cannot
hazard any explanation

throne of the empire. The *amīrs* and the great men of the city and the nobilities of the kingdom stood in their proper places. Each one of them received such distinction as was suitable for his position, and some of the *amīrs* were honoured with titles and seven hundred elephants which were ² in the environs of the fort came into use.

After a few days a report came from Jāwāsh Khān, to the effect, that as the star of the good fortune of Sultān Shihāb-ud-dīn had fallen into the abyss of ruin, he did not listen to all the friendly advice and the wise precepts which were given to him, and came forward to give battle. And this helpless one (*i.e.*, he himself) advanced to chastise him placing the great good fortune of His Majesty in the vanguard, and at the first onset Sultān Shihāb-ud-dīn's foot of firmness slipped from its place, and he fled. The bearer of his umbrella was slain, and the umbrella fell into our hands. He himself fled to the country of ³ Asīr. As the rainy season had now come, Sultān Mahmūd Shāh summoned Jāwāsh Khān back. The latter returned to the fort on the last day of Rabi'-ul-awwal, and received many favours.

Sultān Mahmūd, now having his mind at rest in respect of Sultān Shihāb-ud-dīn, entrusted the management of the affairs of the kingdom to ⁴ Basant Rāy, to whom the post of the *rāzākat* of Nūru Shāh had belonged. Basant Rāy, ⁵ owing to his great pride and ignorance,

¹ I have adopted the reading in the MSS. That in the lith. ed. is اسراء و اركان و اکتو و معارف ممالک

² The MSS. have در دور ملک but the lith. ed. has در دور ملکه. I have adopted the former. The meaning of در تصرف در آمد is not at all clear. The corresponding passage in Firishtah is more intelligible. It is در ملکه و سخیر میل که در ملکه و ملکه و ریاسته از دسته داریار حاضر ساخته دو دستیها - صدم و ریاست آزاد استه ددریار حاضر ساخته and seven hundred elephants which were in the fort were brought to the *darbār*, adorned with housings of velvet and gold tissue.

³ The Tabaqat has ولاد اسیر، and Firishtah has لاد اسیر. The Cambridge History of India, page 365, however, says, he retired to the fortress of Asir.

⁴ The name is written in various places in the MSS., and in the lith. ed. as well as in the lith. ed. of Firishtah as نسبت رائے Nisbat Rāy, but in other places as سنبت رائے Basant Rāy. Col. Buggs (vol. IV, p. 246) has Buswunt Rāy and the Cambridge History of India (p. 365) has Basant Rāi.

⁵ The nature of Basant Rāy's offence is not quite clear. Of course he was a Hindū, and the other *amīrs* were Musalmāns, but Basant had apparently

did not maintain the usual relations towards ¹ the army and did not leave out any minutiae of meanness and mischief making and having adopted a harshness of behaviour did not show proper respect towards the *amirs* and *sardars*. The latter having availed themselves of an opportunity killed him in the audience hall on the 7th Rabi ul thani ² Naqd ul mulk who was of the same religion as Basant Ray and the latter's colleague in service fled into the harem of the Sultan Iqbal Khan and ³ Mukhtas Khan talked together and said Unless the kingdom is purified of the contamination of the existence of this impure one he will always be in ambush for taking revenge for Basant Ray They sent the following message to the Sultan by Sadru Khan and Afzal Khan Nothing has been done and nothing will be done by these loyal slaves except in the way of a sincere desire for Your Majesty's well being and it must be clear to your illuminating wisdom that as the affairs (of the kingdom) have not been well arranged the act of leaving the threads of the administration in the grasp of people who are strangers to us in creed and religion is (likely to be) the cause of disorder in the conduct of government It has probably been submitted to Your Majesty by some of your well wishers what kind of treatment Basant Ray meted out to the *amirs* and to your other loyal adherents His sole object was that your old servants might become heart broken and they and their retainers might be

heen the minister of Nasir Shah also The Tabaqat says he did not show the usual courtesy towards the army and left out no minutiae of accord according to the MSS and according to lith ed of تباقد appears to mean littleness or meanness، سکاف economy or thrift and سکاف means mischief making I have adopted سکاف in the translation Firishtah says the other *amirs* became hostile to him lest he become too powerful (مادا نور و سلطنه رساند) Col Briggs says he was a personal favourite of the King and had attended him from the period of his birth and he also says that the conspirators declared that he had laid a scheme to overturn the government The Cambridge History of India page 365 is satisfied with saying that the Muslim nobles resented his holding the high office of minister

¹ One MS has quite incorrectly حاب سنا instead of حاب سنا

² Firishtah lith ed also calls him Naqd ul mulk but Col Briggs (vol IV p 246) has Nizam ul Mulk He is not mentioned in the Cambridge History of India

³ It is مختار instead of Mukhtas Khan in the text edition

dispersed This was in fact disloyalty on his part, and we your loyal servants, in a body, removed him out of the way Naqd-ul-mulk is also following in his footsteps If it be your noble order, the world might be purified of the contamination of his existence ¹ Sultan Mahmūd in his weakness and helplessness sent Naqd-ul-mulk to the *amīrs*, but he ordered that he might be exterminated, and no injury caused to his life or property When they brought Naqd-ul-mulk,¹ the *amīrs*, acting in a body, expelled him Sultan Mahmūd was aggrieved at these proceedings of the *amīrs*, and at their domination, and the purity of his heart was changed to resentment

Muhāfiz Khān, eunuch, the combination of whose disposition was made up of malice and wickedness,² owing to his longing for the *vazīrat*, reported (to the Sultan), in private, words that were not true³ in respect of the *amīrs* It so happened, that one day availing himself of an opportunity, he represented to the Sultan, that Iqbāl Khān and ⁴ Mukhtas Khān wanted to raise one of the (other) sons of Nāṣū Shāh on the throne Sultan Mahmūd, simply on hearing this news, became anxious, and wanted to punish the two ministers But afterwards acting with patience and calmness, he set about making enquiries and investigations

When Muhāfiz Khān saw, that his words had not produced any result, he grew more insistent in his calumnies, and every day made use of harsh words, till one day Sultan Mahmūd ordered some people,

¹ Firishtah says that to this extent they tried to please the Sultan

² Firishtah lith ed is not explicit about Muhāfiz Khān's motive, and neither Col Briggs nor the Cambridge History of India says what his motive was Firishtah and Col Briggs say nothing about Muhāfiz Khān's intrigues against Mukhtas Khān and Iqbāl Khān, but they say that he quarrelled with the Sultan and used unmannerly language towards him After some fighting the Sultan had to leave Shādiābād, and Muhāfiz Khān then brought Sāhib Khān out of the fort, and raised him to the throne According to the Tabaqāt this happened sometime afterwards, i.e., after the rebellion of Iqbāl Khān and Mukhtas Khān and the death of Sultan Shāhib ud-dīn, and the submission of a petition by Iqbāl Khān and Mukhtas Khān The Cambridge History of India mentions the intrigues of Muhāfiz Khān and the rebellion of Iqbāl Khān and Mukhtas Khan, etc (p 365)

³ The reading in the MSS and in the lith ed is امراء but I think the meaning is about or in respect of the *amīrs*

⁴ موصح حان in the second MS

that they should slay Iqbal Khan and Mukhtas Khan when they come according to custom to make their salute

And when things came to such a pass one of the cunuchs who was on special terms with Mukhtas Khan reported to him what was happening. Mukhtas Khan immediately went and informed Iqbal Khan and an hour had not yet elapsed when a man came to summon Mukhtas Khan and Iqbal Khan.¹ Mukhtas Khan hastened without any delay to wait on the Sultan and Iqbal Khan remained occupied with the affairs of state. Mukhtas Khan seeing that things were not as on previous occasions² returned and came to Iqbal Khan and they went away to their respective houses. Muhsin Khan then reported to the Sultan that Mukhtas Khan and Iqbal Khan had gone away to their houses so that they might collect their retainers and ruse one of the Shahzadas to the³ *sallat*. He suggested that it would be advisable to go there and seize them⁴ and not defer what should be done today to tomorrow.

Couplet

Time⁵ takes off from the man

Who to tomorrow delays today's work

Sultan Mahmud believed the words of that⁶ deceitful traitor and advanced towards the houses of Mukhtas Khan and Iqbal Khan. The latter fled with a hundred horsemen and foot soldiers and came out of the fort on the side of⁷ Qidripur on the night of the 24th Rabi ul Ghani. They rode all night and in the morning reached the village of⁸ Sarabih near the Narbada river. From that place

¹ On MS by mistake omits the whole sentence from حان ملکه کے لئے to بود

One of the MSS has درگاہ instead of درگاہ

² One of the MSS has by mistake علی instead of لے

³ One MS omits the words from کار اصرور to سدراز

⁴ The word in the MS and in the 11th ed appears to be بسرا which may be derived from بس to break off

⁵ One MS omits the word بسرا

⁶ One MS and the 11th ed have عاریتو درویش but the other MS has عاریتو درویش

⁷ Firdstah and Col Briggs do not name the village. They narrate the facts of the rebellion of Mukhtas Khan (whom they call Mati n Khan) and Iqbal Khan after the narrative of the rebellion of Muhsin Khan and the raising

they sent Nasrat Khan, son of Iqbāl Khan, on the 25th of the month in the direction of the country of Asir, to bring Sultan Shihāb-ud-dīn. Early the next morning, Sultan Mahmūd sat on the *masnad* of rule in the audience place, and conferring the title of Khwājah Jahān on Muhibbāt Khan entrusted the office of the *vazārat* to him. He then conferred the titles of *Majlis-i-Kārim* on Afdal Khan, and of Dastūr Khan on Jāwash Khan, and sent them to put down Mukhtas Khan and Iqbāl Khan.

When Nasrat Khan, after traversing various stages, arrived in the presence of Sultan Shihāb-ud-dīn, the latter in his great joy and happiness, started on the following day from the country styled "the Mumtāz", which is a name for the territory of Bijāgarh and Kharkūn, and in his great eagerness he traversed thirty *laṅghas* in one day and night. It so happened, however, that the heat was so great, that fish were scorched in the depth of the sea, and fiery natured salamanders were drowned in their own sweat, and Sultan Shihāb-ud-dīn fell ill and his condition became abnormal, and on the 3rd of Jamādī-ul-āwwal he accepted the summons of God.

Couplet

There is the way of non-existence, which none who exists,
Will e'er the danger of traversing escape

And some say that he was poisoned at the instigation of Sultan Mahmūd Nasrat Khan, dressed in blue (mourning) garments, and taking the corpse with him came to Sarābah, where the Khāns were assembled. When he arrived there, Mukhtas Khan and Iqbāl Khan, in great sorrow and distress, sent the dead body to the fort of Shādi-

of Sāhib Khan to the throne by the latter. According to Firishtah hth ed Iqbāl Khan and Makhsūs Khan went themselves to Asir, and held the umbrella over the head of Shihāb-ud-dīn, and after his death they raised the umbrella over the head of his son, and gave him the title of Sultan Hushang. Col Briggs (vol IV, p 250) agrees generally with the hth ed of Firishtah, but he says, contrary to the other historians, that it was Medny Ray, who had acquired an undue influence over the Sooltan, who persuaded the latter that Yekbal and Mukhsoos Khan "were carrying on a treasonable correspondence with the King of the Deccan", and at his instigation the Sooltan ordered the former to be put to death. The Cambridge History of India, page 365, also does not mention it, though it says that they fled to the Narbada. M Hidayat Hosain has *دیکھو* Sarāiyah in the text-edition.

ābid They gave the title of Hushang Shah to ¹ the adopted son of Sultan Shihab ud din and held the umbrella over his head and raising the dust of disturbance started from that country towards the centre of the country of Malwa

Couplet

Jam! it is better that at this stage you adopt the view
That from the deaths of others you fear your own

After the arrival of the dead body the Sultan wept much and deposited it in the earth He carried out the customary rites of mourning and gave alms to deserving people After finishing them he sent Nizam Khan to reinforce Dastur Khan Nizam Khan traversed the stages on wings of speed and joined him Then joining their forces they attacked Hushang and the latter fled and took shelter in ² the hills of Bihar Babi Hajī

While these things were happening petitions came from Iqbal Khan and Mukhtis Khan to the effect that Nothing has ever been done by these ancient hereditary slaves except rendering loyal service to your Majesty and Muhafiz Khan owing to his envy and ill will having spoken interested and malicious words has turned your noble heart against your old servants They hope that the truth about the disloyalty and ³ wickedness of Muhafiz Khan and of his acts will be revealed to your just mind They also believe that some of your other loyal servants will in their disinterestedness attest in private

¹ Both MSS have معتنی adopted son but the lith ed has سرسری son The Cambridge History of India page 38 also has son

² The meaning and appropriateness of the couplet are not very clear Also the first word is either حامی which is the name of the celebrated Persian Sufi poet who was a native of Jam or حاٹی a place I think Jam is better

³ Firishtah lith ed has 'نکرهنگار' fled to the hills He goes on to say that after some time Iqbal Khan and Makhdūm Khan joined the service of Sultan Mahmud and were received with favour Somewhat contrary to this Col Briggs (vol IV p 20) says that after some slight opposition the prince and his minister (apparently Yekbal Khan) threw themelves on the King's mercy On the other hand the Cambridge History of India page 365 says that Hushang took refuge in Sehore but the leaders convinced the king that they were loyal at heart

⁴ The phrase is حرام رادگی in the MSS and حرام صورت in the lith ed In the text edition it is نادولی صورت و حرام حوابی

to the truth of these words' When the purport of these petitions became known to Sultān Mahmūd, some of the Sultān's servants said that, "The object of Muhāfiz Khān in making the insinuations was, that he should be able to act independently in carrying out the affairs of the state, and the turn of the *vazīrat* would not come to him, if Mukhtas Khān and Iqbāl Khān were there. In fact, his whole energy had been devoted to this, that he might place a new face on the affairs, and having brought one of the sons of Nāṣir Shāh out of prison, he should assign the name of the Sultān to him, and should himself be the loosener and fastener (sole dictator) of all affairs."

Sultān Mahmūd, who had no caution and foresight in his acts, ordered that when Muhāfiz Khān comes to make his salute, he should be seized, and kept under guard, and should, after investigation, be punished. When the adherents of Muhāfiz Khān informed him of the truth of what had happened, he appealed in the precincts of the audience hall, with his retinue, on the following day, which was the 18th Jamādī-ul-āwwal. After a little while Sultān Mahmūd summoned him to his private chamber. He went there, and gave harsh replies to his words. Sultān Mahmūd, in great anger and bravery, marched out with few followers from among his servants and a body of Abyssinians, and that wicked man fled out of the palace, and taking possession of the outer building raised the standard of revolt. He brought Shāhzāda Sāhib Khān, son of Sultān Nāsir-ud-dīn, and besieged Mahmūd Shāh in his palace. He was about to seize the latter, when he came out in the middle of the night, and started towards the town of Ujjain. From that place he summoned Dastūr Khān and the other *amīrs* to his presence, after giving them assurances of his favour. That very night when Sultān Mahmūd started in his flight, Muhāfiz Khān bestowed the title of ¹ Sultān Mahmūd on Shāhzāda Sāhib Khān, and placed him on the throne. After some days, Dastūr Khān arrived in Ujjain, and after him, Mukhtas Khān and Iqbāl

¹ The MSS as well as the 1st ed say, that he received the title of Sultān Mahmūd. It shows a lack of imagination in Muhāfiz Khān that he could not give him any other title. It must have been very confusing to have the same name for both the Sultāns. Firishtah and Col Briggs do not appear to mention the title which was given to Sāhib Khān. In fact he is always called Shāhzāda Sāhib Khān in the histories. The Cambridge History of India, page 365, says that Sāhib Khān was proclaimed king under the title of Mahmūd II.

Khan joined the Sultan Shahzida Sahib Khan on hearing this news summoned Sadr Khan and Afdal Khan and he had engagements and promises with them confirmed by very strong oaths

On the 5th of Jumadī ul awwāl he left the fort of Shadribad in charge of - Mawadah Khan and marching to the town of Ni Ichha made it his camp and with the concurrence of Sadr Khan ordered that a third part of the wages of the soldiers should be paid to them in cash from the treasury to enable them to make the necessary preparations for the march to Ujjain Sultan Mahmud marched from Ujjain to Dibalpur and after a watch of the night the commanders who had their families in Mandu mounted their horses and started for the camp of Shahzada Sahib Khan The next day Sultan Mahmud marched from Dibalpur in the direction of Chanderi and writing an account of what had happened sent it to Bihjat Khan The latter wrote in reply This slave is bound to obey him who should have the capital city of Shadribad in his possession Sultan Mahmud on receiving this reply became amazed and anxious about his future He halted in the village of Behishtpur and held a consultation Some of his adherents said We should take shelter in the fort of Ranthambhor The opinion of others was that they should ask for help from Sultan Sikandar Lodi Sultan Mahmud declared It appears in my mind that we should wrap up our feet in the skirt of patience and should wait for the rising of the stars of good fortune it appears that it is right to take shelter in the fort of Ranthambhor for a time as it is imaginable that we should have help and support It appears improper however on my side to ask for help from my equals And cutting off the chain of hope from all created things he waited for the appearance of what was in the womb of fate

After a few days Medium Ray who was distinguished by great bravery and experience came from his *thana* and joined him Bihjat

¹ The readings are slightly different One MS has عهود و بیمان را اهل مددعیان می سوکد گردانید This appears to be the best reading The other MSS have عهود را بیمان علاط موکد گردانید This does not appear to be correct The lith ed has عهد instead of عهود and omits the را after بیمان in the reading in the first MS

The name is مورد حمل in one MS and مورد حمل in the other and حمل in the lith ed M Hidayat Ho aur has حرس حمل in the text edition

Khān becoming aware of the impropriety of his (previous) acts, sent ¹ Shaizah Khān, his son, to attend on the Sultān, and the latter, feeling that he was now more powerful, determined to march to Mandū. After some time news came that Shāhzāda Sāhib Khān was advancing towards Chandērī. When he encamped in the village ² Shahrāi, the parties thought it advisable that they should arrange their troops the next morning, and await the blowing of the wind of victory and triumph. It so happened, that after the passing of one watch of the night, ³ Afḍal Khān mounted his horse, and came to Sultān Mahmūd's camp, and a little more than half the army, acting in concert with him, also joined Sultān Mahmūd's camp. Shāhzāda Sāhib Khān and Muḥāfiẓ Khān, in great terror and confusion, set fire to their camp, and fled. On the 4th day they arrived in Naṣratābād, and opened the hand of lavishness for squandering the treasures, and occupied themselves with guarding and arranging the fort.

Sultān Mahmūd performed the rites of offering thanks to God, and advanced towards Shādiābād. When he arrived in the village of ⁴ Sirsiah, the adopted son of Sultān Shihāb-ud-dīn and his *amīns*, who had fortified themselves in the foot-hills of Bahār Bābā Hājī,

¹ The name is Sharzah Khān in both MSS. Col Briggs calls him Shirza Khan, governor of Chandērī. The lith ed of the Tabaqāt has Siddat Khān and the Cambridge History of India, page 366, has Shiddat Khān.

² The name of the village is سہرائی and سہرائی in the MSS and سہرائی in the lith ed. The name does not appear in Firishtah or in Col Briggs or in the Cambridge History of India, though they all mention the battle which took place there. M Hidayat Hosain has adopted سہرائی in the text edition.

³ Neither Firishtah nor Col Briggs mentions the defection of Afḍal Khān from Shāhzāda Sāhib Khān's camp. The Cambridge History of India, page 366, mentions it, but its account differs in some particular from that in the text. In the first place, it says that the armies met in the evening. This is correct, if it means that the armies came near each other in the evening, but it certainly is not correct if it means that the armies engaged each other in the evening. Then it says, that Afḍal Khān deserted, "taking half of the army with him." This is very indefinite, as it does not say half of what army he took with him. The Tabaqāt is quite definite, and I presume it is correct that he took all his own army and half of Malik's army.

⁴ The village is called سیرسیا Sirsiah in both MSS., and سیرسیا Sirsah in the lith ed. It is not mentioned in either Firishtah or in Col Briggs or in the Cambridge History of India.

came to Sultan Mahmūd and obtained a promise of safety. Then by successive marches Sultan Mahmud encamped in the town of Sirsiah and on the next day which was the 17th of Rāmadañ in the year 917 A.H. he advanced to Shadiabad the seat of the throne with his army in battle array. On both sides the ranks were arrayed and the field of slaughter was arranged. Shahzādā Sahib Khan acting with bribery attacked Sultan Mahmud's army. At this time an elephant advanced towards Sultan Mahmud and he shot an arrow aiming at the breast of the *filban* with such force that it came out of the latter's back. At this time Medum Ray with a body of his Pāṇḍitas utterly routed Sahib Khan's army wounding the latter with their lances and *jamdhars* (a kind of dagger). The Shahzādā being unable to withstand them fled and some of his men took shelter in the fort and a number concealed themselves in the caverns which are to be found in the neighbourhood of Mandu. Sultan Mahmud pursued them as far as the *Haud-i-Khas* (special reservoir) and encamped there.

The Shahzādā occupied himself with the defence and other arrangements of the fort and endeavoured day and night to secure it against attack. Sultan Mahmud owing to his natural kindness sent the following message to him. As the relation of brotherhood is between us and the observance of the relation of kinship is one of our duties natural morality induces me that I should bestow on you whatever place you may ask for and you may take away as much property as you can carry away and may go away without any objection from me. So that for no reason whatever the blood of

¹ The Cambridge History of India page 366 gives November 9th (1019?) as the date of the battle.

One MS has در اوں حمله اورہ but the word در اوں does not occur in the other MS or in the lith. ed.

² There is some difference in the readings. One MS and the lith. ed. have و گروہی در عارھائی کہ در حوالی مدد و افع اسپ محتفی سندھ with the difference that the MS has by mistake در حوالی instead of در کوھا. The other MS has در کوھا و عارھائی نہ در حوالی مدد و افع اسپ محتفی سندھ. The reading in the lith. ed. appears to me to be the most correct and I have accepted it. In the text edition it is و گروہی در عارھائی کہ در حوالی مدد و افع اسپ - محتفی سندھ.

Musalmāns may not be spilled " Shāhzāda Sāhib Khān, being proud of the strength of the fort, did not agree Sultan Mahmūd then seized the environs of the fort, and made great efforts in carrying on the siege, till on the 16th Shawwāl of the afore-mentioned year (the troops) by the exertions and endeavours of Maulānā 'Imād-ud-dīn Khurāsānī and other brave soldiers entered the fort about the beginning of true dawn, and attacking the men in a bastion fought hand to hand with them, and in the twinkling of an eye mingled the blood of the followers and adherents of the Shāhzāda with the dust of wretchedness The Shāhzāda and Muhibb Khān taking with them a quantity of precious gems, fled by the path of the seven hundred steps, and on the 4th day joined the camp of Sultan Muzaffar in ¹ the town of Baiōda, one of the dependencies of Gujrāt Sultan Muzaffar considering, the arrival of the Shāhzāda an honour, did not leave out a single minutia in the rites of hospitality He promised that at the end of the rainy season he would take possession of the country of Mālwa, and divide it among the brothers

From that place they went to Chāmpānū ² One day the Shāhzāda happened to go to the house of Yādgār Muglīl, who was celebrated as *Surkh Kulāh* (the red cap), and had come to Gujrāt, as an ambassador from Shāh Isma'il Safvī There were high words among their servants, which ended in a scuffle A report spread among the common people, that Yādgār *Surkh Kulāh* and his men had taken the Shāhzāda of Mandū as prisoner Men belonging to the army of Gujrāt, coming in crowds, killed some of the retainers of *Surkh Kulāh* The Shāhzāda, from shame and ignominy, turned his face towards the kingdom of Asīr, without taking leave of the Sultan He with three hundred horsemen encamped at the village of ³ Lōgāon, which is distinguished as the boundary of Asīr Lōdhā the governor of the

¹ Both the MSS have در وصہ درود گھرات, but the lith ed has در وصہ درود ار دوایع گھرات I have adopted the latter reading M Hidayat Hosain has در وصہ درود گھرات in the text edition

² One MS omits the word دویں and also the word before مدرس

³ The name of the village is written as لورکاون, probably Lōrgāon, in the MS, and as نوگاؤ Naugāon in the lith ed It is not mentioned in either Firishtah or in Col Briggs or in the Cambridge History of India In the text edition it is دور کاون

town of Kandīyah having received information of this crime with great quickness and attacked him. Sihib Khan fleeing from him sought shelter with the ruler of Kawil which is in the Deccan. As affectionate relations existed between Sultan Mahmud and the ruler of Kawil the latter kept himself back from helping the Shahzadā but allotted a few villages as a contribution towards his expenses.

After that as disturbances disappeared from the kingdom and disorder was changed into order Sultan Mahmud took his place on the dais of peace and tranquillity. Governors and *thanadars* and revenue officers went to the different divisions and districts for the organisation of the kingdom. Medini Ray wanted to become all powerful and to remove the *amirs* of Chiyath Shah and Nasir Shah out of the way and in pursuance of this wicked purpose he began to speak ill of the *amirs* and in private he slandered everyone till one day he submitted (to the Sultan) that Afḍal Khan and Iqbal Khan had sent ¹ letters to Shahzadā Salib Khan and wanted to reawaken the disturbances which had been put to sleep. Sultan Mahmud imagining these interested words to be disinterested ordered that when Afḍal Khan and Iqbal Khan should come to make their *salams* they should be slain. On the following day when they in accordance with the usual custom came to make their *salams* both of them were seized and torn joint from joint.

Sikandar Khan the governor of Satwas and Fath Jan Khan Sherwani seeing this rudacity and violence of Medini Ray fled and went to their *jagirs*. Sikandar Khan rebelled and took possession

¹ The word is written as مکایب in the MSS and مکانیب in the lith ed. This last appears to me to be the best and I have retained it. In the text edition it is مکایب.

² The name is written as سواس Sewas and اوس Awas and Aswas and سلواس Satwas in different places in the MSS and the lith ed. Firishtah lith ed. mentions Sikandar Khan and his rebellion but does not as far as I can make out mention the name of his *jagir*. Col Briggs in one place (vol IV p 201) calls him Sikandur Khan of Bhilsa but this is apparently a mistake for it was Mansur Khan who was sent against him and not Sikandar Khan who was a *jagirdar* of Bhilsa. The Cambridge History of India page 366 calls Sikandar Khan governor of Satwas. In Hidayat Ho am has adopted سواس in the text edition.

of ¹ the country from Kandīyah to Shahahābād, and drove out the revenue officers of the *Khālsā*. Sultān Mahmūd came down from the fort of Mandū, in order to put down this rebellion, on the 5th of the month of Jamādī-ul-ākhir of the year 918 A.D., and took up his residence in the *Jahān-numā* palace at Na'īcha. He entrusted the office of the *rāzārat* to Mēdmī Rāy. He sent men to Bihjat Khān, governor of Chandērī, and other *amīrs*, and summoned them. Bihjat Khān in spite of the relationship of *Khānazādī* (being a slave by descent), fearing (what Mēdmī Rāy might do to him), wrote an excuse about the near approach of the rainy season. Sultān Mahmūd affected to overlook this, and wrote to Mansūr Khān, the feudatory of Bhīskā to advance and put down Sikandar Khān. Mansūr Khān collected his troops and advanced to attack Sikandar Khān, but when he arrived in the neighbourhood of the latter's country, his spies brought him the news, that Sikandar Khān had collected an immense army, and had also got the Rāys of Gōndwāna to join him. Mansūr Khān halted there, reported the facts to Sultān Mahmūd, and asked for reinforcements. Mēdmī Rāy wrote in reply, that if he was guilty of procrastination and delay in seizing Sikandar Khān, he would become liable to suffer from the chastisement of the Sultān's wrath. Mansūr Khān on receiving this ² order, became amazed and anxious about his future, and returned and joined Bihjat Khān. ³ Sanjār Khān who had been nominated to reinforce Mansūr Khān also went and joined the latter.

Sultān Mahmūd on hearing these news started from the capital, came to Dhār, and performed the pilgrimage to the tomb of Shaikh Kamāl-ud-dīn Mālwī. He then sent Mēdmī Rāy with a large army and fifty elephants, from the town of Dibālpūr, to put down Sikandar Khān, and himself went to Ujjain. Mēdmī Rāy, on arriving at

¹ Firishtah lith ed describes the country as اور کندوہ کے میان میں تھا but he does not say that Sikandar Khān took possession of it. He says that he had possession of it, در تصرف داشت Col Briggs on the contrary says, "He occupied the country lying between Kuhndwa and Shahabad", and about the last named place says in a footnote "probably Shahpoor". The Cambridge History of India does not mention what territory Sikandar Khān seized.

² The word is حکم in one MS and in the lith ed, and سُلْطَنِیَّہ in the other MS.

³ In text edition it is تھجرا خان instead of سنھار خان

Satwas stretched his hand for plunder and devastation and the unalloyed pleasure of Sikandar Khan having thus become disturbed he in his helplessness sought the path of peace and through the intervention of Habib Khan came to Medini Pāy. The latter went to Ujjain and obtained the pardon of Sikandar Khan's offences. Sultan Mahmud drew the pen of pardon across his offences and allotted (confirmed) his rank and jagir. Sultan Mahmud then marched from Ujjain and came to the town of ¹Āgar. Thence a petition or report came from the *darogha* (superintendent) of the fort of Shadiabad to the effect that a body of low people had risen in revolt on the night of the 25th Ramadan and had raised the umbrella which they ² had brought from the tomb of Sultan Ghiyath ud din over the head of a man of obscure descent and had stretched their hands to plunder the city but that by the good fortune of His Majesty he (the *darogha*) had seized the head and ringleader of the mob and the men had been punished. The Sultan sent an order containing expressions of favour and encouragement to the *darogha* and himself went towards ³Bahar Baba Haji.

From that place he sent a letter giving encouragement and promising favour to the Bihāt Khan by the hand of Bherodas but as his all seeing eye was besmirched with the dust of misfortune he sent an improper reply and sent men to Kawil that they might bring Shahzada Sabib Khan making him their leader. He also submitted a petition to Sultan Sikandar Lüdi to the purport that Mahmud Shah had entrusted the bridle of loosening and fastening and of defending and regulating the kingdom to the hands of *Kafirs* and had placed his foot of submission outside the path of the ⁴Muṣṭafa (the chosen one Muhammad) to whom be the salutation and has

¹ See page 570 and note I on the same page. The Cambridge History of India which does not mention the town at the place referred to on page 225 mentions it here (p. 367) and calls it Agar.

² One MS. has اور داسد after مدد سلطان علیٰ الدین and the other مدد سلطان after اور داسد. The lith. ed. has neither the one nor the other. I have inserted اور داسد. In the text edition it is مدد سلطان.

³ See page 581

⁴ One MS. has by mistake مکوہا instead of مکہ and also has سلم instead of السلام. The lith. ed. has مکہ after السلام.

made the followers of Islām wretched and miserable, and the *Kāfirs* and Rājpūts dear and honoured.¹ If a detachment of his victorious army should arrive in these parts, the public prayers would be read in the name of that *Bādshāh* who is the asylum of the faith, and² his coin would be current in the country. When Bheiōdās came and reported all this, Sultān Mahmūd collected troops, and after one week marched from³ Bahāū and encamped in the village of Shikāipūn. On the following day, he sent Mukhtas Khān with a large army to Chandērī in advance of himself.

⁴ About this time news came that about the middle of Muhammād-ul-harām in the year 919 A.D. Sultān Muzaflār Gujātī had encamped in the town of Dhāū, with a large army and five hundred elephants, and was occupying himself with hunting in the environs of the village of Dilāwārah. Although⁵ Rāy Pīthōrā and the other *amīrs*, who were in the fort of Mandū, sent a message to him, in their distress and weakness, by some trustworthy men to the effect that at this time, when Sultān Mahmūd was engaged in attending to the administration of his kingdom, his (*i.e.*, Sultān Muzaflār's) intention of invading it appeared to be altogether remote from the rules of bravery and humanity. He did not at all listen to it with any idea of good will and acceptance, and sent Nizām-ul-mulk Sultānī with a large army to the neighbourhood of Na'leha. The latter arrived at the *Haud-i-Rānī*

¹ The facts of Bihijat Khān's sending for Shāhīzūda Sāhib Khān and also asking Sultān Sikandar Lūdī to send an army, and promising that the public prayers would be read in his name appear to be rather inconsistent, but Fūshtah explains that if Sultān Sikandar Lūdī would help to place Sāhib Khān on the throne, tho' *Khutba* would be read in his name as the suzerain or overlord.

² There are slight differences in the readings. One MS. has و سکه ایسان ساخت ایسابر ساحت ماد شد سایع حواهد شد, and the other has the same except that the words instead of ایسابر شایع سارد ایسان شد while the lith. ed. has و سکه ایسابر شایع سارد ایسان را instead of ساخت سایع ایسان. I have adopted the first reading. In the text edition the reading is the same except that ایسان is used in place of ایسابر, and instead of شد ساخت.

³ I suppose this means Bahāū Bābā Hājī.

⁴ The inroad of Sultan Muzaffār is only incidentally and briefly mentioned by Fūshtah and Col. Briggs. The Cambridge History of India (p. 367) also mentions it, and adds that "Muzaffār was recalled to Gujarāt by domestic disturbances."

⁵ Son of Mēdīnī Rāy.

(the Rani's reservoir or tank) but returned from there. At the time of his return a ¹ body of men came down from the fort and attacked him. Nizam ul mulk turned round and slew some of the men and the others sought shelter in the fort. Sultan Mahmud on receiving this terrible news became distressed in mind and anxious and amazed and did not know in what direction he should attempt first. Suddenly while he was extremely distressed news arrived that Sultan Muzaffir Gujrati had turned back and had gone back to Gujrat by way of Dahud. Sultan Mahmud having performed the rites of offering thanks to God placed the destruction of Bihāt Khan in the forefront of his energy.

After some days news came that Sikandar Khan had again raised the standard of rebellion and a flag of violence and had taken forcible possession of some villages belonging to the *Ahalsa* (i.e. lands in direct possession of the Sultan). Sultan Mahmud deputed the governor of the town of ² Kanduyah named Malik Lodha to punish him. ³ Malik Lodha advanced towards ⁴ Satwas. After the two sides had met the dust of disturbance and warfare continued from morning till evening. In the end Sikandar Khan being unable to withstand him

¹ One MS has **حَمْعِي** and the other **مُرْدِم**. The lith ed has neither or any similar word.

² دهور in the text edition

³ About Kanduyah see page 558 and note 6 on the same page. Firishtah has at this place حاکم کہ وی و ملک بودہ. Col Briggs (vol IV p. 54) calls him Mulik Lado the governor of Kuhndwa. In another place Firishtah lith ed calls کہ و غیر کندوڈہ. The Cambridge History of India page 367 does not give the name of the governor but calls him a loyal officer who had endeavoured to reduce him to obedience.

⁴ The Cambridge History of India page 367 describes the incident in a single sentence which owing to the necessity of too much compression or from error conveys ideas which are totally different from the facts as narrated in the Tabaqat and by Firishtah. The sentence (a part of which I have already quoted in the preceding note) is Sikandar Khan had defeated and slain a loyal officer who had endeavoured to reduce him to obedience. Malik Lodha was neither defeated nor slain by Sikandar Khan. On the other hand he defeated Sikandar Khan and he was assassinated by a man probably a soldier in Sikandar Khan's army who had a private grudge against him.

⁵ سوساس in the text edition here but سواس earlier on see note 2 page 587

turned his face in flight Malik Lōdhā's troops pursued him, and were engaged in plundering At this time, ¹ a man whose family had been taken prisoner, came up to Malik Lōdhā, on the pretext of kissing his feet, and stabbing him in the side with a poisoned dagger destroyed the capital of his life Sikandar Khān on hearing this ² returned, and drove Malik Lōdhā's men before him, and took six elephants and many horses as booty, and returned triumphant and victorious to Satwās When this news came to Sultān Mahmūd, he considered the destruction of Bihjat Khān of primary importance, and advanced towards Chandērī On the way news was brought to him, that about the middle of Dhil-hijja-i-ul-harām, Shāhzāda Sāhib Khān had arrived at Chandērī from Gōndwāna, and Bihjat Khān and Mansūr Khān had gone forward to meet him, and had proclaimed him as the Sultān Sultān Mahmūd halted at the village of ³ Sājanpūr, and occupied himself with collecting troops

After some days news came that ⁴ Sa'īd Khān Lūdī and 'Imād-ul-mulk had encamped at a distance of five karōhs from Chandērī with the army of Dehlī from the side of Sultān Sikandar to reinforce Sāhib Khān Sultān Mahmūd on hearing this news became extremely disheartened, and thought it advisable to ⁵ return to his own place (*i.e.*, I suppose Mandū) On the way, he summoned the *amīrs* to his presence, and got them to strengthen their promises and engagements by oaths But in spite of their oaths and the renewal of their engagements, when a part of the night had passed, Sadr Khān and ⁶ Mukhtas Khān, who were ⁷ truthful *amīrs*, fled towards Chandērī Mahmūd Shāh sent a body of men in pursuit, and himself encamped

¹ فی کریان سکندر حاں کے عیالس اسی رشدہ بود Firishtah describes him as one of Sikandar Khān's soldiers whose family had been made prisoner

² One MS omits by mistake the words from میرزا to مردم ملک لودھا درست

³ The name is Sājanpūr and Sājan in the MSS, and Sijanpūr in the lith ed It is not mentioned by Firishtah or Col Briggs or in the Cambridge History of India The latter says in the corresponding passage that Mahmūd "retired to Bhilsa and remained for some time in that neighbourhood "

⁴ One MS omits Khān after Sa'īd

⁵ One MS has by mistake مقامت instead of معاویت

⁶ One MS has instead of مختار خاں دیگران, Mukhtas Khān

⁷ The epithet truthful is probably used ironically

in the town of ¹ Sironj On the 1st of Safar he passed through the inhabited part of the town of Bhilsa and encamped on the bank of the neighbouring river When his army went past the gate of the town the agent of Mansur Khan in concert with a body of the low or common people of the town plundered those who had fallen behind On hearing this news the spirit of the bravery and self assertion of Sultan Mahmud came into motion and he gave an order so that in a moment his men seized the citadel and slew that body of men of evil destiny The citizens were plundered owing to the wickedness of those men and their wives and children became subject to the misery of slavery

The Sultan having halted in those parts for some days for hunting ² Shahzada Sahib Khan and Bihjat Khan considering this delay to be a very great boon sent Malik Mahmūd with a large army towards Sarangpur Jhujar Khan the agent of the feudatory of Sarangpur fought with and defeated him Malik Mahmud fled and did not rest till he had arrived at Chanderi and Jhujar Khan seized much booty and returned to Sarangpur At the time when the detachment under Malik Mahmud returned fleeing Sa id Khan Ludi and Imad ul mulk sent this message to Bihjat Khan The promise had been given that when the ⁴ victorious Sikandari troops should arrive in the ⁵ territory of Chanderi the public prayers would be read in the great name of the Sikandar of the age (*i.e.* Sultan Sikandar Ludi) and the *Duraham*

¹ The place is so called in the MSS and also in the 1st ed It is not mentioned by Firishtah or Col Briggs or in the Cambridge History of India

One MS has by mistake سرحد instead of سوندھ

³ The Cambridge History of India page 367 omits the events between the proclamation of Shahzada Sahib Khan as Sultan and the sending of the force by the rebels to Sarangpur It mentions the latter event but does not give the name of the commander of the force or that of the agent of the governor of the place who defeated him Firishtah 1st ed also mentions the incident and he gives the name of the commander of the fort as مہمود نام *i.e.* a man of the name of Mahmud but does not give the name of the agent of the governor who defeated him Col Briggs (vol IV pp 254 255) calls the commander of the force one Mahmood Khan but says he was alarmed at the approach of the King's army and fled disgracefully

⁴ One MS has سرحد but the other and the 1st ed have سوندھ

⁵ One MS omits سوندھ

and *Dīnārs* would be struck and ¹imprinted with the name of that sovereign, but up to the present day no sign of these things has shown itself " As they ²did not get a reply such as they wanted, they marched from the village of Shahīāī, and halted at a place fourteen *kārōhs* further back From that place they sent a report of what had happened Sultān Sikandar sent a *farmān* recalling them When Sultān Sikandar's army, annoyed at what had happened, went towards Dēlī, Sultān Mahmūd being expectant of receiving the grace of God, planned a hunting excursion At this time, one day in the course of the hunting a spy submitted a report, that Khwājah Jahān and Muhāfiz Khān had marched away towards Shādiābād with a large army Sultān Mahmūd returned from the place where he received the report, and deputed Habib Khān and Fakhr-ul-mulk and ³Hēmkaran to put down and crush Muhāfiz Khān Habib Khān and the other *amīns* arrived at Na'lcha on the 16th Rabi'-ul-thānī It so happened that Muhāfiz Khān had arrived there three or four hours before them, and a battle having taken place, he, owing to the ill luck which always follows a rebel, was killed, and his head having been cut off, they returned with victory and triumph to their own camp Shāhzāda Sāhib Khān, on hearing this news was full of grief and sorrow, and shut the door of the entrance and exit of the Khāns before his face

Bihjat Khān and Sadr Khān thought it advisable, that with the intervention of the learned men and Shaikhis, they should ask for the pardon of their own offences, and should pray for one out of the

¹ One MS and the lith ed have ملوك instead of حکماء, which is the correct word

² One MS has by mistake دعائے instead of دعائے Firishtah explains that public prayers were read in Sultān Sikandar's name in Chandērī, but as about forty thousand Rājpūts had assembled in Sultān Mahmūd's army, Sultān Sikandar recalled the force which he had sent and which, according to Firishtah, consisted of twelve thousand horsemen

³ The name is written with slight variation in the MSS and in the lith ed, but looks like Hamikaran Firishtah lith ed gives the name of Habib Khān and Fakhr-ul-mulk, and adds many of the Rājpūt *amīns* Hamikaran or Hēmkaran was apparently one of them Col Briggs mentions the name of "Hubeeb Khan" alone The Cambridge History of India, page 367, says briefly "an attempt of Muhāfiz Khān to return to Māndū was defeated" حکم رکن in the text edition

many districts of the kingdom for Shahzada (Sahib Khan). They then went together to Sahib Khan and submitted these proposals to him. He said This has been recurring to my mind for a long time I have been sorrowful and unhappy at the coming of Sultan Mahmud's army but praise be to God! that this danger has passed away. Bihjat Khan then with the advice of the amirs sent Shaikh Auliya to the Sultan's camp and prayed for the pardon of their offences and asked for a place to help in the expenses of the Shahzada.¹ Sultan Mahmud considering this to be one of the supernatural mercies and indubitable blessings made over the fort of Raisin and the villages of Bhilsa and Dhamoni to the Shahzada and gave him for his immediate expenses - ten *lakhs* of *tankas* and also twelve elephants and sent *farman*s promising favour to Bihjat Khan and² the other amirs and khans. He then gave permission to the emissaries of Bihjat Khan to return and sent a body of his own servants with them. When Shaikh Auliya and the other emissaries arrived in the neighbourhood of Chanderi Bihjat Khan sent his son Sharzah Khan to welcome them and met them on their arrival with honour and respect. When he learned the purport of the *farman*s he sent the *farman* for the government of Raisin and Bhilsa to Sahib Khan by the hand of Sharzah Khan but kept the ten *lakhs* of *tankas* in cash and the twelve elephants with himself. Some strife mongers said to Shahzada Sahib Khan that Bihjat Khan had determined that on the morning of the *Id-i-fitr* (the *Id* of the breaking of the fast) he would seize him and some of his immediate adherents in the *Aimāgah* and⁴ he had accordingly sent Shaikh

¹ One MS omits Mahmud after Sultan

Firishtah lith ed has حواس و امراء and Col Briggs has copper tangas. The Cambridge History of India page 367 has a substantial amount without further definition.

² There are slight variations in the readings. The reading I have adopted is that in the lith ed. One MS amirs امراء and the other has حواس و امراء

⁴ The meaning is not clear. On the whole it appears that Bihjat Khan did all this but why he should have strengthened the engagement with Shaikh Auliya or should have sent for some troops is not very clear if he was arranging matters secretly to secure Sahib Khan on the day of the *Id*. Firishtah does not make matters clearer as he says that Sahib Khan betook himself to Sultan Sандар لودي immediately on hearing that Bihjat Khan wanted to make him a prisoner. Col Briggs does not refer to the matter at all. The Cambridge History of India page 367 says that The retention of the money by Bihjat

Aūhiyā to the camp, and had strengthened the promises and engagements with oaths, and had sent for a body of troops. On hearing this news, a great fear and terror came on the Shāhzāda, and he spent all day in thought and anxiety, and on the night of the 9th Ramadān, he without thinking of his ultimate fate chose to tread an unknown path, and betook himself to Sultān Sikandar's army, which was on the frontier (of Mālwa). When this news reached Mahmūd Shāh, he on the 19th Shawwāl came to Chandērī¹ Bihijat Khān and the great men of the city hastened to welcome him, and made their excuses. Mahmūd Shāh drew the line of pardon across the page of their offences and distinguished each one of them by conferring robes of honour and by giving rewards. He stayed there for some days, and having arranged the affairs of that neighbourhood went back to the capital city of Shādiābād.

Then at the wicked instigation and by the evil counsel of Mēdmī Rāy he struck the merciless sword at the *amīrs* and *sardārs*, and making each of them suspected and accused of offences not committed by them brought them into the place of punishment. Gradually things came to such a pass, that the disposition of Mahmūd Shāh turned from all the *amīrs*, and in fact from all Musalmāns. He placed the mark of dismissal on the forehead of the old officers who had formed a faithful band, and had been entrusted for years, under the government of Ghīyāth Shāh and Nāsir Shāh, with all matters of revenue, and appointed the helpers and confederates of Mēdmī Rāy in their places. Owing to these acts, most of the *amīrs*, *sardārs* and public servants became broken hearted, and holding the hands of their relatives and families chose to exile themselves from their country. The fort of Shādiābād, which had at one time been the home of learning and contained men of wisdom, and Shaikhhs, became the residence of² *Kāfirs*. Things finally assumed such a shape, that all offices and

Khān excited the apprehensions of Muhammad, who believed that he was about to be betrayed to his brother."

¹ I suppose that the Sultan and they all considered that the flight of Shāhib Khān had offered them a very easy way out of many difficulties.

² The word is written as کواران in the MSS and کوران in the lith ed. I cannot find any meaning of کو or کور that would suit the context. The nearest meaning of کو is a class of gipsies in India, and of کور the blind. In

ports in the government of Mahmud Shah even down to those of a *darban* (door keeper) or *filban* (elephant keeper) were given by Medini Ray to his own agents. There did not remain in the service of Sultan Mahmud more than two hundred men belonging to the class of Musalmans. And ¹even Musalman and Sayyid women ²were taken by the Rajputs and were turned into slave girls. They were taught the art of dancing and were made to join the *alharas* (dancing clubs). They even took possession of the singing women of Sultan Nasir ud din.

Sultan Mahmud although he saw the power and violence of the Rajputs was powerless. And as the custom among the people of Hindustan is that when they send away one of their servants or bid adieu to a guest they give him *pan* (beetle leaf) Sultan Mahmud sent a vessel filled with *pan* made into packages for chewing to Medini Ray by the hand of Araish Khan and gave him a message that after that he had permission to leave (the Sultan's service) and he should go out of his (the Sultan's) kingdom. The Rajputs replied

We forty thousand horsemen have up to this day performed loyal and devoted service and have never committed any fault. We have done praiseworthy service. We do not know what fault has been committed by us. When Araish Khan took this reply the Rajputs assembled in the house of Medini Ray and determined that they should remove the Sultan and place Ray Raya the son of Medini Ray on the throne. Medini Ray said At the present moment the

the corresponding passage in Firishtah the word is کاران which is all right and I have taken it. M Hidayat Hosain ha adopted گواران or gypsies in the text edition.

¹ Firishtah lith ed says that Ali Khan one of the old *amirs* who was the governor of the city was exasperated by the domination and violence of the Rajputs and he assisted by the people of the city took possession of the fort when Sultan Mahmud had gone on a hunting excursion attended by his Rajput servants. When they returned they besieged the fort and Ali Khan had to evacuate it. He was pursued and was seized and executed. This is mentioned also in Col Briggs (vol IV p 256) but he change the name of Ali Khan to Ghalib Khan. The Cambridge History of India does not mention these incidents.

One MS has سد ورد اس امر را دند and then leaving out the following words as far as استادی راحتوان substitutes for them سلطان سد ورد اس امر را دند می طاف سد

saltanat of Mālwa is in reality in our possession If, however, Mahmūd Shāh does not remain as a buffer, Sultān Muzaffar Gūjrātī will come galloping along and will seize the kingdom Therefore we should, in every way that may be possible, endeavour to please our master ”

Then Mēdīnī Rāy with other Rājpūts waited on the Sultān, and standing in the place of those who prayed for pardon submitted, “It is not ¹ concealed from your world-adorning wisdom, that from us (who are your) slaves, nothing ² but loyalty and service has been shown By the grace of God we slew with great torment Muhāfiz Khān, who was a great enemy of the Sultān Although man is steeped from head to foot with sins and offences, still no offence has been committed by us, which might throw dust over, and cause pain to Your Majesty’s gracious mind, and even supposing that owing to human frailty a harsh deed should have been perpetuated by us, we hope that, with your innate generosity and natural inclination to forgive, you will grant us pardon for it, and after this, nothing will be done by us that would be contrary to your wishes and pleasure ” Sultān Mahmūd whether willingly or otherwise acted with politeness, and abandoned the idea of a conflict on this ³ condition, that he would make over all the posts in the different offices, according to previous custom, to the old Musalmān officers, that Mēdīnī Rāy would not give his men any right of interfering in the affairs of state, and they should send out Musalmān women from their houses, and should shorten the arm of oppression Mēdīnī Rāy owing to the exigencies of the time accepted the conditions, and tried hard to please the Sultān But ⁴ Sālbāhan, who was the *vazīr*, refused to obey, and refused to give up his wicked acts and evil practices

¹ One MS has مُخْفَى while the other and the lith ed have مُكَبَّلٌ

² Both MSS have دَعَى, but the lith ed has عَيْرٌ

³ The same conditions are mentioned by Firishtah, lith ed, but the word مَالِي is inserted after مَلِي in it Col Briggs mentions them also with some variations The Cambridge History of India (p 368) mentions only one condition, viz, that about the keeping of Muslim women by Rājpots as concubines, which it describes as the greatest offence in the eyes of the Muslims

⁴ The correct transliteration of the name as in the text is Sālbāhan, but the correct translation of the Sanskrit name is Sālibāhana Col Briggs transliterates the name as Salb’han, but in a note has Salivahan The Cambridge History of India, page 368, has Sālibāhan In the text edition it reads

Sultan Mahmud with great bravery in spite of the fact that he had not more than two hundred Musalmans in his service determined in consultation with some of his special adherents that when he should return from hunting and Medini Ray and Salhahan should receive permission to go to their houses they (*i.e.* those adherents) should at the time of their returning cut them to pieces. The next day he went out hunting leaving the men who had been chosen for the work at their places. Returning from the hunting he went into his private chamber and gave permission to Medini Ray and Salhahan to go home. At this time those men came out of ambush and wounded Medini Ray and Salhahan. The last named was killed on the spot but as Medini Ray's wounds were not fatal he was carried to his house. The Rajputs on hearing this news prepared themselves and collected in Medini Ray's house with the object of causing an injury to Sultan Mahmud. The latter on hearing this with very great bravery and courage came out of the palace with only 16 Musalman horsemen and a few foot soldiers in order so to say to suffer martyrdom and prepared to fight. Some thousands of Rajputs came forward and commenced an attack. One of the *Purabiya* Rajputs who was noted for his bravery placed his foot firmly on the battlefield and threw a weapon at the Sultan. The latter carried it and cut the assailant asunder. Another Rajput threw his javelin at the Sultan. The latter caught it on his sword and cut him into two from his

جسے شہزادے اور سالخانہ میں مار دیا تھا اور ملکہ سے تو اس کا ذکر نہیں کیا ہے اور ملکہ سے تو اس کا ذکر نہیں کیا ہے

¹ Firishtah and Col. Briggs agree generally with the text as to the attack on Medini Ray and Salhahan the subsequent attack by the Rajputs on the palace and the Sultan's great bravery in repelling it. It appears however that the first attack on the palace was made without consulting or asking the permission of Medini Ray. They also say that although the Sultan was deficient in intelligence he had no equal in bravery and also that when the Rajputs asked for Medini Ray's permission to make a second attack (Col. Briggs says they asked him to head it) he told them to desist from it. The Cambridge History of India page 368 says that the Rajputs were defeated chiefly owing to their fear of provoking the intervention of Muzaffar II of Gujarat. This is certainly not correct. The Rajputs were defeated in a fair fight although the odds were very much in their favour. They were however forbidden by Medini Ray from making a second attack for fear chiefly of provoking the intervention of Sultan Muzaffar of Gujarat which is very different.

waist The Rājpūts on seeing this fled, and collected together, and wanted to advance in a great crowd to slay the Sultān.

When Mēdīnī Rāy became acquainted with this resolution, he said, "Mahmūd Shāh is my benefactor, if his men wounded me by his order, what business is it of yours? If the shadow of his greatness be not over our head, Sultān Muzaffar Gujrātī would completely destroy us." The Rājpūts went back to their houses at the word of Mēdīnī Rāy, and the tumult subsided. That night Mēdīnī Rāy sent a humble message to the Sultān saying, "As during the whole of my life I have never done anything but wish for your welfare, and act faithfully to my salt, I have earned my life in safety from the wounds. If in reality, the affairs of the kingdom can be better regulated by my being put to death, I have no objection even to that." Mahmūd Shāh said, "I have arrived at the conclusion, that Mēdīnī Rāy is a loyal servant of mine. Owing to his great devotion to me, he kept the infuriated Rājpūts back yesterday from creating disorder and disturbance. I shall heal his wounded heart with the ointment of favour and graciousness."

After some days, when ¹ Mēdīnī Rāy's wounds had healed, he came with five hundred armed horsemen to make his *salām*, and thenceforward he came every day in the same way to make his *salām* to Mahmūd Shāh, on account of his great courage and bravery, treated him in the same way as before, and reassuring him sent him to the office, so that he might attend to the affairs of state. When a considerable time elapsed with the Sultān acting with gentleness and courtesy, and he saw that there was nothing left to him of rule except the name, he in the months of the year 920 A.H., came out of the fort of Mandū on the pretext of going out hunting. He took with him ² Rānī Kaniyā, who was the most beloved of his harem, ³ and the large body

¹ There are variations in the readings. One MS has رَمْ وَ مَدْمَلْ كُرْد the other has مَدْمَلْ رَمْ in place of او. The lith ed has a different reading رَحْم او مَدْمَلْ تَنْدِلْ سَهَهَ - كُرْد In the text edition it is مَدْمَلْ كُرْدیده

² The name is written in the MSS as رَانِي كَنَارا and رَانِي كَنَارا in the lith ed. See, however, note 2, page 302, from which it appears that she was called Rānī Kanākrā in the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī.

³ The sentence is left incomplete in the MSS, as well as in the lith ed. In the corresponding passage, Firishtah has دَارِ فِرْمَودَه مَهْسَاهَه نَكَار رَانِي دَتَابِرَا تَرَدَد

of Rajputs who used always to accompany him as his guard and always went about surrounding him. The Sultan said in private to the superintendent of the stables who was an old servant of his I shall go out hunting tomorrow and I shall make the Rajputs run so much in pursuit of the game that when they would arrive in the camp they would have no sense or power of movement left. When midnight should have passed you should make ¹ three very swift horses ready outside the camp and should inform me. On the following day he went out hunting and when the evening came and the Rajputs went to sleep owing to much fatigue the superintendent of the stables in accordance with the orders brought out three specially selected horses and informed him. Mahmud Shah relying on the Divine aid and help went up to the horses and all three of them turned to the open country which was quite unknown to them. After traversing many stages and passing many places when they arrived in the town of Dahud which was on the boundary line of Gujrat Qaisar Khan the thanadar of Sultan Muzaffar Gujrati carried out the customs of welcoming him and performed the rites of hospitality. He presented pavilions and all necessary articles and wrote a report to Sultan Muzaffar and made him acquainted with the fact of Sultan Mahmud's arrival. When the news reached Sultan Muzaffar at Champanir he carried out the customs of offering thanks to God and he sent Qaisar Khan and Taj Khan and Qawam ul mulk and other great amirs to welcome Sultan Mahmud. He also sent Iraqi horses and some elephants and articles of the *toshakhana* (ward robe) red curtains articles of *farashkhana* and other equipages which are required by Sultans. He himself advanced some stages to welcome the guests. Afterwards when the conjunction of the ² two beneficent planets and the meeting

³ كرمه و ~ و سعادته ~ on the pretext of hunting he had given much work to the Rajputs and had made them tired and exhausted. The same idea is conveyed in the following sentences of the Tabaqat.

¹ One MS has *سواری* ~ but the other MS and the 11th ed omit the word *سواری*.

For another account of the flight of Sultan Mahmud and of his reception by Sultan Muzaffar and the subsequent events see the section about Gujrat page 30^o onwards.

² Jupiter *جیو* and Venus *لیکھن*, i.e. here the two Sultans

of the two luminaries took place in one *majlis* and on one throne, Sultān Muzaffar observing the customs of generosity and the rites of liberality made wise inquiries and presenting royal gifts placed (soothing) ointment on his wounded (spirit)

After some days,¹ Sultān Muzaffar advanced into the country of Mālwa with a well-equipped army, and when he arrived near Dhār, Rāy Pīthōrā strengthened the fort of Mandū, and busied himself with measures of guarding it. Mēdīnī Rāy and Silhādī went to Chitōr with some thousands of Rājpūts, and sought the protection of Rānā Sānkā. Sultān Muzaffar besieged the fort of Mandū, and distributed the batteries. After some days Rāy Pīthōrā approached him with humility, and after asking for safety prayed for fourteen *parganas* for his own *jāgir*. Sultān Muzaffar in his great kindness granted his prayer. On the following day Pīthōrā again sent a message saying, "As we have committed many evil deeds, and fear and alarm have come upon us, if you would retire with your army for a distance of three *karōhs*, we would take hold of the hands of our wives and children, come down from the fort, and surrender it to anyone whom you may order." Sultān Muzaffar accepted the prayer of that deceitful band, and took up a position three *karōhs* behind his former station. Then it became clear, that Rāy Pīthōrā was merely wasting time, and waiting for the arrival of² Mēdīnī Rāy and Rānā Sānkā.

The Sultān then, acting with hostility and violence, returned (to his former camp), and surrounded the fort like the centre of a circle. At this time news was brought that Mēdīnī Rāy and Silhādī had given large sums to Rānā Sānkā, and promising him more were bringing him with all the *zamīndārs* of the neighbourhood to aid and reinforce them, and they had arrived near the city of Ujjain. Sultan Muzaffar sent Ā'zam Humāyūn 'Ādil Khān, the ruler of Asir and Burhānpūr, who was his nephew (sister's son) and son-in-law, and Fath Khān and Qawām-ul-mulk to chastise and punish Mēdīnī Rāy.

¹ Nizām-ud dīn does not say what Mēdīnī Rāy did to meet Sultān Muzaffar, Firishtah and Col Briggs do so in some detail. For another account of the siege and capture of Mandū as given in the history of the reign of Sultān Muzaffar in the section of the Tabaqāt about Gujrāt, see pages 303, 304

² In the text edition it is رانا سانکا و مندوی رائے instead of Mēdīnī Rāy and Rānā Sānkā

and Rana Sankar and devoted his energy to the capture of Mandu fort It so happened that a man came and represented The hill (on which) the fort is built can be climbed by an easy path and Ray Pithora has got only a small number of men there As tomorrow is the day of the *Holi* festival the Rajputs will be occupied in their houses with play and amusement If on that day you return to your camp after fighting at the other batteries and after that send a detachment by that path and keep another detachment ready to help and reinforce it it is possible that the fort would come into your possession

Sultan Murzaffar liked his advice and strengthened him with promises of favour and reward On the 13th Safar in the year 924 A H 1529 A D the soldiers of the Gujrat army commeneced to fight from the different directions and made many brave assaults The Rajputs also exerted themselves almost beyond their power The Gujrat army beat the drum of retiring just before the afternoon and returned to their batteries The Rajput *sardars* as they had made very great exertions and as it was the day of the *Holi* left a few men in the bastions and rested in their houses When half the night had passed Taj Khan and Imad ul mulk with a body of great warriors commeneced to climb the hill along the agreed path with that guide in front of them Taj Khan also ascended it by another path Imad ul mulk on arriving near the rampart found that the Rajputs were asleep and had no knowledge of the coming of the enemy Immediately his men made a ladder of "farangi" lances which enabled a body of them to climb to the top of the rampart When these men saw that the sleep of death had overpowered the Rajputs they very silently put their feet on the ground and opened the gate When the gate was being opened the Rajputs came to the place The warriors who were outside the gate made an onset and got inside the fort and cut some of the Rajputs into pieces and those who escaped the sword fled

¹ Firishtah does not give the date but amply says in the beginning of the year 944 A.H. The date is not given in the section of the Cambridge History of India about Malwa but is given as February 23rd 1518 the day of the Hindu festival of the Holi in the section about Gujarat (p 319).

Both the MSS have از سرخای خوبی *i.e.* of French or European lances
I have not been able to find out what the special lances or spears were like

When this news reached Rāy Pīthōrā, he sent Shādi Khān *Pūrabīya* with five hundred Rājpūts, in advance of himself, to put down ‘Imād-ul-mulk. He himself followed Shādi Khān with some thousands of Rājpūts. The Gujāt warriors coming within bow-shot pierced the men who were coming along in front of Shādi Khān with their arrows, and they on receiving those life-scorching wounds fled like wounded pigs. About this time Sultān Muzaffarī Gujrātī entered the fort by the same route. When the eyes of the garrison fell on Sultān Muzaffar's standard, they returned to their houses and performed *jauhar*. (This is) a practice of the Rājpūts, that in times of discomfiture and distress, they set fire to their houses, and put their wives and children to death, and burn themselves. They call this practice *jauhar*. Hosts and crowds of Gujātī warriors entered the houses and residences and committed a general massacre. It has been correctly ascertained, that during that night and a part of the following day nineteen thousand Rājpūts were slain, and so much booty and so many prisoners fell into the hands of the army of Gujrāt, that the ¹accountant of the age confessed his weakness and failure in computing them.

When with the strength of Divine help, the victory was attained, and the Rājpūts, who had been unfaithful to their salt, had received their reward, Sultān Mahmūd came, and offering his congratulations, asked quickly, “What does the lord of the world order me?” Sultān Muzaffar, in his ²greatness said, “May the rule of Mālwa be of good omen to you.” He left Sultān Mahmūd in the fort of Shādiābad, and returned immediately to his camp. On the following day he raised the standard of departure from that station towards Ujjain with the object of punishing Rānā Sānkā. When he arrived at the fort of Dhār, they brought him the news, that ‘Ādil Khān and the *amīns* had not yet gone beyond the town of Dibālpūr Banhariya, when Rānā Sānkā, on hearing the capture of the fort, had fled and gone to his own country, and had traversed a distance of twenty-seven *karōhs*, taking Mēdīnī Rāy and Silhadi with him. Sultān Muzaffar, on hearing this news, carried out the practice of praising, and offering

¹ A figurative way of saying that the booty and prisoners were beyond computation. One MS has by mistake دوڑگار instead of دوڑگار.

² One MS has by mistake گیلہ instead of گرگیلہ.

thanks to God and summoned Adil Khan and the *amirs*. Sultan Mahmud waited on Sultan Muzaffar at this station and submitted
 If your Majesty would go to the fort of Shadiabad and would exalt
 me by remaining there for one day

Couplet

On that side your greatness would suffer no less
 On this side it would give me nobility great

Sultan Muzaffar left his camp at Dhar and went himself to the fort of Shadiabad. Sultan Mahmud carried out all the duties of hospitality and offered suitable tribute. After the *majlis* and the entertainments were over Sultan Muzaffar went over the buildings and the gardens and then went back to his camp. From there accompanied by victory and triumph he started on his journey to Gujarat.

Sultan Mahmud on account of his great affection and devotion attended on him for some stages. Sultan Muzaffar then bade him farewell and left Asaf Khan Gujrati with some thousand horsemen to help and reinforce him and asked to be excused. Sultan Mahmud taking up his abode in the fort of Shadiabad in concert with Asaf Khan sent letters of encouragement and favour to the *amirs sardars* and his own soldiers and summoned them. The *amirs* and his own servants came to Mandu from the various places where they resided with happy and joyful steps and when his army assembled round him he with the advice and concurrence of Asaf Khan advanced to attack ² Hemkaran who had fortified himself in the fort of Kakrun on behalf of Medina Ray. On becoming aware of

¹ The words in one MS are دار حواس و میل و میل و میل. In the other MS a word which looks like دارلو is written in place of میل the word is clearly میل in the lith ed of the Tabaqat and of Firishtah. میل means willing wishing desiring. I consider میل the best reading and have adopted it. In the text edition دارلو has been adopted.

² The words are دار حواس in the MSS and دار حواس in the lith ed. There are no corresponding words in the lith ed of Firishtah. I do not know what reason there was for Sultan Muzaffar for asking to be excused. I suppose it was a mere matter of courtesy.

³ He was called Bhim Karan in the Gujarat section of the Tabaqat vide page 307 and note 1 on the same page. M Hidayat Hosain has سکرپ in the text edition.

this Mēdmī Rāy said to Rānā Sānkā, "All that I have, is in the fort of Kākīūn I came to you, praying for your help, with the object that you would deliver over the country of Mālwa to me, after thoroughly purifying it But now things have come to this ¹ pass, that they are taking away from me whatever I have" The ² daring and boorishness of Rānā Sānkā having come into motion, he came out of the fort of Chitōi with some thousands of blood-thirsty Rājpūts, and advanced towards Kākīūn When this news reached Sultān Mahmūd he owing to his great courage and bravery, abandoned the path of prudence and caution, and raising the siege of Kākrūn, advanced to meet Rānā Sānkā in battle He marched most of the days and it so happened that on the day on which the battle was to take place, he had traversed a very long distance, and had halted at a distance of seven *karōhs* from Rānā Sānkā When this news reached the latter, he sent for his *amīrs*, and said, "It is best that we should attack the enemy at this very moment, for they have come a long way and have no strength to move or exert themselves If we advance fast and quickly, they will have no time to ³ array their troops , and our work would be done with ease" All the Rāys and Rājpūts praised and attested to the correctness of this declaration, and they mounted and advanced with their troops in good order

When they arrived near Sultān Mahmūd's camp, ⁴ the troops of the latter came one by one or two by two (*i.e.*, in very small bands) into the battle, in the way which Rānā Sānkā had predicted, and were immediately made martyrs Because they fought without being properly marshalled, thirty-two *sardārs* among the old and

¹ One MS has گار بھائی رسیدہ while the other has گار بھائی رسیدی I have retained the reading in the lith ed which is رسیدی

² The words in the MSS are حادیت و حادیت The words in the lith ed are حادیت عرب حادیت is of course incorrect

³ Both MSS have موح راست کردن I have adopted this, though the reading of the lith ed is equally good, if not better فوح اراستن

⁴ Firishtah lith ed says, that Āsaf Khān and the other *amīrs* said, that they should not engage the enemy that day, but Sultān Mahmūd Khaljī, *kādī ar-’Aqal bī bahrat*, *i.e.*, who was destitute of intelligence, did not accept their advice

trusted men became martyrs and of the Gujrat army ¹ Asaf Khan and five hundred horsemen drank the *sharbat* of martyrdom and a great defeat fell on Sultan Mahmud's army. The latter however who was extremely brave and courageous stood in the field of chivalry with two or three horsemen and when the Rajput troops advanced against him he galloped on his gray horse which was as swift as the wind and the lightning and dived into the Rajput army which was like a sea of swords and spears. He received a hundred and more wounds on his armour and as he wore two suits of armour fifty of those wounds passed through the inner armour and reached his body. In spite of his having received so many wounds he did not turn his face from the enemy. When he fell off the back of his horse on the ground ² the Rajputs recognised him and carried him to Rana Sanka. Every one of them poured forth their praises and eulogies and offered to sacrifice themselves in his honour. Rana Sanka stood before him with his arms crossed on his breast and carried out the duties of service and attendance and arranged for the treatment of his wounds. When the Sultan regained his health Rana ³ Sanka prayed that he should be exalted by the Sultan by bestowing his crown on him. Sultan Mahmud made over the crown decorated with pearls and other precious stones (*Iauaqit* which means both rubies and sapphires) ⁴ Rana Sanka then sent ten thousand Rajput horsemen with him and sent him to Mandu and himself went back to Chitor.

¹ It may be noted that in the section about Gujrat it was the son of Asaf Khan and not Asaf Khan himself who was said to have been slain (see page 307). In the corresponding passage here Firishtah agrees with the Tabaqat that Asaf Khan with five hundred Guzerati horsemen was slain but Col Briggs (vol IV p. 263) says as in the Guzerat section that Asuf Khan's son and almost the whole of the Guzeratties were killed.

² Firishtah also says that the Rajputs recognised him but one would have thought that as he had fought with such bravery he would be the cynosure of all eyes and there would be no necessity or difficulty for recognising him.

³ This appears to be a rather extraordinary prayer but Firishtah says that as on the day of the battle all Sultan Mahmud's baggage had fallen into the hands of Rana Sanka and of the Rajputs and they did not find Sultan Hushang's *مربع* among the other articles he asked for it and Sultan Mahmud got it and gave it to him. The Cambridge History of India page 369 says the Rana compelled Mahmud to surrender all his crown jewels.

⁴ Both the MSS and the 11th ed say that Sultan Mahmud was sent to Mandu with an escort of ten thousand horsemen but Firishtah 11th ed and

¹ It will not remain concealed from the minds of intelligent men, that Rānā Sānkā's act was on a higher level than that of Sultān Muzaffar. The latter gave help to one who had sought shelter with him, but Rānā Sānkā having captured an enemy in battle gave him back his kingdom. No act similar to this wonderful one is known up to the present day. In short, on hearing this news, Sultān Muzaffar sent a large force to reinforce Sultān Mahmūd, and sending an affectionate letter applied ointment to the wounds of his heart, and showed great kindness towards him. The Gujrāt troops remained in Mālwa for a long time, but after the rule of Sultān Mahmūd had acquired a certain amount of strength, the latter sent a letter to Sultān Muzaffar, in which he renewed his protestations of gratitude, and prayed that, as his government had assumed a desirable aspect, Sultān Muzaffar should recall his troops. The latter did so, but after the departure of the Gujrāt army, Sultān Mahmūd's weakness became evident and patent. He was bereft of nearly the whole of his territory. Rānā Sānkā seized a portion with violence and tyranny, and Silhadī Pūrabiya brought the country from the boundary of Sāiangpūr as far as Bhilsā and Rāisīn under his control, and became independent. Sikandar Khān was in possession in the neighbourhood of ² Satwās and its dependencies. So that of the kingdom of Mālwa only a tenth part remained in the possession of Sultān Mahmūd, and he remained with

Col Briggs reduce the number of the escort to one thousand horsemen, and Col Briggs (vol IV, p 263, footnote) says (without giving any authority for making this statement), that Sooltan Mahmood was conveyed in the first instance to Chittoor, where the place of his confinement is still shown, but he was released on recovery from his wounds. In the same note Col Briggs contrasts the chivalrous conducts of Hindoo princes, "in their behaviour to Mahomedans in general, with the sordid, cruel, and bigotted conduct of the latter" to the Hindoos. This is correct, but I do not know whether the story of Sultān Mahmūd being taken to Chitōr, like the other story of Rānā Kōnbhā's defeating Mahmūd of Gujrāt and Mahmūd of Mālwa, and keeping the latter as a prisoner at Chitōr, has any foundation in fact.

¹ Nizām ud-dīn shows himself superior to all communal prejudice by this eulogy on Rānā Sānkā's conduct, but it appears to me that the latter rather marred his proceedings by demanding the surrender of the Mālwa Crown Jewels.

² The name is written سواس and مواس in the MSS., and in the lith ed., but we have already found that the *jāgīr* of Sikandar Khān was Satwās

twenty thousand horsemen in ¹Jawar Although Rana Sanka possessed the power of taking possession of the entire country of Malwa still having the fear of Sultan Muzaffar before his eyes he restrained himself (*lashidah inz bud* which may literally be translated as he kept a tight hold on his bridle)

It so happened that at this time when Sultan Muzaffar passed away and the enemies (of Sultan Mahmud) acquired power and strength the violence of Silhadi extended beyond all measure So in the year 926 A H (1519 A D) Sultan Mahmud having collected an army advanced towards the country of Bhilsa ²Silhadi marched to the neighbourhood of Sarangpur and fought with him Sultan Mahmud's army was routed but he himself stood firmly in the field of bravery with twenty horsemen and coming within bow shot fought with the greatest courage and boldness till some of the renowned warriors in Silhadi's army fell on the dust of destruction at his hands and things came to such a pass that Silhadi escaped by flight Sultan Mahmud pursued him for a part of the way and separating (seizing) twenty four elephants returned to Mandu After that Silhadi came forward in a spirit of submission and friendliness expressed his contritions and sending some beautiful things and presents in the way of a tribute asked for ⁴pardon for his past conduct

And during the year 932 A H 1525 A D Sultan Muzaffar accepted the summons of the just God and the business of the

¹ The name is Jawar in the MSS and Khawar in the lith ed I have not found it mentioned anywhere else The Cambridge History of India page 369 says that Mahmud's authority now extended only to the neighbourhood of the capital M Hidayat Ho aur has حادر in the text edition

One MS has لسکری instead of لسکری

² Firishtah's and Col Briggs's (vol IV p 264) accounts agree generally with the text but they say that Sultan Mahmud rallied the few men who were with him when Silhadi's troops were engaged in plundering and after defeating the latter pursued them to Sarangpur and took possession of it together with twenty four elephants Silhadi made no attempt to recover Sarangpur and remained content with Bhilsa and Raisin

⁴ The word is written as *berewal* and *berewal* in the MS and *berewal* in the lith ed I have retained the reading in the lith ed In the text edition it is *berewal*

government devolved on Sultān Bahādūr¹ Chānd Khān, son of Sultān Muzaffar came to Sultān Mahmūd, and the latter, as he was bound by ties of gratitude to Sultān Muzaffar, showed the greatest respect to Chānd Khān, and left no minute of friendliness and generosity unobserved Radi-ul-mulk, who was one of the trusted *amīs* of Sultān Muzaffar, fled from Gujrat, and waited on His Majesty Firdūs Makānī² Bābāi Bādshāh, and devoted all his energies to the object, that the rule of Gujrat might be transferred to Chānd Khān, and in order to carry out this purpose, he came from Āgra to Mandū, and after consulting with Chānd Khān went back to Āgra When this news reached Sultān Bahādūr,³ he sent a letter to Sultān Mahmūd, to the effect that it appeared strange that the ungrateful wretch, considering the affection and devotion, (which he owes to me), should desert me, and going to Chānd Khān should endeavour to create a disturbance After some time Radi-ul-mulk again went to Mandū and then returned to Āgra On this occasion Sultān Bahādur did not send any message at all, but prepared to chastise Sultān Mahmūd

As it had become clear to everybody that Sultān Mahmūd would get no help or reinforcement from Gujrat, and did not himself possess such a force that he would be able to meet an enemy with strength and power, Ratan Sēn, son of Rānā Sānkā advanced into Mālwa with great force It happened also that at this time Sultān Bahādur arrived near the boundary of Mālwa with the object of punishing some of his refractory subjects, and chastising those disturbers of peace Sultān Mahmūd, in his perplexity and distress, summoned Mu'in Khān, son of Sikandar Khān, from Satwās, and Silhadi to his aid When they waited on him, he conferred the title of *Masnad 'Ālī* on Mu'in Khān,

¹ The Cambridge History of India, page 369, describes Sultān Mahmūd's conduct as characterised by incomprehensible folly and ingratitude I cannot agree to the charge of ingratitude He had reasons to be grateful to Sultān Muzaffar, but he could not refuse to give an asylum to Chānd Khān without being accused of ingratitude He should however, have accepted Sultān Bahādur's accession, and should not have allowed Radi-ul-mulk to come to Mandū and intrigue against Sultān Bahādur, but by all accounts he was as weak mentally as he was brave in battle

² One MS has by mistake Humāyūn Bādshāh

³ There are various slight differences in the readings, and the meaning is not quite clear but the reading and the translation I have adopted appear to be correct

and bestowed on him a red pavilion which is specially reserved for a *Badshah*. He also gave some *parganas* to Silhadi and tried to please him. Mu'in Khan who was really the son of an oil seller but whom Sikandar Khan had adopted as a son fled from Sultan Mahmud and joined Sultan Bahadur in the village of Sanhal and made the complaint of his benefactor¹ a choice subject of talk in the *maglis*.

When this news reached Sultan Mahmud he sent Darya Khan to wait on Sultan Bahadur with the following message. The rights of nurture of your dynasty are incumbent on me and as the distance between us has become less I wish to appear in your presence and offer my congratulations on your accession. His emissary disclosed by winks and gestures that his master was abashed and ashamed owing to his having given an asylum to Chand Khan and had not the hardihood to come. Sultan Bahadur comforted him and said

I have no sorrow about Chand Khan and will not trouble your master about making him over to me. He started from that place and by successive marches arrived and encamped on the bank of the river Karkhi. After five days Ratan Sen son of Rana Sanka and Silhadi Purabiyā waited on Sultan Bahadur at this station and both of them made complaints about Sultan Mahmud. Ratan Sen received permission from the same place and went to Chitor. Sultan Bahadur then marched from there and encamped in the village of² Sanbal and waited for the arrival of Sultan Mahmud but as the latter had come to know that repeated complaints had been made about him to Sultan Bahadur he marched from Ujjain towards Satwas on the pretext of chastising the servants of Sikandar Khan.

It so happened that while hunting he one day fell off his horse and his right arm was broken and being now disabled and powerless he returned to the fort of Mandū and commenced making preparation for defending it. Sultan Bahadur then by successive marches advanced towards Mandu. At every station servants of Sultan Mahmud

¹ The actual words are داریا خان

Firishtah lith ed al o has Karkhi Col Briggs (vol IV p 267) has Gurchy and says in a footnote this is certainly a mistake

² The MSS which have *also* some lines before thus have here by mistake
also in the text edition

separated from the latter and entered his service. In the town of Dhār, Sharzah Khān, who was a great *sardār*, also came and joined him, and when he arrived at the town of Na'lcha, he besieged the fort and distributed the batteries, and himself took up his residence in Muhammadpūr. Sultān Mahmūd fortified himself in the fort of Mandū with three thousand men, and every night he went over to inspect all the bastions, and then took his rest in the college of Sultān Ghīyāth-ud-dīn. But when he came to know that the men in the fort were hostile to him, and had obtained promises from Sultān Bahādur, he moved from the college and came to his palace. He then arranged things for a festive gathering, and occupied himself with play and pleasure. When his well-wishers spoke to him about this, and inquired whether it was the time for pleasure and enjoyment, he said, "As these are my ¹ last breaths, I wish that they should pass with ² joy and in the fulfilment of desires."

On the 9th of Sha'bān in ³ the year 937 A.H. (May 25th, 1528), at the time of the true dawn, the standards of state of Bahādur Shāh arose above the horizon of the fort of Mandū. At the same moment Chānd Khān, son of Sultān Muzaffar, descended from the fort, and took the path of flight. Sultān Mahmūd armed himself, and with a small body of followers met Sultān Bahādur, but finding that he had not the power to withstand him, and considering that the slaughter of the inmates of his harem should precede his own ⁴ death, ⁵ advanced towards the palace with about a thousand horsemen. His men leaving their horses (outside), entered the palaces, but Sultān Bahādur's troops had (already) surrounded them. Sultān Bahādur sent a message to the

¹ اعاس بارہ میں افمالس ناہم لئی The readings in the MSS appear to be in the MSS appear to be correct, and in the lith ed اعاس نا سہن None of these appear to be correct. The reading in the lith ed of Firishtah اعاس واسیں is correct and I have adopted it.

² The MSS and the lith ed all have طرب و سوون Firishtah lith ed has the more commonplace جیس و سوون

³ See note 5, page 353, as to the day. The date according to the Christian era is given by Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 268) as May 20th, 1526 A.D., but March 17th, 1531, is the date in the Cambridge History of India, page 369, of the capture of Mandū by Bahādur Shāh.

⁴ One MS has by mistake صردم instead of مردن

⁵ One MS has by mistake حود instead of گردید The other MS has ایں

effect that there was protection and safety for Sultan Mahmud and the inmates of his harem and his *amirs* and no one would interfere with anybody's honour or property. Some of the men who were specially near to Sultan Mahmūd kept him back from killing¹ the members of his family and told him that the *Badshah* of Gujerat although he might be bad to him his badness would be better than the goodness of others (They also said) that there was a strong belief that when he would go and meet Bahadur Shah the latter would again entrust the rule of the country to him. While this was going on Sultan Bahadur had entered the palace of Sultan Mahmud and had taken up a position with his *amirs* on the terrace of *La l Mahal* and sent a man to summon Sultan Mahmud. The latter left his *sardars* in the palace and himself came² to Sultan Bahadur with only seven of his *sardars*.

The Sultan (that is Sultan Bahadur) showed him every respect and honour and they embraced each other. After sitting down Sultan Mahmud used⁴ a little harsh language and after that the two Sultans remained silent till the end of the meeting. But it is narrated that the effects of a change in Sultan Bahadur's disposition made its appearance. The words which were used in that *majlis* were these⁵ I have given an assurance of safety to the Mahmud Shahi *amirs*. Let them go and settle down in their residences to

¹ One MS ha عمال the other has no corresponding word while the lith ed ha مصلح

One MS leaves out Sultan Mahmud and the lith ed Mahmud

³ One MS has by mistake سلطان instead of سلطان and then add al o by mistake سلطان محمود بهادر آمد

⁴ F rishtah lith ed ha سلطان بهادر آمد که درسی کرده مسکن سد but he adds further on

و در بعضی نسخهای نظر آمد که حون سلطان و در تکم درسی نمود و ساده بهادر ساده کھرانی که در معام عوید حکم حسن نمود -

Col Brigg (vol IV p 268) says Bahadur Shah was disposed to treat him kindly and even to restore to him his government but the irritability of Sooltan Mahmood's temper and his pride combined turned him away so far that he abused Bahadur Shah grossly to his face. The Cambridge History of India is silent about the interview between the two Sultans in both the sections about Gujarat and Malwa.

⁵ One MS omits by mistake the words from اهل داد م و مدد

everyone who is in the haem of the Sultān, I have given assurance of safety' He then ordered the ushers and heralds to drive the people out of the palace, and after a moment, he left Āsaf Khān, with one hundred *silāhdars* (troopers) to guard Sultān Mahmūd, and himself went inside the palace On the next day, which was the 10th Sha'bān, Sultān Bahādūr also gave the seven men, who had come with Sultān Mahmūd, assurances of safety, and gave them permission to go away On Friday the 12th Sha'bān, the public prayers were read in the name of Sultān Bahādūr from the pulpits of the capital city of Shādiābad On the night of Saturday chains were put on Sultān Mahmūd's feet, and he and his seven sons, the eldest of whom had the title of Sultān Ghīyāth-ud-dīn, were made over to Āsaf Khān, and Iqbāl Khān so that they might be taken to the fort of Chāmpānīr, and kept there in imprisonment

On the night of the *Shab-i-barāt* (the night consecrated to the memory of forefathers), which was the 14th of ¹ Sha'bān, Rāy Singh, the headman of the ² Māls made a night attack on the camp of Āsaf Khān and Iqbāl Khān, with ³ two thousand Bhils and Kolis Sultān Mahmūd had at that very moment finished the prayers of the *Laylat-ul-barāt* (same as *Shab-i-barāt*), and placed his head on the pillow, when the noise and tumult commenced When he woke up, he cut the chains on his feet At this time, the guards made a martyr of him, as they were afraid that he might escape, and disturbances ⁴ might again appear in the country

Couplet

What ⁵ a dog's trick it is, of the evil doing sky,
That it makes the tigers the prey of dogs

¹ One MS omits شعاعن چهاردهم

² Both MSS have مالاں The lith ed has پانچ Neither Finshtali nor Col Briggs nor the Cambridge History of India mentions the name The *Māls* is a local name of the hilly country M Hidayat Hosain has ملہیاہ باد in the text edition

³ One MS has ۸۵ هزار ten thousand

⁴ The MSS have incorrect readings One has ملکت بدید امد and the other has در ملکت بدید اید In the text-edition it is سملکت بروید

⁵ One MS has the correct reading سگ ساری, the other has ترک ساروی while the lith ed has ترک ساروی

On the morning following that night Asaf Khan and Iqbal Khan made preparations for putting him in a shroud and burying him and buried him on the bank of the reservoir of Dahud. His seven sons were kept in imprisonment in Champanir.

The¹ period of his reign was twenty years and six months and eleven days.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE RULE OF SULTĀN BAHĀDUR

After the death of Sultan Muzaffar the country of Malwa came into the possession of Sultan Bahādur and most of the *amirs* of Sultan Muzaffar came to him. As Silhadi Purabiya had entered the service before all the other *amirs sarkars* of Ujjain and Sarangpur and the fort of Raisin were allotted to him as his *jagir*. After the rains the Sultan went to ² see Burhanpur. Bhupat the son of Silhadi was with him. As signs of turbulence and recusancy became apparent from the circumstances of Silhadi the Sultan at the time of his return sent ³ Amin Nasir to bring Silhadi to him and he (Silhadi) passed the time by various tricks of delay till in the town of Dhar he ⁴ was seized by the talons of fate as has been written in the section about Gujrat. Sultan Bahādur advanced towards Ujjain in order to chastise

¹ Both MSS omit ملک

The heading is as I have it in the text in both MSS but one of the MSS adds the word Gujrati after Sultan Bahādur. The lith ed omits the word حکومت

² One MS omits سر

³ He is called ایں نصیر in both MSS in this place but about the various names by which he was called and the result of his mission to summon Silhadi see page 356 and note 2 on the same page in the section about Gujrat

⁴ The readings are somewhat different and the meaning is not quite clear. One MS has در دار سلطان ہا رکھیاں سوہ لے گئے اور سوہ The other has the same reading but the word سلطان is written as سلطانیہ. The lith ed has Har instead of Dhar which is of course incorrect but otherwise agrees with the reading in the second MS. The corresponding passage in Firishtah سلطان ہا رکھیاں آمدہ is perhaps somewhat better. Silhadi was not killed at this time. It cannot therefore be said that he was seized by the talons of destiny or fate. He certainly incurred the wrath of Sultan Bahādur but حکم حکم or the hattle of wrath has hardly any meaning. حکم or talons of wrath is certainly better.

THE SULTĀNS OF MĀLWA

Pūrabiyas Silhadi's son fled from Ujjain, and went to Chitōr. Bahādur bestowed Ujjain on ¹ Daryā Khān Mandōwālī, advanced to Rāisīn. On the way he left Habib Khān at Āshita, Mallū Khān, son of Mallū Khān, at Sārangpūr, and went and led the fort of Rāisīn. When the period of the siege was protracted, and unknown images appeared on the pages of the world, of evil destiny, after he had become a Musalmān performed, and met his death. This matter has been narrated in detail accounts of Sultān Bahādur in the section about Gujāt. Sultān ur, having entrusted Rāisīn, and the neighbouring districts, ān 'Ālam Kālpīwāl, returned to Gujrāt. He then left Ikhtiyār in charge of the government of the fort of Mandū, and advanced to Chāmpānīr.

In the year 940 A.H., 1533 A.D., he collected troops, and advanced towards Chitōr. ² After besieging it, he, owing to certain matters, an amicable settlement, and returned to Ahmadābād. In the year 941 A.H., he again collected troops, and besieged Chitōr. In the conquest of Chitōr, he fled, in the neighbourhood of Mandisōr. His Majesty Jinnat Āshiānī Humāyūn Bādshāh, and retired to Gujrāt, as has been narrated in its place.

COUNT OF THE RULE OF THE DEPUTIES OF HIS MAJESTY JINNAT ĀSHIĀNĪ, MUHAMMAD HUMĀYŪN BĀDSHĀH

hen the country of Mālwa, and in fact the country of Gujrāt came into the possession of the servants of the powerful Chaghtāi Khan, His Majesty, after the conquest of Gujrāt, left Mirzā i and Yādgār Nāsir Mirzā in Gujrāt, and himself went to Mandū one year. ³ Divine jealousy came into operation. The Mirzās left the *amīs* abandoned Gujāt without any war having taken place, and went towards Āgra. These events have been mentioned in their own place. His Majesty, Jinnat Āshiānī also, for reasons of

Mirshah calls him Daryā Khān Lūdī, but Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 270) says he was a son of Khan, having joined the preposition *ب* to *ر* and omitting *ل*. One MS. leaves out by mistake the words from *و بعد از مسکون* to *آمدند*.

The words are عیّرت الٰئے Divine jealousy, or probably Divine wrath.

state left Mālwa and went away to Āgra. For the period of one year the country of Mālwa was in the possession of the Chaghtai rulers.

¹ AN ACCOUNT OF MALLU KHĀN QĀDIR SHĀH

When owing to the death of Sultān Bābadur there was disorder in the country of Gujrat and the country of Mālwa remained without a ruler at about that time His Majesty Jinnat Āshiani turned the bridle of departure from Āgra towards the country of Bangal.² Mallu Khan son of Mallu Khan gave himself in concert with the *amirs* of Mālwa the title of Qādir Shah. He brought the country from the town of Bhilsā to the vicinity of the Nerbida river into his possession and divided it among the old *amirs* Bhupat Ray and Pūran Mal the sons of Silhudi came back from the territory of Chitor and took possession of the fort of Raisin and its neighbourhood. The power and grandeur of Qādir Shah increased day by day and the *amindars* of all the surrounding country acknowledged allegiance to him and sent him tribute every year.

And gradually things came to such a pass that ³ Sher Khan Afghan at the time when His Majesty Jinnat Āshiani was engaged in trying to effect his destruction sent a *farman* to him from Bengal

دکر ملوحان
۱ There are slight differences in the headings in the MS. One has دکر مادر سماں and the other has دکر قادر سماں. The heading in the 11th ed. is دکر دلور سلطان بھادر گھروانی ملو قادر سماں. It is certainly incorrect.

Firishtah Col Briggs and the Cambridge History of India all generally agree about Mallu Khan's rise to power but Firishtah says درودہ بعد دک سال اور صرف اسکر حملی براورڈہ خود را سلطان قادر نامندہ. Firishtah 11th ed. says they retook all the country lying between the Nurbuddha and the town of Bhilsa after a struggle of twelve months against the Dehly officers while the Cambridge History of India page 369 says he reduced to obedience other chief holders in Mālwa. As regards Bhupat and Puran Mal Firishtah 11th ed. says they came out of the fort of Jaipur and took possession of the fort of Raisin and that neighbourhood and they admitted their allegiance to Qādir Shah and sent him tributes. Col Briggs agrees to the latter statement but says they came marching from Chittoor. The Cambridge History of India does not say anything about them.

³ Firishtah 11th ed. describes him as Sher Shah Afgan Sur but Col Briggs (vol IV p. 271) curiously calls him Sh er Shah Poorby Afghan King of Bengal.

¹ with his seal affixed to it, to the following purport, "As the Mughals have come into (invaded) the country of Bangālā,² I pray that following the path of sincerity, you should either yourself advance towards Āgrā, or sending an army create a disturbance in the neighbourhood of that city so that the Mughals might return from this country" Qādir Khān also wrote a reply to the *farmān*, and sent it, after affixing his seal to it Saif Khān Dēhlavī, who was in his service, and always in an unceremonious way told him the truth without mincing matters, represented, "Shēr Khān has so many retainers, and such splendour, that it is permissible for him to affix his seal on the face (of a *farmān*)" Mallū Qādir Shāh said in reply, "³ How does it matter! The great and holy God has now placed the bridle of the defence of this great country in the grasp of my power. If he does not observe the rules of courtesy, it is not necessary that I should show honour to him"

¹ One MS and the lith ed have مہر در دوی کردہ while the other MS has فریش تاہ لیٹھ اد also has مہر در دوی او کردہ which appears to me to be better than either of the other readings

² The MSS and the lith ed all have طریقہ اخلاص مستدعی است، and I consider that my translation is correct Firishtah lith ed has طریقہ اخلاص مستدعی است which I would translate as "the path of sincerity demands" In any case the language of the *farmān* does not, in my opinion, quite justify the statements in the Cambridge History of India, page 370, that the language used by Sher Khān was "too peremptory for the occasion" It should be stated however that Firishtah says that Qādir Shāh was angry, but it would appear that this was not on account of the language, but because Shēr Khān had sent a *farmān* and not a letter According to Firishtah, Qādir Shāh said to his *munshī* "do thou also write a *farmān* and affix the seal to it" It is difficult to say whether the statement in the Cambridge History of India, that Qādir Shāh "returned an insolent reply" is correct I do not know what the language of the reply was, but Shēr Shāh was angry, that the reply was in the shape of a *farmān* It appears that Saif Khān Dēhlavī who, was one of Qādir Shāh's courtiers, objected to the latter's sending a *farmān* in reply to Shēr Shāh, but Qādir Shāh thought himself to be in every way Shēr Shāh's equal It appears also that communications from superiors and masters were sealed on the top or face of the paper In this case both *farmāns* were sealed on the face of the paper, so that both Shēr Shāh and Qādir Shāh arrogated to themselves a superiority over the other

³ There is a slight difference in the readings One MS and the lith ed have این چہ دارہ دارہ I have accepted this and have translated it in the text The other MS has این چہ دارہ دارہ, i.e., what harm is there in this

When Qadir Shah's *sarmān* came under Sher Khan's eyes he removed the impression of the seal from the paper and preserved it in the scabbard of his dagger and said If the great God so wills I shall ask him the reason of this rudeness in my presence

The country of Malwa remained in the possession of Qadir Shah till the time when Sher Khan after conquering and acquiring dominion over the country of Hindustan advanced to conquer Malwa and when by successive marches by way of ¹ Khirar he arrived near Sarangpur Suf Khan Dehlavi who was a ² servant and courtier of Qadir Shah said The safest course is this that as a mighty *Badshah* has come into the country and the strength to withstand him is lacking you should go on the wings of speed and on the steps of eagerness and meet him without giving (previous intimation) Qadir Shah considering this opinion to be right went rapidly from Ujjain to Sarangpur and appeared in Sher Khan's *darbar* When the chamberlains informed Sher Khan of his arrival he summoned him to his presence and distinguished him with special favours He dressed him in a robe of honour and asked him where he had taken up his quarters Qadir Shah ³ said in reply The abode of his slave is the dust of your threshold Sher Khan was pleased with this reply and bestowed on him a red pavilion and an audience tent and a special bedstead and sleeping robe and articles for the wardrobe He halted for one day at Sarangpur and then advanced towards Ujjain On the way he gave orders to ⁴ Shuja at Khan that he should keep special watch on the dear guest and should give to him from the government (stores) whatever he might require

¹ The name is Khir r in one MS and Khir in the other It is Kharar in the lith ed

Both MSS credit the , between *کھر* and *عاصمہ* but as it is in the lith ed I have retained it

² Firishtah does not credit Qadir Shah with giving the poetic and polite reply attributed to him by Vizam ud din According to Firishtah he only said *للان حای* or such and such a place Col Briggs (vol IV p 77) says he had a secret conference with Sher Shah which does not appear to be correct

⁴ One MS has Shuja Khan instead of Shuja at Khan The same MS has by mistake *امیر مهاب عزیز خود حربدار ناسد* Sher Shah's language appears to have been ironical

When he arrived in the district of Ujjain,¹ Shēr Khān gave him as a matter of unconsidered huiy, the *sarkār* of Lakhnautī in exchange for the country of Mālwa. He also ordered that Qādir Shāh should send his family and dependants to Lakhnautī and should himself remain in attendance on him. Mallū Khān brought his family and children to the city of Ujjain, and took up his residence in a garden which was located between the camp and the city. One day he was going from his residence to wait upon Shēr Khān, when he saw, on the way, that a number of Mughals of Gwālīr were engaged in cutting earth with their spades, and working the earth in properly constructing the bastions of the fort which (Shēr Khān's officers) always built round his camp. Mallū Khān considered in his mind, "If I accompany Shēr Khān, he will of course order me to do similar earth work", and he determined on flight, and was engaged in thinking how he should manage it. Shēr Khān, becoming cognizant of this, said to Shujā'at Khān "From some improper acts, which have been committed by Mallū, it has come into my mind, that I should chastise and punish him, but as he came and made his submission to me without being sent for, it was right that I should please him. Now that he has come to this place, do not say anything to him, so that he might go away." Mallū finding an opportunity fled. When Shēr Khān received this news, he sent a detachment in pursuit, and he mounted himself and after going a part of the way stopped, and the *amīns* who had been sent in pursuit, went a part of the way, and then returned. Sikandar Khān Sawāsī lest he should also escape was made over to jailors.

Mallū Khān's rule was for six years

¹ Firishtah explains, that contrary to the expectation of Qādir Shāh Shēr Shāh, being tempted to keep Mālwa for himself gave him the *sarkār* Lakhnautī. I am not quite sure about the meaning of the expression, which is used by Nizām-ud-din also, but I suppose it has the meaning I have given it in the text. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 272) says, Sheer Shah "conferred on him the district of Lucknow as a residence". The MSS. also have سرکار لکھنؤتی in place of سرکار لکھنؤ, and the lith. ed. also has سرکار لکھنؤ in one place, but Firishtah lith. ed. has *sarkār* Lakhnautī, and the Cambridge History of India, page 370, has "the government of Bengal". In the text edition M. Hidayat Hosain has adopted Lucknow.

¹ They say that when Mallu Khan fled Sher Khan and this hemistich and Shaikh Abd ul haq son of Shaikh Jimal who was one of his courtiers and the second hemistich

Couplet

You see how Mallu the tricky slave behaved to me

Did not the Prophet say no good in stupid slave

As this couplet is not destitute of wit it has been inserted here

AN ACCOUNT OF SHUJA KHAN

When the country of Malwa came into the possession of Sher Khan he halted for some days in the town of Ujjain and occupied himself in arranging and regulating the affairs of that Subah ² He gave the towns of Ujjain and Sarangpur to Shuja Khan who is generally known by the name of Syawal Khan and entrusted the government of the whole country of Malwa to him He appointed Haji Khan Sultan to Dhar and the neighbouring country ³ Natu Khan was appointed to the sirkar of Handiyah and that neighbourhood He then advanced towards the fort of Rantambhor After a few days news came that ⁴ Nasu Khan the son of Sikandar Khan brother of Sikandar Khan who was in imprisonment had come forward to attack Natu Khan Shuja Khan collected his men and advanced

¹ This anecdote and the couplet are also mentioned on page 169 of the second volume of the English translation in the history of Sher Khan's reign

دکر حکومت سعاع حل ² One MS has دکر حکومت سعاع حل while the lith ed has دکر سعاع حل دیساں سوچا ³ In the text edition M Hidayat Hosain has an account of Shuja Khan

⁴ The Cambridge History of India page 310 says And retired from Malwa leaving behind him as viceroy Haji Khan and Shuja at Khan as governor of Satwas This statement agrees with that on page 168 of this volume but the statement made in the Tabaqat and by Firishtah at this place is different

⁵ بلو حل Banu Khan in the text edition

⁶ The text is a translation of the reading in the MSS but the lith ed and the lith ed of Firishtah have دسرو حل بن سکندر حل صدیق دسرو ⁷ This may be the correct version as there is no mention of what Natu Khan did to meet the attack On the other hand even the lith ed (though not Firishtah) says that Shuja at Khan advanced to Satwas and Handiyah which he would not have done if he had been attacked himself

towards Satwās and Hāndiyah After the two sides had met, Naṣīr Khān entered into a compact with some of his ¹ retainers and courtiers, that they should devote all their energies to seize Shujā' Khān alive, in retaliation for Sikandar Khān, so that the latter might perhaps in this way obtain his release Then after the flames of slaughter and destruction had blazed up, Naṣū Khān and some of his servants, gradually ² with great patience, brought themselves close to where Shujā' Khān was, and seizing him by his collar, and the hair of his head went back towards their own army In the meantime Mubārik Khān ³ Sarwānī coming to know of what had happened, betook himself to where Shujā' Khān was, and fighting bravely released him He fought so hard, however, that one of his legs was severed below the knee joint, and he fell off from his horse Naṣīr Khān's soldiers wanted to cut off his head from his body, but Rāja Rām Shāh of ⁴ Gwāliar, who was in the service of Shujā' Khān, in concert with some Rājpūts, advanced to help Mubārik Khān Sarwānī, and carried him off (from the field) ⁵ Nasīr Khān did all that was required of him in the way of bravely exerting himself, but in the end victory and triumph showed their face to Shujā' Khān Nasīr Khān fled, and went into the country of Gōndwāna

As Shujā' Khān had ⁶ six wounds on his face and his arms, they lifted him, and carried him victorious and triumphant, ⁷ to his own

¹ Both MSS and the lith ed have معاشر بوكران without any conjunction between the two words

² The words in the MS and in the lith ed are نموده لیزد، the meaning of which is not quite clear

³ The word is سروانی in one MS and سریدی in the other and in the lith ed Firishtah lith ed has سروانی Instead of Firishtah Hosain has adopted سریدی Sirēnī

⁴ The word is گوالیار in the MS and گوالیر in the lith ed

⁵ One MS omits by mistake the words from دوی نموده to نصر حان

⁶ One MS has by mistake نر دوی instead of نر نرایی Firishtah has five or six wounds

⁷ The readings are somewhat obscure, The MSS have بخا در اورده ده, which has some meaning but which does not say to what place he was carried The reading in the lith ed is در او سور او بوده ده e, carried him into his presence, but this also leaves out the name of the person into whose presence he was carried Firishtah in the corresponding passage has در چاهه در انداده نهاده بوده ده This

place. They had not yet bound up his wounds when a letter came from Haji Khan Sultanī to the purport that Mallu Khan had come from Binswalah with a large force to attack him and that a battle was a matter of today or tomorrow. Shuja Khan seated himself that very day and in the condition in which he was in a *sukhasan* and advanced to reinforce Haji Khan and with only the night intervening (i.e. on the following morning) Shuja Khan came up with one hundred and fifty horsemen in the vicinity of ¹ Kūnli Mawasah. He awakened Haji Khan from his sleep and the same moment without any delay began the battle and defeated Mallu Khan. The latter fled in great distress and wretchedness and went away to Gujrat and ² did not again gird up his loins.

The power and splendour of Shuja Khan increased day by day and gradually he brought the whole of Malwa into his possession. When Sher Khan passed away in the neighbourhood of Kalinjar and the duties of the *sultanat* devolved on Islam Khan. The latter although he was still displeased with Shuja Khan but as ³ Daulat Khan Ajyala who was the adopted son of Shuja Khan was a great favourite

would be perfectly clear if we know what ⁴ مس in this place means or for what word it is printed by mistake. He could not very well have been thrown into a pit or a well and then taken to his camp. It would be all right if ⁴ مس meant some kind of conveyance or the word was a misprint for some words which meant a conveyance of some kind. As it is it makes confusion worse confounded. M Hidayat Hosain has ⁵ طسکر i.e. to the army camp in the text edition.

¹ The name is written with some little variation in the MSS and the lith ed. The MSS have کوہلی سوارسہ and کوہلی سوارسہ and the lith ed has کوہلی سوارسہ. The name is not mentioned by Firishtah or by any other historians as far as I know. M Hidayat Hosain has کوہلی سوارسہ in the text edition.

Col Briggs (vol IV p 273) says that Kadur Shah was defeated in a night attack but this does not appear to be correct.

³ One MS and the lith ed have سب طارکھرہ سب but the other MS has سب طارکھرہ which is of course incorrect.

⁴ Firishtah calls him Daulat Khan without any suffix. He is called Daulat Khan Ajyara in the Cambridge History of India page 370 but on the next page the suffix is printed as Ajyara instead of Ajyara.

of ¹ Islām Khān, in order to please the son, did not withdraw the appearance of outward favour from the father, and showed him all esteem and regard, and placed the reins of the affairs of the entire country of Mālwa in the grasp of his powerful hand. This state of things continued till one day a man of the name of 'Uthmān Khān in a state of drunkenness came into Shujā' Khān's audience hall, and repeatedly spat on the carpets. When the *farrāsh* (the man who looks after carpets, etc.) forbade him, 'Uthmān jumped up, and struck the *farrāsh* with his fist. There was much noise. The *farrāsh* told Shujā' Khān what had happened. He ordered, "First, he was drunk, second, he came into the audience hall, and third, he struck the *farrāsh* with his fist." He said that both his hands should be cut off. 'Uthmān Khān came to ² Gwāhar, and complained to Islām Khān. After some time, Shujā' Khān came to Gwāhar to attend on Islām Khān. One day 'Uthmān Khān went to wait on Islām Khān, and complained about what he had suffered. Islām Khān was angry with him, and said, "You also are an Afghān, go and have your revenge."

They say, that on hearing this news Shujā' Khān became aggrieved at ³ Islām Khān's proceedings, and spoke unseemly words. While these things were happening, one day one of Shujā' Khān's intimate friends came and informed him, that 'Uthmān Khān was sitting in a blacksmith's shop, and was sharpening his knife, and speaking absurd words. Shujā' Khān in his great pride was not restrained by these words, till one day when, riding on his *sukhāsan*, he went to the fort of Gwāhar, to offer his *salāms* to Islām Khān. When he came by the Hatiyāpōl gate, he saw that 'Uthmān Khān was seated in a shop

¹ The name is written Aslim Khān here in both MSS and Aslam Khān in the lith ed., but as he has been called Islām Khān in previous and succeeding passages, I have kept that spelling.

² This is apparently the Gwāhar in the Punjab hills. Finishtah calls it گوالیار کے دارالملک سلیم شاہ افغان سور بود

³ The MSS and the lith ed. all have the name as Salim Khān here, but I have retained Islām Khān. Finishtah lith ed. says Shujā' Khān became angry and spoke unseemly words about Shūr Shāh. This can scarcely be correct, as he had no grievance against the latter. On the other hand, Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 274) says that Shooja Khan merely said, "Sulim Shah is a fool for his pains."

¹wrapped up in an old mantle Shuja Khan wanted to enquire from him about the matter on the way But Uthman Khan suddenly jumped up from the platform of the shop and wounded Shuja Khan The silahdars or armed retainers who were accompanying the sultasan immediately seized him They saw that he had an iron hand rudely fashioned which he had firmly fixed in the place of the severed hand and with that badly fashioned hand he had thrown a dart The silahdars killed him on the spot and turning back the sultasan of the ²Khan took him to his residence The wound was on his left side but as Uthman Khan's hand had no strength it was only skin deep

When Shuja Khan was wounded and Uthman Khan got his deserts there was a noise and tumult among the men in the camp Islam Khan on receiving the news sent the great men and the chiefs of the state to make enquiries He wanted also to come and visit him But Shuja Khan had understood that his sons and other near relations suspected that (Uthman's) audacity was due to the instigation and encouragement of Islam Khan He therefore had regard to their 'fearlessness' and did not approve of Islam Khan's coming to him and sent the following message This slave is a slave of ⁵your

¹ The readings are different here and are all more or less unintelligible One MS has سے پستہ دہ و حود را نکھر کرہ پستہ The lith ed has فریش تھا lith ed has in the corresponding passage حود را نکھر کرہ پستہ and Col Briggs (vol IV p 274) has wrapt up in an old mantle This latter would be all right if کھر meant a mantle but I cannot find that it has this meaning However for want of anything better I have adopted it

Here again the readings are somewhat different Both MSS and Firshatih lith ed have عملی حربی while the lith ed has حملی صربی The latter appears to be incorrect but I cannot find any meaning of حمل which would suit the context Col Briggs (vol IV p 247) has With the blade of a sword M Hidayat Hosain has باں دس ناچن حملی صربی ادا جاہن بان ie struck a blow with his useless artificial hand in the text edition

³ One MS has Shuja before Khan

⁴ One MS has by mistake بی اگے instead of بی تاکی

⁵ The pronoun is in the third person although سے is also used in the same sentence There are also differences in the readings One MS has کہ نہ کہ عالم ندر انسان اسپ و عالم ندر اسلام اسپ and the lith ed has کہ من من عالم ندر اسلام Shuja Khan's message

father, and has never excused himself from death or from being slain, he was among the thirty persons who first joined your father and planted the standard of your greatness, as is known to everybody. And even now if he carries his life in safety from this danger, he may be of use to you. This slave does not wish to give you so much trouble that you should come down from the fort and cover all this distance, and indeed these inquiries and favours have been the cause of much distinction to this slave, and have greatly exalted him.

As Shujā' Khān was one of the great pillars of Islām Khān's government and had the rights derived from having performed much service, Islām Khān, in spite of the fact that he had understood from his words what he was saying (or rather, what he meant), waited patiently that day, but on the following day he went to enquire about him. This *faqīh* (the author) has heard from some men, who had relations of friendship with Shujā' Khān, and were¹ present in that *majlis*, that Fath Khān, the uncle-in-law of the sons of Shēr Khān who was so well known for his great strength that no one could seize and twist his hand by intertwining his fingers with his own, (this is a favourite test in India even now), when he saw Islām Khān enter Shujā' Khān's pavilion alone, wanted to remove him out of the way, and held a consultation in this matter by signs and gestures with Miyān Bāyazid, son of Shujā' Khān, who afterwards assumed the title of Bāz Bahādur, and Miyān Bāyazid also concurred with him in this matter. Shujā' Khān, becoming aware of this, sent Fath Khān away to collect the things required for the tribute (which had to be placed before Islām Khān), and after a moment said farewell to Islām Khān. He told the latter distinctly that after this, he should not take the trouble to come again, for he said, "This slave apprehends lest the rights acquired by long service be destroyed, and the standard of greatness, which has been raised by enduring so much trouble and difficulty, be brought down at once."

to Islām Khān as given by Firishtah agrees generally with that in the text, but according to Firishtah, Shujā' Khān was one of the six and thirty and (not five and thirty) men who planted the standard of Salīm Shāh's (or Shēr Shah's) greatness.

¹ One MS. has by mistake حاصل instead of حاصل

After some days when ¹ Shuja Khan bathed and alms and charity were distributed to deserving people he one day mounted his horse and went to make his *salam* to Islam Khan. The latter bestowed one hundred and one horses and one hundred and one packages of various stuffs of Bengal as rewards to the Khan. But as Shuja Khan found out from his manner and behaviour that these cajolries were filled with enmity he passed the day in any way that was possible and then coming back to his quarters spoke to his servants that they should load his camp equipments. The people of the city thought that as that camping ground had become dirty he wanted to remove to another place. But when all his men had loaded up everything he armed him self and then ordered that they should beat the drum of departure. He then mounted his horse and took the road to Sirangpur. Islam Khan on seeing this became angry and detached a body of soldiers to pursue him and collecting his army he himself also advanced towards Sirangpur. On arrival at that place Shuja Khan commenced to equip his men and when he heard that Islam Khan was coming some of his men tried to persuade him to fight with the latter. He however said Islam Khan is the son of my late master and benefactor I shall never fight with him and I shall not allow that any one of my people should have such an intention in his mind. After the arrival of Islam Khan in the neighbourhood of Sirangpur Shuja Khan came out of the city and sending the families and dependants of his men in advance went away in the direction of Banswali.

Islam Khan took possession of Malwa and leaving Isai Khan Sur with twenty two thousand horsemen in the town of Ujjain returned to Gwalior. Shuja Khan although he had the power and the necessary force never caused any damage to the country of Malwa. As Islam Khan (at this time) advanced towards Lahore on account of the rebellion of the Nizamis Dulat Khan Ajyala who was a favourite of Islam Khan and an adopted son of Shuja Khan prayed for the pardon of the guilt of the latter. Shuja Khan then came and rendered

¹ Apparently in the old days people did not bathe when they were ill or had a wound.

The word *لذ* is on MS and in the litho ed. but it is *لذ* in the other MS the latter reading is adopted in the text edition.

homage to Islām Khān, who drew the pen of forgiveness across the page of his offences, and bestowed Sārangpūr, and the country of Rāisīn, and some other *Mahals* (estates) on him. He also gave him one hundred and one horses and much stuff and a gold ewer and basin, and granted him permission to return. When Shujā' Khān went to his *jāgīr*, and Islām Khān, after a considerable time, passed away by natural death, and the *sultanat* was settled on Mubāriz Khān 'Adalī, the latter,¹ either on account of ancient acquaintance, or on account of the relationship of his being the husband of one of his wife's sisters, conferred the entire country of Mālwa permanently on him. Shujā' Khān then conferred the government of Ujjain and the *parganas* in its neighbourhood on Daulat Khān Ajiyālā, and Rāisīn and Bhilsā on his youngest son² Maṭlāk Mustafā, who was (afterwards) appointed to accompany Rāja Bir Bal and Hakīm Abū-ul Fath in the Yūsuf Zāī expedition and was killed there. He gave the government of Hāndiyah and Āshta to Miyān Bāyazīd, and himself took up his residence in Sārangpūr. When a long time had passed in this way, and disorders took place in the *sultanat* of Dehli, and everyone became independent in the corner in which he was, Shujā' Khān passed away by a natural death.³ The period of the government of Shujā' Khān was 12 years.

⁴ AN ACCOUNT OF BAZ BAHĀDUR, SON OF SHUJĀ' KHĀN

After the death of Shujā' Khān, Bāyazīd, his eldest son, betook himself to Sārangpūr, and took possession of all his father's property and retainers. As Daulat Khān Ajiyālā, owing to the proximity of

¹ One MS omits the first ملک and substitutes ملکت for the second. Firishtah in the corresponding passage has ملکت سابق اسلام. I find that one of the meanings of اسلام in the dictionary is "the husbands of a man's wife's sisters". I have taken the word to mean this in this passage.

² ملک مصطفی in the text-edition. The clause corresponding to "who was (afterwards) appointed to accompany" and "was killed there" is omitted in the text-edition.

³ According to Firishtah he died in 962 A.H. Col Briggs (vol IV, p 275) gives 1554 A.D. as the corresponding year, but the Cambridge History of India, page 371, places his death in 1555, after Humāyūn had regained the empire.

⁴ One MS omits حاں.

his position to Islam Khan was¹ respected and honoured by all men and every one was desirous of him (*i.e.* of his rule) Miyan Bayazid gave encouragement and made promises of favour to a number of men and sent his mother to Daulat Khan so that she might bring about some amicable arrangement In the end they came to this decision that Daulat Khan should be in possession of the *sarkars* Ujjain and Mandu and some other states and Sarangpur and the *Khalsa Mahals* of Shuja Khan (*i.e.* the estates which he held in his own possession without the intervention of *jagirdars*) and the *sarkars* of Handiyah and Kothi Birah and the country of Bhilwarah should belong to Miyan Bayazid and the *sarkars* of Raisin and Bhilsa and other *Mahals* which were situated in that neighbourhood should be in the possession of Malik Mustafa After that Miyan Bayazid intending to act treacherously went towards Ujjain and told people that he was going to wait on Miyan Daulat Khan to condole with him Daulat Khan whose death was imminent was unconscious of the (intended) treachery and was killed His head was sent to Surangpur and was suspended from one of the gates

After that he took possession of most of the territory of Malwa He had the royal umbrella raised over his head and gave himself the title of Baz Bahadur Shah After arranging the affairs of that side he advanced towards Raisin Malik Mustafa who was distinguished by much courage and strength met him and after some warfare was defeated Baz Bahadur then entrusted (the government of) Raisin and Bhilsa to his own men and advanced towards² Kadrula As

¹ One MS has جے لے by mistake instead of سعیر

The distribution given above appears in the MSS and in the lith ed کو مکھی کو کی سرائے and the lith ed has کو ملی سرائے و ولاب instead of کو ملی راجھہ بھلوار سبھاراہ Firishtah lith ed has a somewhat different distribution According to him Daulat Khan and Malik Mustafa got the territory mentioned against their names in the text but Miyan Bayazid had Surangpur and Siwas (Satwas) and Sirohi and Baralima and Bhilwarah and the *Khala Mahal* of Shuja Khan Col Br ggs (vol IV p 275) has practically the same distribution

² The name is کرولیا in the MSS The lith ed has پارگانہ instead of کرولیا مسونہ کدرولیا گسپ The name پارگانہ is however written further on The name is not quite legible in the lith ed of Firishtah but looks like کرولیا Two or three lines further down the name is distinctly کرولیا

that place was in the occupation of a band of Miyānas (Miyāna Afghāns) and he did not meet with such treatment from them as he desired he slew a number of ¹ then *sardārs*, who were accompanying him, by throwing them into wells, and then advanced to fight the rest of that band. They fortified themselves, and did not show themselves at all backward in fighting with him. Fath Khān the uncle-in-law of Bāz Bahādur, some account of whom has been given before, received a cannon ² ball here and was killed. In the end Bāz Bahādur took possession of Kachīlā, and came back to Sāriangpūr.

After sometime, he advanced with a well-equipped army, with the object of conquering Gākh Katmikah. When he arrived in that country, Rānī Dīngāwatī, who was the wife of the Rāja of Katmikah, and after his death ruled the country, collected the *Kōnduān* and commenced a battle at the head of the *Ghātī* (pass). As the Rānī's infantry were more numerous than ants and locusts, they surrounded the men from all sides of the *Ghātī*. Bāz Bahādur in distress and dismay took the path of flight, and all his smite and equipments fell into the Rānī's hands. Many of his best men ³ remained there. He himself, with very great trouble, betook himself to Sāriangpūr, and began to repair the damages and losses in his army.

As he had undergone much hardship, he now desired that he should spend some days in pleasure. He collected musicians and singers from every place where they were, and occupied himself all day and night in (sensual) pleasure and enjoyment.

⁴ Then in the months of the year ⁵ 967 A.H., when the desire

The place is not mentioned by Col Briggs but it is called Kelwāra in the Cambridge History of India, page 371. In the text edition M Hidayat Hosam has adopted كدواڑہ

¹ Firishtah and Col Briggs do not say that it was the *sardārs* or *Miyānas* وچوں بعضی سوداں او ساواک who were thrown into the well. Firishtah says اکثر رکن آمدند, and Col Briggs (vol IV, p 277) says, "Having met with opposition from some of his officers", etc.

² The word is توبہ in the text, and گلولہ in Firishtah lith ed.

³ Firishtah explains اکثر رکن آمدند اے, most of these men were slain.

⁴ The sentence begins with لایاکہ اے, but as it would hardly be possible to begin a paragraph with "Till in the, etc" I have begun it with "Then, etc".

⁵ The MSS have سبع و سعین و تسعہارہ, i.e., 977 A.H. which is incorrect. Firishtah lith ed has نہان و سقین و تسعہائے, and Col Briggs (vol IV, p 278)

of conquering Malwa found a place in the head which touched the sky of His Majesty the Khilafatullah may God perpetuate the shadow of his kindness over the people! he sent Adham Khan and Pir Muhammad Khan and Sidiq Khan¹ and Qiya Khan and Shah Muhammad Khan Qandahari and his son Adil Muhammad and Muhib Ali Khan and a number of others from among his servants to effect it. The great amirs advanced towards Sirangpur by successive marches. When they arrived in the neighbourhood of the village of Katur which is one *farsukh* from Sirangpur Baz Bahadur rose from the company of the singing women and marched forward to fight with brave men. Although a large number of Afghans who had performed many feats of arms and seen much fighting were collected together in his service yet as good fortune was not his guide he fled after a little fighting and that country came into the possession of the servants of the triumphant greatness (i.e. the empire of Akbar). The details of this battle² and the remaining battles which took place in Malwa have been narrated distinctly and in detail in the history of His Majesty the Khilafatullah. May God perpetuate His benevolence and favour on the people and may God prolong the days of his life to the day of resurrection!

Baz Bahadur had a wife Rupmati by name³ who loved him and was enamoured of him and in the verses which he composed in the Hindi language he often inserted her name. He had a great passion for the society of women and the company of musicians.

He ruled in the country of Malwa for a period of sixteen years. After his flight from the country of Malwa he went to Gujarat. He next

has in the latter end of the year 968 A.H. 1560 A.D. The Cambridge History of India page 371 has 1561

¹ One MS omits Qiya Khan

The name is written as *کاروہ* in one MS and the lith ed. and *کاروہ* in the other MS. Firuztah does not give the name of the place but says when the Mughal army got to one *Karoh* from Sirangpur and Col Briggs (vol IV p. 8) has written a short distance of 11 capital when he collected his troops around Sarungpoor but they had hardly time to join before the Moguls were within two miles of the place.

² One MS omits the word *کاروہ*

³ The same MS omits the conjunction *و* and

⁵ It is not quite clear whether the author means that Rupmati loved Baz Bahadur and was enamoured of him or vice versa

went to the Rānā, who was the ruler of the fort of Kōnbhalmīr and Chitōr from Gujrāt, and from there, he went and waited on His Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī, and was enrolled in the band of his servants. He remained in that service for several years, till he surrendered the deposit of his life. The country of Mālwa is up to the present day in the possession of the Viceroys of this daily increasing power.

SECTION IX ¹ THE SECTION ABOUT THE SULTANS OF KASHMIR

From the year ² 747 A H to the year 995 A H, 249 years ³ was the period of the rule of the Muslamān Sultāns in the country of Kashmir. ⁴ The beginning was from Āl-i-Tāhir.

⁵ Let it not remain concealed that the country of Kashmīr was always in the possession of Rājas, who ruled ⁶ one after another, till the year 750 A H, which was in the time of the rule of ⁷ Rāja Sirdēv.

¹ The heading in the text is that in the lith ed. The headings in the MSS are حکام سلامان نصر and حکام کشمیر نصر, which are both incorrect.

² As regards the chronology of the Muslamān Kings of Kashmīr, see page 100 of *J A S B*, vol LIV (1885), where Mr C J Rogeis working back from 795 A H, the date of the death of Kutub-ud-Dīn, places the accession of Shams-ud-Dīn or Shāh Mīr in 743 A H. This differs from the year in the text by four years.

³ The words from مدت to ال طاھر do not occur in one MS. The other MS and the lith ed have them with slight variations. I have adopted the words in the first MS, but in the text edition the last sentence (see note 4 below) is omitted.

⁴ This sentence is written as انداء او ال طاھر in one MS. It is not to be found in any other MS or the text edition.

⁵ In the text edition M Hidayat Hosain inserts the heading دکور حکومت above this line and not a page or so later as in the translation.

⁶ One MS has by mistake اردی instead of اردوی ام.

⁷ The name is written as سردوی Sirdēv and سردویہ Sirdēvā in the MS and سردویہ in the lith ed. Firishtah lith ed has سدھیوہ Siah Dev. Col Briggs (vol IV, p 451) has Sena Dew, and the Cambridge History of India, page 277, has Sinha Deva. According to Jonarāja's Chronicle, line 129, Rājā Simhadeva died in his 77th year after reigning for fourteen years and three days less than six months and was succeeded by his brother Sūhadēva. It was in

ا man of the name of ¹ Shah Mir who described his ancestry as follows
 Shah Mir son of Tahr Al son of - Karshashab son of Nekruz and referred the end (or rather the beginning) of his ancestry to Arjun who was of the Pandus and the history of the Pandus is mentioned in the Mahahharat which has been translated by the order of His

his reign that many people came from distant countries in quest of service
 سردار in the text edition

¹ The name is شاہ میر Shah Mir in both MSS and in the lith ed It is Shah Meer in Col Briggs (vol IV p 451) but it is شاہ مرزا Shah Mirza in the lith ed of Firishtah and in the Cambridge History of India In the books in the somewhat imposing list of the Bibliography page 650 to Chapter XII of the Cambridge History of India vol III which deals with the history of the Kingdom of Kashmru there is only one mention of the name of the man and this is on page 130 of the Introduction in Sir Aurel Stein's translation of Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* vol I (1900) In this place he is called Shah Mir so it is difficult to find where Sir Wolseley Haig who compiled the account in the Cambridge History of India got his authority for calling him Shah Mirza In the *J R A S* vol L (1918 pp 451-468) there is a paper called the Chronology and genealogy of the Muhammadan kings of Kashmru which is also mentioned in the Bibliography and which is also written by the same author Lt Col T W Haig In this paper he says My materials chiefly consist of the *Tabaqat-i-Albari* Colonel Jarrafi's excellent translation of the *Am-i-Albari* and Firishtah's history But as regards Firishtah he says that he is little more than a copyist of Nizam al d n Ahmad and yet he has adopted the Shah Mirza of Firishtah in preference to the Shah Mir of Nizam ud din It may be mentioned that very probably there are MSS of Firishtah in which the man is called Shah Mir for Col Briggs as remarked above calls him Shah Meer

In Jonaraja's Chronicle already referred to in the preceding note the name occurs in line 13 and in different lines further down It is there written as شاہ مریٰ so that Shah Mir is in every way more correct than Shah Mirza I cannot find any thing distinct about his being a descendant of Arjuna but one of his ancestors is called (I 13) Partha who was like another Partha (a name of Arjuna) پارٹھی نے इव पाणि It is also stated that it had been said there that the descendants of Kuru Saha would rule the empire of Kashmru (I 135)

The ancestry given in the text is given with slight differences in Firishtah and also by Col Briggs (vol IV p 45^o) but the latter in a footnote says it is surprising that a person of Firishta's sagacity should have overlooked the evident absurdity of the pedigree The Cambridge History of India page 77 describes him as an adventurer from Swat and Firishtah says he came in the dress of a *fajir* In the text edition سے ال ساسن has been retained between طاهر ال and کرساسن

Majesty, the Khalifā-i-Hāfi, and has been called the *Razm Nāma*, who came and became a servant of the Rāja, and having served him for a considerable period, acquired some credit. When Rāja Sudēv died¹ his son Rāja Rañjan made Shāh Mū his *razī*, and left the charge of the work of the government with him. He also entrusted the guardianship of his son who had the name of² Chandai to him. When Rāja Rañjan died,³ Rāja Adwan or (Āñdan) who was a relation of his came from Qandahār and sat on the seat of authority and made Shāh Mū, who was still the guardian of Chandai son of Rāja Rañjan, his *valīl* (representative or agent). He placed reliance on his two sons one of whom was named⁴ Jamshīd and the other Ali Shēi,

¹ The name is راجہ رنچن in one MS and in the lith ed of the Tabaqāt and راجہ رنچن in the other MS. Col Briggs (vol IV, p 152) calls him Raja Runjun the son and successor of Raja Sena Dew. The Cambridge History of India page 277 however says that the authority of Sinha Deva was overthrown and he was slain by Rainchan, a Tibetan who had been in his service. This is correct for according to Jonarāja line 147 *et seq.*, the *Bhatta* (which is the name uniformly given to the Tibetan inhabitants of the Indus region) Rineana usurped the throne of Kashmir. See also page 408 of Stem's *Rājataranginī*, vol II. The name should be spelt as Rinehan and not Rainehan, as in the Cambridge History of India. He is said to have reigned for three years and eleven days less than two months.

² The name is written as حیدر in both MSS but it is in the lith ed. It is also حیدر in Jonarāja, line 221. I do not know whether it is a transformation of the Musalmān name of Haidai or an indigenous name.

³ The name is written as اوند اوون or راجہ اوون in the MS and the lith eds of the Tabaqāt and Firishtah. Col Briggs (vol IV, p 152) calls him Anund Dew. The Cambridge History of India, page 277, has Udayana Deva. Col Briggs says he came from Kashghār, and the Cambridge History of India says he had found an asylum in Kishtwār which appears from the Āīn-i-Ilbarī (Jārat's translation, vol II, p 310, footnote 7) to have been situated in "the Kashmir state latitude 33° 18' 37" north, longitude 75° 48' east, near the left bank of the Chenab". Qandahār from which he is said, according to the text to have come must be taken to mean here and elsewhere the ancient Gandhāra and not the modern Qandahār.

He is called Udayanadeva in Jonarāja, line 223. He however, appears to have been a mere figure-head, who acted entirely as Kotā Dēvī, who possessed all the power, ordered him. See line 226 — श्रीरिवाचैतदा कोटा देवी चर्वधिकारिष्ये । राजा देव इवात्यर्थं तदादिष्ट च साचरत् ।

⁴ Jonarāja calls them च्यशेर and अङ्गेश्वर, but elsewhere Jamshīd is called जसर. He also says that Udayanadeva gratified them by giving them the government of Kramarājya and other districts.

and made them men of authority Shah Mir had two other sons also one called ¹ Sher Ashamak and the other named Hindal and they also aspired to greatness

When Shah Mir and his sons became powerful and turbulent Raja Adwan Dev was annoyed with them in connection with certain matters and forbade them to come to his house Shah Mir and his sons having taken possession of all the *parganas* of Kashmir made most of the servants of the Pirs join them and they acquired fresh strength and power day by day Raja Adwan also became weaker till in the year 747 A.H. he passed away and his widow ² Kora Devi took his place so that she might rule with absolute power She sent a message to Shah Mir to ruse Chandur son of Raja Ranjan to power Shah Mir did not agree with this and did not obey her So she advanced with a large army but was taken prisoner and the purport of the hemistich

When death to the prey has come it to the hunter goes
became apparent ⁴ After that she accepted Shah Mir for her husband and became converted to Islam They passed one day and night together The next day Shah Mir seized and imprisoned her and having raised the standard of the empire and having had the public

¹ The name is written differently and not very legibly It is سُر اشماک and سُر اشماک in MS and سُر اشماک in the lith ed Fir htah lith ed has سُر اشماک The name is not mentioned by Col Brigg or in the Cambridge History of India (at this place) but further on is referred as Shri hamak

Fir htah also give the same year but Col Brigg (vol IV p 153) has - A.H. 136 A.D. The Cambridge History of India does not mention the year

² The name is written کورا دوی and کورا دوی in the MSS and in the lith ed Fir htah lith ed has کورا دوی Col Brigg (p 43) has Rani Kowla Devi and the Cambridge History of India (p 27) has Kota Devi Kota and Kowlā (Kamala) have some meaning in Sanskrit but Kota has none Gopi Devi it will be remembered was the name of the wife of prince Siddhartā or the Gautama Buddha and it is quite probable that it should have been the name of the queen of Raja Udayana As it happens however the name is Kota Devi in Jonar ja line 14 etc

⁴ There are variations in the readings I have adopted that in the lith ed کہ سلا میر را مدول کر دے سوھری و سلا میر را سوھری مدول کر دے اسلام اور د اسلام اور د the e in the MSS are defective One is کہ سلا میر را مدول کر دے سوھری و the other is سلا میر را سوھری مدول کر دے اسلام اور د اسلام اور د

prayers read and the coins struck in his own name, gave himself the title of Sultan Shams-ud-din. As the commencement of the appearance of the Hanafī religion in the country of Kashmīr was from his time, the beginning of the section about Kashmīr has been made from that time.

¹ AN ACCOUNT OF SULTĀN SHAMS-UD-DIN

In short, when Sultan Shams-ud-din attained to sovereignty, he discontinued all ² the customs of oppression and tyranny, which had continued from preceding rulers. Having assuaged his mind from (the attempts of) the enemy, he rebuilt anew the whole kingdom of Kashmīr, which had been devastated by slaughter and rapine of ³ Dīljū, and gave a written assurance to the *ra'iyats* that he would not take from them a larger revenue than ⁴ the sixth part of the produce.

Verases

The standard of the *Bādshāh*, the cherisher of the faith,
 Cast its mighty shadow over all the world,
 The messengers of the sky conveyed
 The news of his justice to countries all
 The body of disturbance became weak and thin,
 The house of oppression unto ruin fell

As the acclamation of the bravest and the good name of Sultan Shams-ud-din became noised about in all directions, he occupied himself in the work of the government according to the rites of the parties,

¹ The heading in the text is that of one MS. The other MS. omits the heading altogether. The lith. ed. inserts حکومت after دکر

² Firishtah and Col. Briggs agree generally. The Cambridge History of India (p. 277) is rather eloquent about the atrocities and tyranny of the Hindu rulers. They were very probably bad enough, but the Cambridge History of India does not give any authority for its diatribe and is altogether silent about the plunder and slaughter by Dīljū which was the chief cause of the exactions and tyranny of the Rājas.

³ Like the Tabaqāt Firishtah calls him the *Mīr Bābkhī* (or pay master general) of Qandahār, but Col. Briggs calls him the chief of Kashghai. He is called Daljū in the *Āīn-i-Albarī* (Jarrat, vol. II, p. 387, note 1) and Zuljū by Rodgers (*J A S B*, vol. LIV, p. 98).

⁴ The Sasthāmsa of the ancient Hindu kings

and seized a body of the ¹ Lun tribe who had become hostile to him in Kishtwar and meted out punishment to them

They say that Dilju was the *Mir Bakhshi* (pay master general) of Qandahar He came with all the army to Kashmir and turned the whole of the country upside down and Raja Sirdev having collected a large sum of money as assessment from his subjects sent it as a tribute to Dilju and then secluded himself in a corner and this ruined the entire country of Kashmir And as Dilju could not stay there owing to excessive cold he returned to Qandahar

After he had acquired stability and firmness he left all affairs to Jamshid and Ali Shér his two sons and occupied himself with repose and worship and ² he passed away The period of his reign was three years

AN ACCOUNT OF SULTAN JAMSHID SON OF SULTAN SHAMS UD DIN

When Sultan ³ Shams ud din accepted the summons of the just God and Sultan Jamshid ascended the throne with the concurrence of the chief men of the state he always took every precaution (to guard himself) from Ali Sher who during their father's lifetime had

¹ The e are the old Laxanas for an account of whom see Stein's *Rayatarangini* vol II p 306

Firishtah lith ed and the Cambridge History of India page 377 say he reigned for 3 years Col Briggs (vol IV p 454) makes it -3 years by mistake According to Jonar ja the exact period was three years and five days (see 1 315)

Firishtah mentions here a matter of some social and official importance which I have thought it necessary to note He remarks ارمودم دو طالعہ را کل ساحب تکی مک و مگری تاکی و موارد داد کے اعماق و سناہی اسلک اکٹر اریں دو فوجہ ناسند which may be translated as among the people (of Kashmir) he made two communities great one *Chal* and the other *Bakri* he decided that the amirs and the soldiers of that country should be (selected) chiefly from these two classes This is also mentioned by Rodgers (*JASB* vol LIV p 99) who however transliterates the names as Chal ka and Malari

I find that the Chaks were called the Cakreśas or Cakras in the Kashmir Chronicles Kapi Chal who was the first of Chaks to rise to some eminence was mentioned as Kancana Cakreśa and elsewhere Kaca Cakra I am not so sure about the name of the Makris in the Chronicles but they were probably the Margās

³ One MS omits the name Sultan Shams ud din

aected jointly with him in all affairs. In fact, the two were always trying to effect the destruction of each other. When Jamshīd's soldiers collected round 'Alī Shēr, and raising him on the throne sat down at ¹ Walīpūr, which is a famous city, Jamshīd marched against them with his army and summoned them in the first instance with mildness and courtesy, and tried to have an amicable settlement. 'Alī Shēr turning his head from the proposals of peace, marched on wings of speed, and made a night attack on Jamshīd's army, and defeated it. When Sultān Jamshīd after suffering the defeat, heard that Walīpūr was unoccupied (by 'Alī Shēr's troops), he, with the intention of devastating it, advanced towards it. 'Alī Shēr's soldiers, who had orders to guard and defend it, met him in battle, but most of them were slain. In the meantime, when 'Alī Shēr, ² after his victory arrived in those parts, Sultān Jamshīd seeing, that he had not the strength to meet him, fled to the country of ³ Kamrāj, and

¹ The name cannot be made out distinctly in either the MS or in the lith ed., but appears to be وَلِيْ دُور, Walīpūr or Wanīpūr. Firishtah lith ed has Madnipūr, and Col Briggs (vol IV p 455) has Mednypoor, but I cannot find either Walīpūr or Mednipūr as the name of any well known city in Kashmīr. Probably Utpalapura is meant (see Jonarājā, I 323) or Avantipura (see Stein's *Rājataranginī*, vol II, p 460). In the text edition M Hidayat Hosain has دَنِيپُور Daniipūr.

² Both MSS have مُوْهَنْدَسْ قَتْلَجْ, and I have adopted it, but the lith ed has قَتْلَجْ وَمُرْوَنْ حَوْدَ.

³ The MSS and the lith ed have كَرَاج Firishtah has كَمْرَاج, and Col Briggs (vol IV, p 455) has Gujraj. I find Kaināj and Kamrāz mentioned in Stein's *Rājtaranginī*. Kamrāj, is Abū'l Fazl's Western half of the Kingdom (pp 436, 494) and Kamrāz or the territorial division the old Kramarājya and consisting of 18 *parganas* (p 494).

Madava Rājya I find is written in Sanskrit as मादव-राज्य. It appears that according to the general prevailing notion Maiaz comprises the districts on both sides of the Vitastā above Sīnagar, and Kamrāz those below. In Akbar's time the old *parganas* of Uttar Lolau Hamal and Mach'pur were embodied in the *tauzī pargana* of Kamrāz (see Jarrat's *Aīn-i-Akbarī*, vol II, p 371). In Moorcraft's and Baron Hugel's list, the *pargana* Kamrāz includes Uttar Hamal and Mach'pur. Owing to frequent changes of *pargana* divisions, the extent of the *pargana* Kamraz has also varied from time to time (*vide* Stein's *Rājataranginī*, vol II, p 436, note 2). I have inserted Kamrāj in the text instead of Karāj. Haig does not mention Kamrāj either in the Cambridge History of India or in his paper in the *J R A S*, vol L (1918).

his *ta'ir* Siraj who had the defence of Srinagar in his charge summoned Ali Sher from the city of ¹ Uchh and made Srinagar over to him Jamshid after this catastrophe did not again gird up his loins and after ruling for ² one year and two months passed away

⁴ AN ACCOUNT OF SULTAN ALĀ UD DIN

When Sultan Jamshid passed away his ⁵ younger brother who had the name of Ali Sher assumed the title of Sultan Alā ud din and sat on the throne He conferred full powers on his younger brother Sher Ashamak In the beginning of his reign there was great plenty ⁶ but towards the end thereto was a great famine and an immense number of people perished ⁷ He got hold of a body of Rasturis who had become hostile to him and had gone away to Kishtawar by various devices and bringing them into Kashmir imprisoned them He raised the standard of his power and laid the foundation of ⁸ a city which he called after his own name near Yehiyapur Among the rules

¹ The name is اوره in one MS and in the lith ed but ایودھ in the other MS Neither Firishtah nor Col Briggs mentions the place I cannot find any thing about Uchh or Ayodhya

The reading are somewhat different One MS has کمر the other has apparently by mistake کمر دس while the lith ed has کھلور سے e lived for a short time Firishtah in the corresponding passage has کمر دس and I have adopted کمر دس

² Jonaraja male this period one year and ten months (I 338)

⁴ The heading in the MS is as I have it in the text The lith ed has در دک حکومت سلطان علاء الدین

⁵ One MS and the lith ed have کھدوس but the other MS has کھدرو

⁶ One MS has by mistake سار for سار after در احر and omits the sentence from در احر to در سدرہ و سار The famine is mentioned by Jonaraja (I 338)

⁷ Firishtah also says this but does not mention the name of the tribe I cannot identify it in Jonaraja

⁸ I cannot identify the name of the city which appears to be سری سوری ساری ساری در ساری which may be anything in the lith ed Jonaraja however says the Sultan built a bridge near Suryapura (see I 340) probably a printer's mistake for Suryapura and made Jayapura his capital (I 340)

promulgated by him was one, that an unchaste woman should ¹ not inherit her husband's property

The period of his rule was ² twelve years and eight months and thirteen days

AN ACCOUNT OF SULTĀN ³ SHIHĀB-UD-DĪN, SON OF SULTĀN SHAMS-UD-DĪN

When Sultān 'Alā'-ud-dīn had traversed the stages of life, his younger brother, who had the name of Shēr Āshāmak attained to the *sultanat* after him. He was a man of resolution and bravery, and had pleasant manners and morals. ⁴ Any day on which a report of a victory did not come from some direction, that day he did not ⁵ count as one of the days in his life, and on such a day marks of pain appeared on his ⁶ countenance. He made over the demarcated country to the old *mālik*s (owners), and marched with his army to the banks of the river Sind. ⁷ They say that when the ruler of that country came and

¹ Both the MSS. have در ب دیر ! The lith. ed. has در ب دیر ! This is better and I have retained it.

² This agrees with Jonarāja (I 359)

³ He is called शारदीन by Jonarāja, so that whatever the correct pronunciation of the name might be there can be no doubt as to what he was called. *Shinasama*, as has been pointed out, means a little milk-drinker, and was probably a childish nickname.

⁴ This fact is mentioned even more emphatically by Jonarāja, who says that any moment in which he did not gain a victory he counted as lost for nothing, and who further expatiates on his ambition for victory, and his numerous expeditions, which were as dear to him as a young wife is to an old man, and which neither cold nor heat nor evening nor night nor hunger nor thirst could interfere with. Neither a fawn-eyed fair one, nor the pleasures of wine nor the moonlight could charm his mind like a military expedition. No river was difficult to cross, nor any mountain difficult to climb nor any desert impossible to traverse (lines 365 to 368).

⁵ اسست in the text edition

⁶ The word is سر which means the outer skin, the surface, and also humanity and constitution. Probably the word complexion would best express the meaning.

⁷ According to Jonarāja his first expedition was towards the north, and he entered Udabhāndapura (Waihand or Und) on the Indus, the capital of Gandhāra (I 372 etc.) It appears to me that when Nizām-ud-dīn and Firishtah speak of the residents of Qandahār being in terror of him they refer

engaged him in battle he was defeated and the residents of Qandahar and Ghiznūn were always in terror of him He marched as far as ¹ Āshṭnagur which is now known as Āshnagar and ² Peshawar and slew an immense number of his enemies He had gone as far as the ⁴ foot hills of the Hindukush (but) on account of the hardships of the road he after undergoing much privations returned He then made an encampment on the bank of the river Sutlej The Raja of Nagarkōt who had ravaged some of the estates appertaining to Dehli and was returning rendered homage to the Sultan on the way and having surrendered to him the whole of the vast quantity of the booty which he had seized made his submission to him The ruler of ⁶ Tibet also waited on him and prayed that the Sultan's army might not cause any injury to his territories

After he had conquered all the surrounding countries he took up his abode in his capital He made his younger brother whose name

not to the present Qandahar which was far away As Udbhandapura was the capital of Gandhara they may very well have called it Qandahār The ruler of Sindhu (Sind) gave his daughter in marriage to him (1 3/4) In line 37 Gajinipuri (Ghaznūn) is mentioned as being frightened on hearing the lion like roars of the lion king's army Then he marched southwards and refreshed his tired horses by (bathing them in the cooling) waters of the Sītradru or Sutlej (1 38)

¹ The name looks like اسپ نکر سو in the MSS and the lith ed has سب نکر فیشٹاہ lith ed has اسپ نکر and Col Briggs (vol IV p 45S) has Ashnuggur

نائیں نکر هاس سو تاں نکر The name here looks like هاس سو and تاں نکر in the MSS and in the lith ed The lith ed of Firishtah has سو نکر Col Briggs does not give the more recent name I have not been able to identify the place

³ The name is written as سوار و سار در in the MSS and as سوار در in the lith ed

⁴ I have not been able to find anything about his marching to the Hindukush mountains in Jonaraja

⁵ The encounter with the Raja of Nagarkot appears to be referred to in the somewhat curious lines (383 etc) according to which the Raja Udakpati is said to have pillaged Dhili (دھلی) which may be a misprint for لدھنی but I have not been able to find any account anywhere in Jonaraja of Raja Udakpati or any connection between him and Nagarkot

⁶ The MSS have طب و سو and the lith ed has طب و سو! Firishtah has سب کوہک سب کوہک little Tibet

was Hindāl, his heu , and he banished ¹ Hasan and his brother, who were both his legitimate sons, towards Dehlī, at the dictation of another wife of his who had ill-feeling with their mother

He founded two cities called ² Lachmīnagar and Shihābpūr , and then passed away

The period of his rule was twenty years

³ AN ACCOUNT OF SULTĀN QUTB-UD-DĪN, SON OF SHAMS-UD-DĪN.

When Sultān Shihāb-ud-dīn rolled up the bed of his life, his brother, who was named Hindāl, succeeded him on the throne He was possessed of pleasant manners and morals, and made very good arrangements for compliance of his orders He sent a ⁴ *sardār* of the name of Loār for the conquest of the fort of Loharkōt, which was in the possession of some of the *amīrs* of Sultān Shihāb-ud-dīn After several great battle had taken place between the two sides, the *sardār*

¹ Firishtah calls them Hasan Khān and 'Ali Khān There is no mention anywhere, of the reason for their banishment Jonarāja (I 438) says -

राजी तदोपवादिन्या तथा देव्या प्रबोधित' ।

व्यवाधयत् स्वदेशात् स राजपुत्रान् परानिव ॥

² I cannot find anything about Lachmīnagar or Shihābpūr , in the text-edition the former is لجھنگری Lajhīnagar

³ The heading in both MSS is as I have in the text The heading in the lith ed is دکر حکومت هندوں نی ٹوس الدس The name Qutb-ud-dīn has been transformed by Jonarāja to کومبھدین, Kumbhadīna (I 462)

⁴ The readings here are somewhat different and obscure One MS has لوار نام سرداری را This I consider the best reading and have adopted it The other MS has بوداؤ نام سرداری را (indistinct) Firishtah lith ed has دراحر سلطنت سرداری را which cannot be correct, as this is stated in the beginning of the account of the reign Col Briggs (vol IV, p 460) following Firishtah says, "In the latter part of his reign he deputed an officer " The Cambridge History of India, page 278, says, "A rebellion of some of his predecessor's officers obliged him to send an expedition which was successful, for the recovery of the fortress of Lokarkot " I can find no authority for the statement that the expedition was successful Both the Tabaqāt and Firishtah say that the commander sent by Qutb-ud-dīn was slain

As to the position, etc of the fort of Loharkōt (Loharakotta) or the castle of Lohara which the expedition was sent to conquer, see *Rājatarangīnī*, vol. II, p. 293 بوداؤ Būdāo is the name of the *sardār* in the text edition

was slain. And he sent for his nephew Hasan son of Shihab ud din from Dehli and wanted to make him his heir and successor but envious people made him repent of this decision and incited him to seize him. One of the *amirs* of the Sultan who was named ² Ray Rawal informed Hasan of this and ³ he fled to Loharkot with Hasan by way of Kashmir. After that the *zamindars* seized both of them and sent them to the Sultan. Ray Rawal was executed and Hasan was cast into prison.

In the later years of his life two sons were born to the Sultan. One was called ⁴ Sikar and the other Haibat Khan. Both these sons were young when the Sultan ⁵ passed away from the world.

The period of his rule was fifteen years and five months.

¹ One MS and the lith ed have در گریں اور to seize him but the other MS has در کسٹن اور to slay him which appears to be a mistake this however has been adopted in the text edition.

The name is written as رای راول in one MS. In the other MS and in the lith ed it is روئی راول. Firishtah lith ed has by mistake رای ول را. Col Briggs (vol IV p 460) has Ray Rawul. The Cambridge History of India page 278 does not mention his name but calls him a Hindu courtier. Both Nizam ud din and Firishtah say that the Sultan attempted to seize Hasan at the instigation of envious people. Col Briggs (*loc cit*) however says

He became so popular as to excite the king's jealousy while the Cambridge History of India says his impatience exceeded his gratitude and he conspired with a Hindu courtier against his patron.

³ There are slight differences in the readings. One MS and the lith ed have و نا حسن اور راجہ کشمیر میراں سدھ طوہر کوب روپ. With this difference that the lith ed has سدھ in place of سدھ this is adopted in the text edition. The other MS omits the first word from which it would appear that Hasan alone fled to Loharkot but this is not correct as thus MS as well as the other and the lith ed also say that the *zamindars* seized both of them and sent them to the Sultan.

⁴ The name is سکار and سکار in the MSS and سکار in the lith ed. Firishtah lith ed has سکار. Col Briggs (vol IV p 461) has Sugga and the Cambridge History of India page 279 Salar or Sankar. It appears from Jonaraja line 31 that he was called Srungara and (not Sikandar as suggested by Haig on p 404 of the *J R A S* vol L 1918) of which Sikar etc are corruptions. The other was named Haibat Khan according to the MS etc and Haibata according to Jonaraja line 533.

⁵ Firishtah lith ed gives 796 A.H. as the year of his death while Col Briggs has 799 A.H. 1396 A.D. The Cambridge History of India page 29

¹AN ACCOUNT OF SULTĀN SIKANDAR, THE ICONOCLAST, THE SON OF QUTB-UD-DĪN, THE SON OF SHAMS-UD-DĪN, WHO HAD THE NAME OF SIKĀR

In concert with the *vazīrs* and *amīrs* he sat in his father's place, and ² taking up the management of affairs into his own hands,

has 1394 Firishtah also says that Mīr Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī came to Srīnagar in the reign of Qutb ud din, was received with great honour and respect, and many people of the country became his true disciples Firishtah also says that, according to Mīrza Haider Dughlat's book, he remained in Kashmīr for a little more than forty days, and then went back to his cherished native place, but Firishtah thinks that the great *Khāngā*, which was built by him in Srīnagar, could not have been completed in forty days, and, therefore, if he remained there for only forty days its foundations alone might have been laid down in his presence and it must have been completed after his departure

The statement of Firishtah about Mīr Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī's stay does not appear to be correct From the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (Elias & Denison Ross, 1895, pp 432, 433) it appears, that he was expelled from Persia by Timur and it appears from Mr Beale's account (*Oriental Biog Dictionary*, p 238) that he came with seven hundred Sayyids to Kashmīr in 1380, and died in Pakhlī in 1386 Mīrza Haider Dughlāt in the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, however, says that Kutb-ud din died in less than forty days, which is somewhat ambiguous, but which really probably means that he died less than forty days after the arrival of the Sayyid

¹ The heading in the MSS is as I have in the text That in the lith ed is different, it is دکر حکومت سلطان سکندر کے سکا نام The Sanskritised form of the name as given by Jonarāja is शक्नर (I 539)

² According to Firishtah, however, Sikandar's mother acted as the regent in the early part of his reign I cannot find the mother's name in the lith ed of Firishtah, but Col Briggs (vol IV, p 462) calls her Soorut Rāny, and the Cambridge History of India, page 279, Sūra According to Jonarāja, however see lines 539, 543, her correct name appears to have been Subhatā or Sobhā She is called Subhatā Devī or Śrī Sobhā Mahādevī She appears to have been an extremely stern, if not a cruel woman, for finding that her son in-law Muhammad Shāh (called सारपुत्र महमद in I 540 in Jonarāja), was against her son, she caused him and his wife, her own daughter, to be murdered At her instigation also, probably Rāy Mādarī, a leading nobleman caused prince Harbat Khān, Sikandar's younger brother, to be poisoned The name of the nobleman is Rāy Mādarī (with slight variations) in the MSS and the lith ed of the *Tabaqāt* and also in the lith ed of Firishtah Col Briggs (vol IV, p 462) has "the prime minister Ray Makry" and the Cambridge History of India, page 279, has Rāī Madārī, which however is incorrect, the correct transliteration being Rāy Mādarī I cannot find any name in Jonarāja which

¹ sent Ray Madari the *taur* who possessed much power to Tibet. He conquered that country and having collected a large army rebelled against his master. There was a battle in the neighbourhood of Bhimbar. Ray Madari was defeated and captured and thrown into prison where he killed himself. Immense armies collected round the Sultan and all the surrounding countries were conquered by him.

At this time when His Majesty the Lord of the Conjunctions Amir Timur sent ³ an elephant for the Sultan the latter was very

has any resemblance to Ray Madari. There are two ministers mentioned by him called Uddaka and Sahaka (I 39) and it was Uddaka who killed Muhammad Shah and his wife (I 40) and poisoned Hafsat Khan (I 543) and afterwards killed his colleague Sahaka (I 40).

¹ According to Firishtah Sikandar and Ray Madari did trusted each other Ray Madari becoming aware of Sikandar's feeling towards him suggested that he might be allowed to march to conquer little Tibet his object being that he might in this way be safe from the fire of Sikandar's anger and Sikandar agreed as he hoped that Ray Madari might be slain in the war. Accordingly Ray Madari invaded Tibet and gradually conquered the whole country. Having in this way become very powerful he rebelled against Sikandar. The latter marched against him and a battle took place near the boundary of the two countries. Ray Madari was defeated and fled but he later fell into the hand of Sikandar's troops. He was thrown into prison and after a time killed himself by taking poison. Jonaraja however says he cut his own throat. निजयेव क्षपायाम
वामच्छेदमाचैत् line 554 رویی ناری in the text edition is apparently a misprint

² The name of the place where the battle took place is written as سر Binhar in one MS. In the other it is not very legible but looks like حرب Jazsar. In the lith ed it is written as نر. It is not mentioned by Firishtah or any other historians as far as I have seen except Col. Briggs (vol IV p 463) who calls it the town of Nere. The battle the flight of Ray Madari or Uddaka and his capture are mentioned by Jonaraja (I 49 and the following lines) but I cannot discover the name of the place where the battle took place. نہر in the text edition.

³ The MSS do not give the number of the elephants they are very imperfect. One has سلیم بوای فرسناد without any mention of the person for whom it or they were sent. The other is better it has و سلطان فرسناد بوای سلطان. The lith ed has و سلطان بوای سلطان فرسناد from which it would appear only one elephant was sent. Firishtah however says Timur sent his emissaries with two elephants. Jonaraja also says that Timur whom he describes curiously enough as سلطان

proud of this fact, and sent a petition to the Lord of the Conjunctions, containing expressions of his devotion and service. He also wrote that he would wait upon His Majesty, whenever he might be ordered to do so. He sent back the ambassadors after showing them very great favours. When (the expression of) the relation of this attachment and service was reported to the Lord of the Conjunctions, the latter declared his friendship for him, and sent a robe of honour of gold embroidery with a horse and a jewelled saddle, and ordered

sent two elephants to the King of Kashmir, being afraid of the latter. The whole passage (lines 559–560) is so curious that I have thought it best to quote it

तदैव दीनाभरणामपालकतया धुताम् ।
स्वेच्छराजो वधात् डिख्सी विधवासिव लुण्ठयन् ॥
तत् प्रत्यावजन् स्वेच्छराजं कश्मौरभूपते ।
शङ्कमानो गजेन्द्रौ द्वावपायनसचौकरत् ॥

In another place Dehlī was spelt as दिख्सी and here it is spelt as डिख्सी, and the comparison of Dehlī with a widow, who being without a ruler had only poor and wretched ornaments, and a great world conquerer Timūr being afraid of the King of Kashmir are extremely curious. I have looked in Jonarāja for further references to Timūr but have not been able to find them.

Firishtah and Col. Briggs's account of the correspondence between Timūr and Sultan Sikandar agrees with that in the text, but they increase the amount of the tribute, which Timūr's vazirs had stated would be required, to three thousand horses and one hundred thousand 'Alāī ashrafis. The Cambridge History of India, page 279, does not say that Timūr sent any elephant to Sikandar, but it says (following the Zafarnāma) that his grandson Rustam and Mu'tamad Zain-ud-dīn who had been sent to Sikandar from Dehlī as envoys (with what object does not appear) arrived and joined Timūr's camp near Jammū. They reported that they had been well received, and had been sent back with Maulānā Nūr-ud-dīn as the envoy of Sikandar. The latter was informed by Timūr's courtiers that Sikandar would be required to send thirty thousand horses and one hundred thousand golden Dirhams. This is perfectly correct, but the Zafarnāma does not use the word *Dirham* but the words درست و موار درست. It is difficult to say which of these various accounts is correct. It may be noted that it is said in the Āīn-i-Albarī (Jarrat, vol. II, p. 387) that Sikandar on his way to Taimūr's camp, heard that it was reported in the camp, that he was bringing a present of a thousand horses, and concerned at the untruthfulness of this report he went back and sent his excuses. In Rodger's account (*J A S B*, vol. LIV, p. 101) it is said that Sikandar was informed by some of Taimūr's servants, that he must give at least three thousand horses and one hundred thousand *ashrafis*.

that whon the great standard should return from Dehli towards the Punjab he should come and wait upon him In accordance with this order Sultan Sikandar started with much trihute to attend on him when His Majesty was advancing towards the Punjab from the Siwali hills On the way he hoard that some of the *amirs* of the Lord of the Conjunctions had said that it was proper that Sultan Sikandar should bring a thousand horses as his trihute The Sultan hecame distressed in his mind on hearing this news and turned back and sent a petition that as a tributo fit for the offering had not been got together his departure has been postponed for a few days His Majesty on becoming aware of the circumstances reprimanded tho men who had said that Sultan Sikandar should present a thousand horses as a trihute and having shown favour to the emissaries of Sultan Sikandar told them that the *taurs* had made an altogether unreasonable demand and the Sultan should come and wait upon His Majesty without any anxiety When the Sultan heard this news from the ambassadours he came out of Kashmir with great pleasure with the determination to wait on His Majesty but when he passed Baramula he heard that His Majesty the Lord of the Conjunctions had crossed the river Sind and had proceeded towards Samarcand He then sent his ambassadours with much trihute to wait upon His Majesty and turned back towards Kashmir

And as he was extremely liberal the learned men of Iraq and Khurasan and Mawara un nahr came with hopeful faces to his thresh old and the Islamic religion became prevalent in Kashmir

Verses

His noblo spirit such generosity proclaimed
 That even to the hopeless despair forhiddon hecame
 When Islam such resplendence gained
 His door the sacred shrine of high and low hecame

Among the learned men he showed very great honour to ¹ Sayid Muhammad who was the chief of the wise men (of the age) and

¹ It is not quite clear who this man was Was he Mir Muhammad the son of Sayyid Ali Hamadan who led a batch of five hundred Sayyids into

made complete arrangement for breaking images and pulling down the temples of the *Kāfis*. Among the temples there was a great one at ¹ Bahrārah, which was dedicated to Mahādēv. The Sultān had it demolished. Although they dug under it, and went down up to the water, they could not find its end. They also pulled down another temple which was at ² Jakdai, and (when they did so) great flames burst out, which the Sultān (himself) saw. (It is said that) ³ Rāja Lalitādīt Devhaiyah had built it outside the sacred city

Kashmir in 1381, following his father who had led seven hundred the year before after the expulsion of the Sayyids by Timur? (See note 2, p. 432 of *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* by Elias & Denison Ross)

¹ The MSS. have بحراره Bahrārah, and بخاره Bajwārah, and the lith. ed. has بخاره without any dots so that they may be many different names. Firishtah lith. ed. has بخار آرا and Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 465) has Punjuzara. There is a great deal in Jonarāja about the breaking of images, but I have not been able to find any mention of the demolition of the temples.

² The MSS. have حکدر Jakdai and the lith. ed. has Jakat. Firishtah lith. ed. has مقدادی او را که حگدیو وہ which Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 465) has translated, "the temple dedicated to Jug Dew". According to the Āīn-i-Albarī (Jarrat, vol. II, p. 364, note 3), this temple was at Parīhāsapura, pronounced by the Kashmiris as Poruspūr. It was the ancient Parīhāsapura which was built by Lalitāditya who reigned A.D. 723-760. It was, writes General Cunningham, situated on the river bank of the Jhelum near the present village of Sumbal.⁴ The Cambridge History of India does not give the name of the temple. سون درور Sanpūr is the name of the place in the text edition.

³ The name is written as الہادت المباد and المباد in the MS. and in the lith. ed. Firishtah also has للنادت Col. Briggs has "Raja Bulnat", and Mr. Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 101) has Lilitāwat. The king referred to may be Lalitāditya Muktāpīda, who according to the Chinese Annals of the T'ang Dynasty sent an embassy to China in the reign of the Huen Tsiang, A.D. 713-755. He did not live 1,100 years before the Iconoclast 1393-1450 A.D. but his name is the nearest I can get to Lilitāwat. Firishtah lith. ed. in the corresponding passage has راجہ للنادت نس ار طھور اسلام دو نرہ در عایت ۱۰۷۴ و استھکام در ترس سور ساختہ وہ This does not throw much light on the matter except for the similarities of the name of the Rājā to that of Lalitāditya. The name Taraspūr is apparently a mistake for Paraspūr or Parīhāsapura (see end of the preceding note).

of Dürapur and had learnt from astrologers that after one thousand and one hundred years a *Budshah* of the name of Sikandar would demolish it and would break up the image of Mercury which was in it. This matter he had caused to be engraved on a plate of copper which he had put into a casket and had caused it to be buried under the edifice. At the time of demolishing it the inscription was discovered. The Sultan said "Would that thou hadst lost this inscription on the face of the building so that I should not have issued the order for its demolition." ¹ All spirituous liquors and duties were entirely abolished in his kingdom.

In his old age he suffered from a burning fever. He sent for Miran Khan Shahi Khan and Muhammad Khan who were his three sons and gave them testamentary directions. He conferred the title of Ali Shah on Miran Khan and bestowed the kingdom on him.

The period of his rule was twenty two years and nine months and six days.

¹ The MSS. have سراب و معا which is incorrect. Firslitah lith. ed has حواه کار و حواه مسلمانی وار ولاس او اور منہج حواه کار و حواه مسلمانی مکرہ لئے It was natural that as zealous not to say a bigoted Muslim Sultan Sikandar should have gone in for a dry law but his reason for the abolition of the *Tamaghā* cannot be so easily understood nor the exact nature of the tax which he abolished. Col Briggs translates *Tamaghā* a export duty. The Cambridge History of India does not mention the prohibition of the use of spirituous liquor or the abolition of the *Tamaghā*. Rodgers (*J. S. B.* vol. LIV p. 10.) mentions that Sikandar prohibited the use of wine but says nothing of the abolition of the *Tamaghā*. The word as I have said elsewhere means a stand or a seat and I suppose it came to mean a tax because the payment of tax was denoted by the affixing of a stamp.

The names of the sons are as I have them in the text in the MSS. as well as in the 1st ed. Firslitah lith. ed has Mir Kh n a the name of the eldest but the names of the other two are as in the *Tabaqat*. Col Briggs (vol. IV p. 466) has Ameer Khan and Shady Khan as the names of the two elder sons. The Cambridge History of India page 80 has Nur Khan as the name of the eldest and Shal i Khan of the second. Jonaraja line 984 gives the names मेरखान राजिखान and महमदखान and they are described as प्रत्यक्षा इव धसाथकामा काम मनारमा and their mother is called मरदेवी (l. 985) so Mir Khan of Firslitah appears to be correct. He appears to have had another son called पिरजी Piruja or Firuz by another queen Sobhi Devi (l. 986).

¹ AN ACCOUNT OF SULTĀN 'ALI SHĀH, SON OF SULTĀN SIKANDAR BUTSHIKAN, WHO HAD THE NAME OF MIRĀN KHĀN

In spite of the fact that he was young,² his greatness and an awe of him having found place in men's hearts, the people of the country were obedient to him. In the early years he left the management of affairs to ³ Siyah Bhat, who having become a Musalmān had been the *vazīr* of Sultān Sikandar. During the period of four years in which he was the *vazīr*, he perpetrated various kinds of oppressions and tyranny on the people. Most of the Hindus left the country and some killed themselves. When Siyah Bhat died of a ⁴ hectic fever, the Sultān selected his younger brother Shāhī Khān, who was famous for his bravery and intelligence, for the post of *vazīr*, and the latter took charge of all affairs. After that the Sultān made ⁵ Shāhī Khān his *locum tenens* and directing his ⁶ younger brother Muhammad Khān to obey him, left Kashmīr with the object of ⁷ travelling about, and went to the Rāja of Jammū, who was his father-in-law.

¹ The headings are slightly different in the MSS and in the lith ed. One MS omits the word *Butshikan*. The lith ed inserts the word حکومت before the name of Sultān 'Ali Shāh. One MS omits the و before Mirān Khān. The lith ed substitutes او for و. In the text edition the heading ends with سکندر داں، سکن.

² According to Firishtah the grandeur was of Sultān Sikandar, and the awe was felt for him, and not for the young prince.

³ The name is بھت بھت and بھت بھت in the MS and بھت بھت in the lith ed. Firishtah lith ed has بھت بھت. Col Briggs (vol IV, p 467) has Seer a Dew Bhut Rodgers (J A S B, vol LIV, p 103) has Syah But, and the Cambridge History of India, page 280, has Sinha Bhat.

⁴ In the text edition he is stated to have died of مرض دی or tuberculosis.

⁵ One MS rather unnecessarily and tautologically inserts دی مسماعات موسوم دی

⁶ One MS has را در حودہ تر

⁷ The MSS as well as the lith ed have دی را در حمو کے ~ را در حودہ رفت. Firishtah explains further by saying that he went to the Rāja of Jammū to bid him farewell دی را در حودہ. Col Briggs (vol IV, p 467) has "of travelling in foreign countries". In all these there is no mention of a pilgrimage, but the Āīn-i-Akbarī, Jarrah, vol II, page 387, says that 'Alī Shāh set out for Hijāz, and Haig (J R A S, vol L, 1918, p 455) says he "resolved to perform the pilgrimage to Makkah", and the Cambridge History of India,

At this time some interested persons made him repentant of his having made Shahi Khan his successor. The Raja of Jammu and Rajauri having gone to support Ali Shah he again brought Kashmir into his possession. Shahi Khan retired from Kashmir to Sialkot. During this time Jasrat Khokhar who had been seized by the Lord of the Conjunctions (Timur) but after His Majesty's death had fled

page 80 says de red in an access of religious zeal to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca. Jonaraja also supports this for although Mecca or Hajj is not specifically mentioned the anxiety of Ali Shah तीयानुपर्य and तीयायकुतक्षय are mentioned in lines 693 and 699 and in line 61 it is said निषमन्ति जापन म तीयाय धरणीपति । युवराज ददाक्षयमारम्पार्यचिरात् । His enthusiasm for pilgrimage however appears to have been very short lived for it appears from line 705 that the privations and the probable small result of the pilgrimage soon removed all his enthusiasm for it and the king of Madra (Jammu) took him back to Kashmir (l. 10). The new king Shahi Khan was displeased at his brother's return and followed by the plakars he went away from Kashmir (l. 14). Then we come to Jasrat called Jasratha by Jonaraja (l. 730). And in line 734 we read of the march of Ali Shah against Jasrat but it is said that his enterprise was censured by his army which was astonished at his own poverty. Afterwards when he came to a place called Mudgaravanya (l. 738) a messenger came from the Raja of Madra telling him not to begin the war with the Khokhars although there were great warriors in his army as he (the Madraraaja) alone knew the अ भूताया १५४६५५. Then Ali Shah was defeated. There is no mention however of kabandis or headless bodies. Zain ul Midan (जैनोलामदीन) entered first the hearts of the inhabitants and then the capital पौराण शाक भग पश्चाद्वाधारी रपेत्प्रियः (l. 751).

As to the general history of Ali Shah's reign Firishtah agrees generally with the Tabaqat but he says that the Raja of Jammu and Rajauri reproved Ali Shah about his making Shahi Khan his heir and he repented of what he had done and they sent troops with him to attack Shahi Khan. The latter went to Sialkot and sought the help of Jasrat Shahkhan Khokhar. Then there was a battle. There is no mention of any headless body. Ali Shah was defeated as his troops were fatigued after the long rapid march and the enemy did not give them any time to rest and recover. As to Ali Shah Firishtah says that according to one account he fell alive in Jasrat's hands and according to another Shahi Khan pursued him and drove him out of the kingdom.

The Cambridge History of India page 280 adds nothing new but according to it the final battle took place near the Tattakuti pass. I have not been able to find anything about this pass. There is a Tattakuli pass which is almost due east to the entrance of the Lohara Valley but it cannot be identified with the Tattakuti pass.

from Samāqand, coming to the Punjāb had acquired great power Shāhī Khān joined ¹ Jasiat Khōkhār and having obtained reinforcements from him, brought them to attack 'Alī Shāh. The latter advanced against Jasiat with an immense army, and a great battle took place and many were killed on both sides. They say that certain headless bodies had risen up and had moved about in the battlefield. It is a fixed belief among the Indians, that in any battle, in which ten thousand are slain, a headless body, which is called the *Kabandh* in ² Hindī, rises and moves about. In the end 'Alī Shāh having no strength (to continue the fight) fled, and Shāhī Khān entered Kashmīr in pursuit of him. The men in the city rejoiced at his coming.

The period of the rule of 'Alī Shāh was six years and nine months.

³ AN ACCOUNT OF SULTĀN ZAIN-UL-'ĀBIDĪN, SON OF SULTĀN SIKANDAR BUTSHIKĀN, WHICH IS ANOTHER NAME FOR SHĀHĪ KHĀN

Sultān Zain-ul-'ābidīn, after his brother sought a place on the throne of the empire. ⁴ Jasiat Khōkhār aided by the Sultān's power brought the whole of the Punjāb into his possession, although he could not conquer Dēhlī, Tibet and the whole country which is situated on the bank of the river Sind came into the Sultān's possession. ⁵ He made Muhammad Khān, his younger brother, a councillor and left the decision of all affairs to his judgement. He himself took great pains for ascertaining the truth in all cases and disputes. He cultivated the society of all classes. He had acquired much learning and skill in arts, and in his assemblies men of intellect, both Hindus

¹ دیور ~ in the text edition here is apparently a misprint for دیور ~

² One MS has مددی and the other has مددوی. The lith ed has neither the one nor the other. دادیک Kāndalī in the text edition

³ The name of Zain-ul-'ābidīn appears to have been too much for the writers of the MSS. One calls him Sultān Zain-ud dīn, and the other Sultān Al-ābidīn. The lith ed has the name correctly, but it inserts the words حکومت before Sultān Zain ul-'ābidīn.

⁴ The relation between Sultān Zain-ul-'ābidīn and Jasiat is somewhat differently expressed by Jonarāja (l. 760), वसन्त इव कामस्य भूपतेरभवत् सदा । छु खुराधिपतिस्स्य भृत्येष्वधिकप्रिय ।

⁵ This is rather finely described by Jonarāja, who says

भोगे सखा नये मन्त्री विवेका शास्त्रनिर्णये । श्रीमहमदखानोभूत् कश्मीरेन्द्रसं सोदर । (l. 758)

and Musalmans were always present. In the science and art of music he had very great skill. No other ruler of Kashmir had the success which he had in settling and increasing the population, in expanding the cultivation and in excavating canals and water courses.

Couplet

To every one does not come that with the cloud of his resolution
He can keep the young plants of his time verdant and green

Wherever a robbery took place in his kingdom there was a mulct or fine fixed from the chief men of that village and for this reason robberies and thefts became completely unknown In his time the writing of the rates of the prieses of different commodities was ordered These were engraved on thin copper plates and were left in all cities ¹ to indicate that all customs of tyranny had been rooted out in the kingdom of Kashmir and (to point out) - that whoever came after him and did not act according to his practices God and he would know (the effect of such conduct)

On the prayer of ³ Sri Bhat who in the science of medicine was unrivalled in the age and had received various kinds of favours from

¹ This is the translation of the passage as it is found in the MSS and in the lith ed but it's not at all clear how the fixing of the prices of commodities would remove all tyrannical customs It appears to me that some words have been omitted here Firishah in the corresponding passage has in addition to the fixing of prices about which however the meaning of what Firishah says is not at all clear for what he says about it در رمان او سده بود ^و در عهد سلطان سانی بود دور کرد و معاذه و مسواطه بود ^{را} در عهد سلطان سانی ^ن بود کسری بر بحثهای مس کند و در هرسوزی و دشی ^{گذاس} نا دسوم طام او ولا ^ب کسری بر ابعاد Thus has some meaning but even the leaving of the rules and regulations of government engraved on copper plates in every city and village would hardly be sufficient to eradicate all customs of tyranny and oppression

This somewhat cryptic adjuration to his successors is thus expressed by گویند بر بعدهای مس نوسله بود که هر که ساد و بدن دستور کار Fin hitah نکند نلعم حدا گر عیار ناد

³ The name is سری س in the MS and in the lith ed of Finishtah and سری س in the lith ed of the Tabaqat. The name does not appear to be mentioned by Col Briggs or in the Cambridge History of India. Rodgers (*JASB* vol LIV p 103) calls him Sri Bhut. His correct name according to Jonaraja (1 893) was शिवमृत श्री भट्टा

the Sultān, other Brahmins, who during the reign of Sultān Sikandar had, on the accusation of Siyāh Bhat been banished, came back and took up their quarters in the temples, and places which had been allotted to them, and stipends were granted to them. The Sultān took an agreement from Brahmins, that they would not ¹act in contravention of what was written in their books. After that he revived all their customs, such as the making of sectarian march, and ² the burning of women with their (dead) husbands, etc., which Sultān Sikandar had abolished.

He also excused the *ra'iyats* from paying all fines ³ and tributes, and all payments of grain (*i.e.*, in kind). He issued an order that merchants bringing commodities from different directions should not hide them, and restraining from all wicked storing (cornering?) should sell them at a small profit. He released all persons who had been imprisoned in previous reigns. ⁴ He allowed the treasuries of all countries, which were conquered, to be plundered, and assessed the revenue on them on the same scale as that of (the country round) the capital. He chastised the turbulent people, and kept a watch over them according to the necessary standard.

He showed favour to *faqīrs* and the aged and helpless, and did not permit that they should perish. He never looked at the face of a strange woman or at another's wealth with an avaricious and dishonest eye. In kindness to the *ra'iyats*, he increased the length of the ⁵ yard

¹ Both MSS. have مُعَلْ بِكَبَدَلْ قَلْ. The lith. ed. has مُعَلْ بِكَبَدَلْ. The meaning of course as Firishtah has it تَحْلِفُ نَأْيَدَنْ I do not know that قَلْ بِكَرْدَنْ may do so, but عمل بِكَرْدَنْ may do so, but عمل بِكَرْدَنْ is better. I have, however, retained بِكَبَدَلْ In the text edition it is قَلْ بِكَبَدَلْ

² In this matter Sultān Sikandar was very much ahead of his time. Neither Akbar nor any other emperor ordered this and it was not till Lord William Bentinck's time that the practice of *Sati* was abolished.

³ This is too vague. All fines were not abolished. As we have seen, the Sultān established one for putting down thefts and robberies. Firishtah is a little more definite. According to him مَصَادِرَاتِ كَهْ شَقَادَارَانْ دِيسَكَسْ وَ حَرَمَانْ وَ دِيَگَرْ مَصَادِرَاتِ كَهْ اَرَدَاحَتْ اَرَدَاحَتْ اَرَدَاحَتْ Even this is not precise, but if Firishtah is correct, it was the fines, etc., imposed by the provincial governors which were abolished.

⁴ The meaning of this is obscure. Firishtah makes it clear by saying كَهْ اَنْرَا بَرْ سَاكِرْ سَهَّتْ مَسَوَدْ, that is, he distributed it among the troops.

⁵ Only حَرِيب in the text-edition

measure and of the chain beyond what had been customary. The necessary amounts for the Sultan's household expenditure were provided for from the produce of the copper mines which had been discovered and where miners were always working. As in the time of Sultan Sikandar images of gold silver copper and other metal had been melted down and the metal had been coined and there was depreciation of those coins an order was passed that coins should be struck of pure copper that was produced from the mines and should be made current.

The Sultan was so pleasant and affable in his ways that when he was annoyed with anyone and excommunicated him from his kingdom he did it in such a way that a man did not know for what reason the Sultan had become annoyed with him and it was the same in the case of anyone¹ who was the subject of a bad augury. People lived in his reign in anyway and followed any religion that they wished. Most of the Brahmins who had become Muslims in the reign of Sultan Sikandar apostatized again and none of the (Muslims) learned men had any power or hold over them.² He brought a canal near the Maran hill and founded a city there the populated portion of which extended over five *lakhs*. He also founded other cities and settlements learned and wise men and also poor men in them was always careful to enquire about their condition. He did not try to hoard treasure but in fact whatever came into his hand was spent on useful objects.

Couplet

As the cash of life thou canst not keep

Why over other cash should st thou keep guard

¹ The words are دار مارکہ سعافل نہ رامد معمیں۔ the meaning of which is not at all clear. In the text edition سعافل نہ می رامد is a better reading.

I have not been able to identify the Maran hill. Firishtah also has کوہ ماران but Col Briggs does not appear to mention it. Rodgers (*J I S B* vol LIV p 103) refers to this where he says The King brought a canal from the mountain and built a city five *lakh* in circumference. The Cambridge History of India page 81 says he founded a city bridged rivers restored temples and conveyed water for the irrigation of the land but neither it nor Rodgers makes any attempt to identify the locality. Jonaraja mentions Mandaragri (I 858) as a locality where he made the waters which had hitherto been useless useful and fruitful and Nandasaila (I 860) as a hill from which he brought down a canal but I have not been able to find out anything more about these places.

And in his time, a man of the name of Sultan Muhammad was born, who was both a poet and a wise man. He could compose extempore verses in any form and meter he wished. He also immediately and without any consideration solved any literary difficulty that was propounded to him. The Sultan showed honour to the learned men of Islam and said, "They are my preceptors." He also showed honour to Yogi's on account of their poverty and austerity, and he did not look at the defects of any community. As he had great intelligence he immediately solved every difficult problem, in the solution of which other men were unsuccessful. Among such problems (there was the case of) a woman who had a grudge against one of her servants, and having killed one of her own children threw the body into the servant's house. Early the next morning, when the accusation fell upon the latter she went to the Sultan praying for justice. The varis, after much enquiry, confessed their inability to find out the truth of the matter. The Sultan himself turned his attention to its decision. He first of all summoned the servant, who had been accused, to his private chamber, and there threatened her in various ways, and left no stone unturned in the matter. As the woman was innocent of the act she made no confession of any kind. At last the Sultan said, "If you become naked, and in the presence of men go to your own house, that might be a proof of your innocence." The woman cast her head down in shame, and said, "For me it is better to die than to act in this way. I consent to my punishment, but I cannot consent to behave in this way."

The Sultan then withdrew his hand from her, and sending for the other woman, who was making the accusation, said, "If you are honest in making this complaint make yourself naked in the presence of men." The woman ¹ without any hesitation wanted to become naked. The Sultan told her not to do so, and said, "The ² guilt of this act is yours, you made a false accusation against your servant," and after they had struck her a few strokes, she confessed her guilt.

¹ The reading in one MS and in the 11th ed is as I have it in the text, except that the last word in the 11th ed is حُمَّادَه and not حُمَّادَه.

² Both MSS and the 11th ed say that حُمَّادَه کار اوست. I think the first word should be حُمَّادَه. In the text edition حُمَّادَه is retained.

The Sultan did not direct thieves and robbers to be executed but he ordered that they should work every day with chains on their feet on public buildings and should be supplied with their food He also forbade all hunting so that animals might not be killed He did not eat any meat in the month of R̄amadan and owing to his munificence many performers of vocal and instrumental music came from various places to Kashmir Among these was Mulla Ūdi who was one of the ¹ poor pupils of Khwajah Abd ul qadir and came from Khurasan He played on the *Ūd* (some instrument like a lute or a harp or a lyre) in such a way that it was a source of great pleasure to the Sultan and he was exalted with various favours Mulla Jamil Hafiz who was unrivalled in versification as also in elocution also received great favours from the Sultan His drawings (*naqshai*) are celebrated to this day in Kashmir and ³ Ḥabb a maker of fire works or of guns who (first) manufactured muskets in Kashmir lived in his reign and had no rival in his art The Sultan in concert with him wrote a book containing questions and answers this work is of very great value There were many dancers ⁴ rope dancers and *natiuhs* (actors ²) in his time There had also been men in Kashmir who sang one tune in twelve different modes or variations

At certain times when the Sultan wished to be gay and cheerful he ordered that ⁵ *Rubabs* and *Bins* and other musical instruments

¹ The words in the MSS and in the lith ed are سواسطہ اے سواسطہ ان One of the meaning of سواسطہ in the dictionary is without means Firshthah in the corresponding passage omits the word سواسطہ

Rodgers (p 104) translates this sentence as his name is a proverb in Kashmir for excellence in poetry The word about which I am doubtful is *nagsh* which ordinarily means a drawing I wonder whether it means a tune here The word occurs again a few lines further down where one *nagsh* is said to have been rendered in twelve modes or forms

³ The name is written as حب [~] Habb in both MSS and as حلب Halb in the lith ed Firshthah lith ed has حب Jab and Rodgers also has Jab

⁴ The word is طناب ناریں in the Tabaqat and رسمان ناریں in the lith ed of Firshthah Rodgers has acrobats The next word is سوچا in one MS and سوچا in the other and سوچا in the lith ed There is no corresponding word in Firshthah and I cannot find سوچا or سوچا in the dictionary It may be that سوچا or سوچا is a corruption of the Sanskrit नारी an actor

⁵ A *Rubab* is four stringed instrument in the form of a shortnecked guitar but having a surface of parchment instead of wood I cannot find مس bin

should be made of gold and adored with gems. There was a very intelligent man of the name of ¹ Sahūm, who composed verses in the dialect of Kashmīr, and in the ² sciences and literature of India was the leader of the age. He wrote a book called ³ *Zain Haib* in which he narrated all the events of the Sultān's reign in detail. He had memorised the whole of the *Shāhnāma*, and he wrote a book called ⁴ *Māmik* in the science of music, and dedicated it to the Sultān, and owing to this received many favours. The Sultān was himself

in the dictionary but the name is a form of Sanskrit *Vīnā* also a stringed instrument Firishtah has تنبور *Tanbūr* instead which is a kind of lute or guitar with a long neck. Rodgers does not mention any of these instruments

¹ The name is سہوم in one MS and in the lith ed., and سیوم in the other MS. Firishtah lith ed has سوم Rodgers (p 104) has *Dasūm* but I think this is a mistake. He has changed the conjunction و into و and has prefixed it to the name سوم. It is ستم in the text edition. Neither Col Briggs nor the Cambridge History of India gives the names of the various artists, though the latter mentions some of their achievements. Jonaiāja, however, gives accounts of other achievements of the Sultān. Jonaiāja died in the reign of Zain-ul-‘ābidīn, and his work was continued by his pupil Šīvara. I have not, however, been able to find any mention of these matters in their works. I have already noted the appointment of the Sultān's brother Muhammad Khān to be his chief minister. See page 652 of the text and note 5 on the same page. He appointed Tilakārya to a high appointment (l 822). He conquered Gandhār, Sindhu and Madia (l 828). He ordered the release of Māladeva, the Rājā of Madia, who had been defeated and taken prisoner by Jasiat, the Khokhar (l 829). He also defeated the Rājā of Rājapuri and the king of Udabhāndapura (Wāhānd or Und), and Bhauttabhūmi (little Tibet) (lines 830-2). I need not give further particulars.

² One MS and the lith ed have ملک but the other has علم

³ The name is در حرم in both MSS, and در حرم in the lith ed. In the lith ed of Firishtah it is در حوب, and Rodgers has *Zain Haib*. I have adopted *Zain Haib* on the supposition that it means the wai(s) of *Zain*.

⁴ The name of the book is بانک *Bānak* in one MS and the lith ed., and مانک, which may be Mābak or Māmik or Māyak as there is no dot above or below the third letter, in the other MS. Firishtah lith ed has something different, viz., بودی ست که شاعر موسیٰ مردوسی نام داشتی رین نام کتابی در عالم موسیقی نام so that according to him it was not *Sahūm* but *Būdī* But (Buddhi Bhatta ?) who wrote the treatises on music, and it was called *Zain* and not *Māmik*. مامک *Māmik* has been adopted in the text edition.

acquainted with Persian Indian Tibetan and other languages and many books in the Arabic and Persian languages were translated by his orders into the *Hindi* language and the ⁴ *Mahabharat* which is a most famous book and the book called *Rajatarangini* which is the name of a history of the *Brahmins* of Kashmir were translated into Persian by his order.

The pardoned (late) Sultan Abu Said sent Arab horses and Bactrian camels from Khurasan as presents to the Sultan. The latter was highly pleased at this and in reply sent donkeyloads of saffron paper musk shawls and cups of glass or crystal and other wonderful products of Imaumate for the acceptance of the *Khaqan* (sovereign) who by since attained to Divinity in res. Sultan Bahadur Shah and Sultan Mahmud Gajrat sent the first things of their respective kingdom and strengthened the relations of affection. The rulers of Mecca the revered and of Egypt and Cilicia and other countries also sent him and beautiful present and maintained similar relations. The *Bullock* of Sind sent many equipments and other things with one of his servants with an ode in praise of the Sultan. The latter was highly pleased on reading the ode. When Dungar Sen the Raja of Cawnpore came to know the Sultan's great love for the science of music and singing he sent two or three valuable treatises

— — —

— — —

— — —

on these sciences, and his son Rāja ¹ Gōp Singh also after him kept the relations of sincerity and attachment intact. The Rāja of Tibet got hold of ² two wonderful animals of an elegant shape, which are called *Hans* in the language of the people of India, from the place called Mānsarwar, the water of which is subject to no change, and sent them to the Sultān. The latter was exceedingly pleased on seeing them. Among their other characteristics one was, that when milk mixed with water was placed before them, they separated the milk from water with their beaks and drank it and pure water was left behind.

The Sultān, in the beginning of his reign, made Muhammad, his brother, his successor, and left all affairs in his charge. After his death he confided in his son Haider in his place, and left all affairs in his charge. He also distinguished his two foster brothers, named Mas'ūd and ³ Shēr, by great proximity to his person, but in the end they fell out, and Shēr killed Mas'ūd, who was his younger brother, and in retaliation the Sultān had him executed.

The Sultān had ⁴ three sons, one, Ādam Khān, who was the eldest, but who always appeared wretched in the eyes of the Sultān, and Hāji Khān, and Bahrām Khān, he was the youngest of all, but had an extensive *jāgīr*. And he conferred the title of ⁵ Daryā Khān on a

¹ The name is differently written. One MS has كوب سد while the other has كوب سده, and the lith ed has كوب سده. The name can, I think, be only Gōp Singh or Kōb Sing. In the text edition M. Hidayat Hosain has adopted كوب سدن.

² Firishtah says the animals were called *rājhans* by the people of India, and the place, where they were obtained, was the *haud* called *Sarwar* and not *mauda* called Mānsarwar.

³ One MS calls the elder foster brother ماسير Masēr by mistake, while further down it calls him شر Shēr.

⁴ According to Jonarāja he had four sons by the daughter of the king of Madra, named respectively आदाम खान, हेच्या खान, जस्त्रथ खान and वर्षाम खान (lines 855 and 856), of whom only the 1st, 2nd and 4th are named in the Persian histories. In the *Rājataranginī* of Śrivara (1st taranga, line 56) he is said, however, to have had only three sons, whose names are somewhat differently written, viz., आदम खान, हाज्य खान and वर्षाम खान।

⁵ The MSS have اوریا, and دربی instead of داریا. The lith ed and the lith ed of Firishtah have ملا دربی Mullā Daryā.

man of unknown descent called Mulla Darya and placed him in charge of all affairs and occupied himself with pleasure and enjoyment

¹ When Sri Bhat who was the *ra'ir* departed from the world the Sultan dedicated in memory of him one *kror* of the gold of Kashmir which is equivalent to four hundred *ashrafis* or gold mohurs to his sons

The Sultan was an adept in the (occult) sciences of the Logis and men had seen ² his spirit leaving his body which is called ³ Simiya

¹ Shivo Bhatta see note 3 page 63 I have translated this passage as it is found in the MSS and in the lith. ed. Firishihah lith. ed. has however a different version and Col. Briggs another while Mr. Rodgers has a third and from it draws an inference which does not appear to be quite justified. The passage is not well connected with the context and it is therefore difficult to judge whether Nizam ud din's or Firishihah's version is more likely to be correct. In the Tibaqat it occurs just after the mention of the Sultan's son but there can be no doubt that the man who died and for the good of whose soul the money was paid was Sri Bhat or Siva Bhatta the *ra'ir*. In Firishihah also the passage occurs immediately after the mention of the Sultan's sons but here the person for the good of whose soul the gift is made is *کوکوڑ* or *کوکوڑ* سروہ مسروہ or سروہ کوکوڑ i.e. the Sultan's foster brother Sherdil or Sherdoo though earlier he had been called Sri ^{ری}. The foster brother and their mutual quarrel and the execution of one of them had been mentioned by Nizam ud din and Firishihah before the mention of the Sultan's son. Then the amount of the gift is مکھار ماد اسری نامد ری کے کوکوڑ ۴۰۰. Col. Briggs (vol. IV pp. 40-471) calls the foster brother Sherdoo and the amount 400 *seer* of silver gold. Rodgers (J.I.S.B. vol. I V p. 10) follows Firishihah and makes the amount a kror ^{کروڑ} of gold 400 camel loads. I think Firishihah is right as to the person for the good of whose soul the gift was made for the *ra'ir* had not done anything for which his soul would require such a heavy punishment. As to the amount of the gift it would be useless to enter into any calculations without knowing even approximately the weight of the value of the *ar*. Rodgers's assumption is that the Sultan was extremely rich and a sum of four hundred gold pieces would not be too high a sum for his gift for the salvation of his foster brother's soul. Four hundred camel loads of gold could of course be another matter.

The words are صلح دن in the lith. ed. and صلح دن in one MS. In the other MS they are rather indistinct. The other word which is apparently the name given to it in the language of Logis is written as *lesse* and *lesse* in the MS and *lesse* in the lith. ed. The same word occurs again where it is called *lesse* *plc* in one MS *lesse* in the other and *lesse* *plc* in the lith. ed. The word is not to be found in Firishihah where however the Logi is said to have said that he knew a science by which he could take the Sultan's illness off so that the Sultan would recover completely.

² See the preceding note

They say that on one occasion the Sultān became so ill that he was about to die, and people washed their hands (*i.e.*, despaired) of his recovery. At this time a Yogi appeared in Kashmīr, and said "I know the science of ¹ the transmigration of life, and excepting that there is no other treatment for the Sultān, who has contracted an extremely severe disease. The treatment is that I should separate my soul (or life) from my body, and should put it into the Sultān's body." The Sultān's attendants, considering this a great boon, took the Yogi with one disciple of his to the bedside of the Sultān, and left them there by ² themselves. The Yogi bringing out his soul out of his body, by a ³ science, which he knew, put it into the Sultān's body after the latter's soul or life had become separated (from his body). He had previously instructed his disciple, to take his body, which would become lifeless, to the ⁴ Āsan, which is the name of the dwelling-place of Yogis, and to ⁵ guard it. When the disciple came out, carrying the body of the Yogi, the Sultān's attendants hastened to the latter's side, and found him healthy in body, and they rejoiced exceedingly.

After some time ⁶ the sons of the Sultān becoming hostile to one another rose in conflict among themselves. Ādam Khān, who was the

¹ See note 2, page 661

² One MS has نہان concealed, instead of بھی alone or here by themselves

³ One MS has علیہ، the other MS and the lith ed have علیہ اے
I prefer the first reading

⁴ The word is آس in both the MSS and in the lith ed of the Tabaqāt and of Frishtah. I wonder, however, whether it is not a mistake for آسوم

⁵ Frishtah has something of an anti-climax, where he says ارسن سک و گرہ و دیگر حادواران نگاہ میدائند راش, and guard it from injury by dogs, cats and other animals. Frishtah also tries to explain the Yogi's power and says that the Yogis by their mental exercises probably acquire such powers, and gives instances of similar cures effected by descendants of His Holiness Khwājah Muhammad Husain Pārsā, and says that the two cases may probably be placed in the same category but ends with the pious ejaculation of و اللہ اعلم بالصواب God knows the best!

⁶ It appears that they were misled by evil advices. See lines 60–64 of Srīvara's *Rājataranginī* (canto I). It also appears that the Zain ul-‘ābidin being afraid of some catastrophe (अथामङ्कु वृप पृष्ठ) sent Ādam Khān towards little Tibet (सुदमार्गेण) (l. 71).

eldest left Kashmir and with a great army invaded the country of (little) Tibet. He conquered the whole of that country and brought an immense quantity of booty to the Sultan and became the recipient of favours.¹ Haji Khan under the Sultan's orders marched to attack Loharkot. Owing to the intemperate behaviour of Haji Khan the Sultan always kept Adam Khan near him. At last at the instigation of some of the people of Loharkot Haji Khan advanced towards Kashmir (*i.e.* the capital). Although the Sultan sent written and verbal messages to him that he should not come they had no effect. Having no other alternative the Sultan left the city with the intention of engaging him in battle and encamped in the plain of² Pallasila. Although Haji Khan repented of his conduct yet

¹ Line 8, 83 say that when Adam Khan returned after conquering the Bhuttas Haji Khan marched to the Lohara mountain (Lohkote according to Col Briggs vol IV p 471) by the Sultan's order and as the latter knew that two knives could not be placed in one sheath he ordered their coming and going. Srivara then describes the way in which Haji Khan's adherents incited him to return to Kashmir (lines 85-108) and in line 110 he says that the king quickly left the city with his army on hearing of his son's approach.

² The name of the place is written in the MS as *عَلِيل* and *عَلِي* which may be anything and *الْمَلَك* in the lith ed. *Fir-i-hisab* lith ed has *الْمَلَك* Ball. In the text edition it is *الْمَلَك* Col Briggs (vol IV p 471) has Buleel as Pulpul. Srivara Pandit calls the place where the two armies met and whence the Sultan sent a Brahmin as ambassador to Haji Khan *بَلْمِيزِلَا* (l 117) but where that was I cannot find out except that if it was on the route between Srinagar and Loharkot it was somewhere to the east of the former place and probably near the Pir Panjal range. The ambassador's message and speech are also given at some length (lines 119-128) and ending with the threat Your commanders would be slain like sparrows! Haji Khan's adherents were of course angry but he said that he would go and fall at his master's feet and whether he was pleased or angry he could do to him whatever he liked (line 142 *et seq.*) His adherents however adjured him to go on with what he had begun. They said Let us fight if we are victorious you get the kingdom. If we die you die wait only till we fight if we are slain do as you think proper. Hearing these words Haji Khan was sunk in a sea of thought (l 142). The Sultan on hearing what the ambassador had to say ordered his army to begin the battle. After the battle had gone on for the whole day Haji Khan turned back (l 164).

It appears however from the end of the first taranga of Srivara's poem that he calls it the *महिलायुद्धस्तम्भम्*! So the name of the battle field was

at the instigation of adventure-seeking men, he arrayed his army and marched to the field, and the battle went on from morning till evening. In the end, the army of Hājī Khān was defeated. Many deeds of bravery were performed by Ādam Khān in the battle. Hājī Khān fled towards ¹ Hirpū and Ādam Khān hastened in pursuit and tried to seize him, but the Sultān did not allow him to do so. Hājī Khān came from Hirpū to ² Bhimbar and occupied himself with the treatment of the wounded. After the victory, the Sultān returned to Kashmir and ordered ³ the erection of a high minaret of the heads of his enemies and had the men belonging to Hājī Khān's army, who had been taken prisoners, put to death. He also inflicted great tortures on their families and descendants. On account of this most people separated from Hājī Khān and came to Ādam Khān.

Mallaśilā, but whether Pallaśilā and Mallaśilā are two places or whether Pallaśilā ¹ is a mistake for Mallaśilā or vice versa, I cannot make out.

¹ The name is written as سرپور and سرپورہ in the MSS and سرپورہ and سرپور in the lith ed. Firishtah lith ed has سرپورہ and this has been adopted in the text-edition, and Col Briggs (vol IV, p 472) has Heerpoor. Both Rodgers and the Cambridge History of India say Hājī Khān fled to Bhimbar, but according to the Tabaqāt and Firishtah he came to Bhimbar from the place mentioned in this passage. In Śrīvara, I, line 166, mention is made (apparently) of Ādam Khān's ferocity in the neighbourhood of Śūrapura. It appears that Hirpur (Hirpūr) or Huiapor is the modern name of Śūrapura which is often described as the entrance station to Kashmir. I think, therefore, I will not be far wrong in calling the place Hirpūr.

² The name is سرپورہ in one MS and سرپور in the other and سرپورہ in the lith ed of the Tabaqāt. سرپورہ is adopted by M. Hidayat Hosain in the text edition. It looks like بانیر Banīr or Nābir in the lith ed of Firishtah, and Col Briggs (vol IV, p 472) has Nere. Rodgers has Bhimbar and so has the Cambridge History of India. Śrīvara in his Rājataranginī (1st taranga, l 169) says चार्यखान सानुलापस्त्रिवर्द्धे स्थिति अधात् ! I cannot find out where Citradeśa was.

³ As regards this, see Śrīvara's Rājataranginī 1st taranga, lines 171-174. It appears that कार्यिका or merciful Sultān was दुष्टिन, and he was thoroughly dissatisfied with himself and his servants, it is not therefore likely that he should make a minaret of the heads of the slain who are described as the शङ्खभृतवीरेन्द्र, though I cannot make out what the सुखागार was, that he made of the rows of the heads of the warriors who were killed in the battle. Was it a rest chamber, a sort of Valhalla? But even in that case the rows of heads would be a grisly decoration.

¹ After that Adam Khan ruled (the country) with full authority for six years. Later on there was a terrible famine in the country of Kashmir so that a large number of men died of hunger. Owing to this the Sultan became very sorrowful and distributed most of the grain in the royal treasuries (granaries) among the people and reduced the land revenue in some places to one quarter and in others to one seventh (of the fixed amount). And ² Adam Khan having acquired

¹ I wish to say Adam Khan was at this time declared to be the Sultan's successor and he ruled for six years. Col Briggs and Rodgers also say that he was made the heir to the throne. The Cambridge History of India does not say distinctly that he was declared to be the heir to the throne but it says that he participated for six years largely in the administration of the kingdom. Srivara (I 1 18²) says योवराज्ये दुष्ट तद्वामुले पश्च मम।

The famine is described at some length by Srivara I lines 184-213 in fact the whole of the 2nd canto of the 1st tarana which is called पश्चमव्यं दुष्टिव्यवप्नय is a description of the famine which occurred in the 6th year of the reign. He mentions the fact that the Sultan fed the people with his own paddy & with the paddy in the royal granaries but he does not appear to mention the reduction of the various demands.

There were according to Srivara heavy rains and great floods after the famine though this is not mentioned by the Muslim historian. The heavy clouds frightened the people as enemies are frightened by showers of arrow (I 1 217) and the *Ista* (*the Jhelum*) the *Ledari* (*the Lidar river*) the *Sindhu* a tributary of the *Ista* which flows into the latter at Prayig or the *Vitasta* *Sindhu Sangama* a place of considerable sanctity and the *I* *suptika* (*the canal in Srinagar now the Kutakul*) and other rivers submerged the villages on their banks as if in a terrible rivalry of one another (I 1 221). According to the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (Thack and Dennison Ro s p 63) flows from the Zoji pass down toward the Jhelum and was called the Lar Stein does not give any modern name for it but says the two Sindhs are distinguished by the Indus being called the Budh Sind. He also says that the valley of the other Sind forms the district of Lar. The merciful Sultan went round in a boat inspecting the damage caused by the rains and he greatly sympathized with the people in their privations (I lines 239-240). After that everyone was happy with a full harvest (I 1 243).

³ How he acquired the power is not quite clear. Firuztah does not give any information but he only says he acquired the power to plunder and ravage and مسماج. Col Briggs (vol IV p 47) says At this time he deputed Adham Khan with a force to march and attack the fort of Gujraj which is not at all correct. Rodgers (JASB vol LIV p 106) begins with In his government of Kamraj Adam Khan was very oppressive but he does not say

power in the country of Kamīāj, committed ¹ various acts of oppression And ² many people came to the Sultān, and complained against him He refused to receive all *fai māns* which were sent by the Sultān, and finally collecting a large army marched to attack the Sultān, and ³ halted at Qutb-ud-dīnpūr The Sultān acting on the purpose of the couplet,

Couplet

Attack not an army, larger than on your own,
For ⁴ on a lancet thou canst not strike thy fist

satisfied him by ⁵ various devices and sent him back to the country of Kamīāj, and ⁶ sent for Hāji Khān with great quickness

that the Sultān appointed Ādam Khān to that government The Cambridge History of India, page 283 says "After the famine Ādam Khān was entrusted with the government of the Kamīāj district" But it appears from I, line 273 of Śrīvara's *Rājataranginī* that his mind having become irritated on account of his jealousy of his younger brother, he suddenly attacked the country, and from I, line 278, that one day being excited by the intoxication of being the Yuvālāja (her to the kingdom) he went to the Kramarājya

¹ One MS omits by mistake the words from مدد و سوار مدد to دیار مدد

² His and his followers' atrocious acts are described by Śrīvara in I, lines 280-290, and it is said in line 291 that when the king's messenger told his followers not to commit such oppression they replied, "Let the king if he is vexed, go on crying"

³ Śrīvara says in I, line 293 that having collected and equipped his forces at Kuddadenapura (Qutb ud dīnpūr) he came to attack the Sultān's forces at Jainanagara Fnishtah also mentions Qutb-ud dīnpūr I cannot however find anything about its situation About Jainanagara or rather *J(Z)ainanagarī*, it appears from Jonaīāja, line 871, that Zain ul 'ābidin carried the canal called Jainagangā on which his new town Jainanagarī was built (see the notes on pp 111 and 112 of Stein's *Rājataranginī*, vol I) as far as Ranasvāmin This *J(Z)ainanagarī* was not far from the capital

⁴ The reading in the MSS which I have accepted is ردن مسست بور سسٹر The lith ed has ردن اگلسست بور سسٹر

⁵ I cannot find out what these devices were Śrīvara (I, 1 297) also has سلطان پختہ، i.e., by politic measures

⁶ Śrīvara mentions the sending of the letter to Hāji Khān in I, lines 299-300 The letter contained a rather piteous appeal अत्र मत्पुण्यसन्देशे गतिर्वान्या लया विना।

Ādam Khan on arriving in Kamraj advanced from there without any delay and attacked ¹ Suyyapur. The governor of the place who had held that position from before the time of the Sultan came out and engaged him and was slain and the whole of the city was destroyed. The Sultan hearing this news sent a great army to attack Ādam Khan and there was ² a great battle. Many were killed in both the armies and Ādam Khan was defeated. When the bridge which had been erected at Suyyapur across the river Bihat (Vitasta or Jhelum) broke down ⁴ about three hundred of the chief men on Ādam Khan's side were drowned as they were crossing the river in their flight.

Ādam Khan crossed the river and saw a place (for resting) on that bank. The Sultan came out of the capital and coming towards Suyyapur comforted the *ra'iyats*. At this time Hajī Khan in compliance with the farman which had been sent to him arrived by way of ⁵ Punch to the vicinity of ⁶ Baramulla. The Sultan sent his

¹ Suyyapura the modern ⁵ pur the chief place in *parvata* Zamigir which lie a short distance from the point where the ³ ta ta leaves the Wular Lake
ج سر سوہی اد پتہ by M. Hudwai Hoqia in the text

Both MSS have سر سوہی اد the lith. 1 has سر سوہی اد و ولاد و رس I have omitted the words و ولاد و رس

² Śrivara does not as far as I can make out mention the attack of Suyyapura by Ādam Khan and the latter's battle with the general of the place but he mentions the battle between the Sultan and Ādam Khan's armies (I lines 304-306)

⁴ This is also mentioned by Śrivara (I 1 308)

⁵ The name of the place is ⁶ and ⁷ without any 1 t in the MSS. They cannot therefore be pronounced or translated with any certainty. In the lith ed it is ⁸ Banjal and in the lith ed of I in lith it is ⁹ Punjali or Punjah and this has been followed in the text edition. Neither Col Briggs nor Rodgers nor the Cambridge History of India mentions the place and I cannot find any place like Banja or Punja near Baramulla. In I line 3 Śrivara says that Hajī Khan arrived at this time at Purnotsa which (corresponding to the modern Punch or Prants the Kashmiri form) seems to have been included in Lolā and have been situated in the lower valley of the Teli (Tau tide Stein's *Rajatarangini* vol II p 433). Punch is sufficiently like Punjah which is the name of the place in Farsītah. I have accepted Punch.

⁶ This agrees exactly with Śrivara (I 1 393) Baramulla being called Varahamula. The name is derived from the ancient Tirtha of Viṣṇu Adi Varaha

youngest son Bahlām to welcome him 1 A great affection grew up between the two brothers Ādam Khān fled from the place where he was, and went to the Nīlāb (the Indus) by way of 2 Shāhbāng. The Sultān taking Hājī Khān with him returned to the capital, and made the latter his hen and successor The latter girded up his loins in devotion to his father, and left no *minutiae* in his service unobserved He recommended his own servants, who had been his companions and friends 3 during his travels in India, for all the high appointments in the government and obtained these for them from the Sultān, and allotted to them fine *jāgūs* The Sultān gave him a jewelled gold belt from the Sultān and was 4 always pleased with him

(the beat incarnation of Visnu) who was worshipped there evidently since early times (see Stein's *Rājataranginī*, vol II, p 182)

¹ Compare Śrīvara's *Rājataranginī*, I, line 321

² The name looks like شاہ نیک Shāh Mank and شاہ بیک Shāh Bik in the MSS and شاہ نیک Shāh Nik in the lith ed Finslalihith ed has شاہ بیک Shāhīzāh and Col Briggs (vol IV, p 473) has Shahabād In the text edition it is ملک ملک Rodgers says the Sultān with the aid of Hājī Khān drove Ādam Khān out of the valley, without mentioning the name of any place and the Cambridge History of India, page 283, says Ādam Khān "fled to the Indus" It appears from Śrīvara's *Rājataranginī*, I, line 326, that he شاہ بھانپھا صنخ سمعنیئے بھالانیت । پر اپ صنخ پتے دھرم, i.e., crossing the Sindhu by way of Sāhibhangā arrived with his army in the country of the Lord of the Sindhu It should be noted that the first Sindhu is not the Indus, but a tributary of the *Vitastā* and the second Sindhu is the Indus or the *Nīla* The Sāhibhangā of Śrīvara appears to be identical with the large village of Shādipūn which is opposite to the junction of the *Vitastā* and the *Sindhu* Shādipūr appears to be an abbreviation of Shāhab ud dīnpūn, but when and why it got the name of Shāhbāng or Sāhibhangā is not clear

³ There is some difference in the readings One MS has کار سوار هدہ ناد رفاقت کردا بودہ, کار سوار هدہ ناد رفاقت کردا بودہ, while the other has کار سوار بودہ ناد رفاقت کردا بودہ, while the lith ed has کار سوار و سوار ناد رفاقت کردا بودہ The readings in the MS are manifestly incorrect, but if the mistakes are corrected, they would mean, who were his companions and friends in his travels in India The reading in the lith ed is more correct, but I cannot find any meaning of سوار

⁴ Śrīvara describes at some length (I, lines 336-387) the various pleasant journeys of the Sultān and his son through the flower adorned country, with musical and other entertainments and calls the canto, which is the fourth in his first *taranga*, the پھلی لکھاری, i.e., the description of the flower

¹ At last Haji Khan contracted dysentery owing to constant drinking and there was great confusion in the government. The carnival. Then he adds another (the fifth) canto (I lines 387-494) which he calls the क्रमसरोदाचार्यण, in the course of which he describes the Sultan's visit to the Kramasaras now called the Kaonsar Nag a mountain lake two miles long situated at the foot of the highest of the three snowy peaks (17,3 feet) and which is connected with the Indian deluge story and the peak to which Isuru in his si h aratara had bound the ship (nau) into which Durga had converted himself to save the seeds of the beans from destruction (see Stein's *Rajatarangini* vol II p 393). Then he has another canto (the sixth) which he calls the चित्रोपचयभिन्नवाण which runs from line 495 to line 2. In this he first describes the excavation of the new lake called the Jainasars near Padmapura now called Pimpur the chief place of the Vilu pargana and the erection of a palace on its bank and then hecribe the different presents sent to the Sultan by various princes and finally the advent of artists and artisans who introduced various beautiful kind of silk weaving. He next mentions the arrival of a रक्षसमर्थन्यज्ञ यदन । Yavana ripe dinner (I 5-9) After all this prosperity and advance came a period of adversity line 334 et seq. There was hail a comet made its appearance and continued to shin for two months then the dog were alway whining and there were eclipses of the sun and the moon both in the course of a fortnight. Then came the news (I 5-6) of the death of his nephew Sri Ky indra lord of Siadhi who was like a son to him and who was killed in battle by Lalabrahma Sri Ky indra must be Lakshman and Ebaral na was certainly Ibrahim but I have not been able to find out who they were. According to Srivara (I 1-81) Amul ibidin was at this time remembering his leparted friends servants and companions whom he loved like his own life he knew him self like an elephant who had gone astray from the herd (अतीतान वास्तवान भृत्यान सच्चैन प्राप्यमान सरन् । वामानमविद्वान् यूथधर्मिव दिपम्)

¹ Firishtah's account is somewhat different. He says the Sultan was displeased with Haji Khan on account of the latter's excessive drinking and his not listening to the Sultan's admonitions and the Sultan himself began to suffer from dysentery and as the Sultan was displeased with Haji Khan in the work of government remained unattended to Col Briggs (vol IV p 43) however agrees with the Tabaqat and says that Haji Khan and not the Sultan was seized with a bloody flux i.e. had an attack of dysentery. Redgers and the Cambridge History of India however follow Firishtah. The former says The king was seized with dysentery and the latter more vaguely the king fell sick. A reference to Srivara (I 1-58) shows distinctly that the Tabaqat and not Firishtah is correct. It is said there that वास्तवानस्य रक्षः ॥ इत्यार्थमुद्भवित्य मदापानातिधेवतात्. The Sultan's admonitions are given in lines 58-599. In line 600 it is said that Haji Khan promised not to drink again.

¹ amīs secretly sent for Ādam Khān He came according to their suggestion, and saw the Sultān The latter was ² displeased at his coming, and was annoyed with the amīs In the end the brothers mutually agreed, and Ādam Khān was honoured After some time, the weakness of old age overwhelmed the Sultān, and ³ besides that he became ill The ⁴ amīs and the vazīrs all in concert submitted to him that if the duties of the government be entrusted to one of the Sultānzādas this would be the cause of peace and good government in the country The ⁵ Sultān did not show any favour to this suggestion, and did not select any of his sons for the duties of the *sallamat* Mischief-makers then intervened, and held various meetings Bahrām Khān acting treacherously and speaking in a ⁶ mischief-making way made the two grown-up brothers hostile to each other ⁷ Ādam Khān, becoming suspicious, went and took up his residence in Quṭb-ud-dīnpūr When the Sultān became extremely feeble, the amīs ⁸ taking precautions against all disturbances did not allow his sons to come and enquire about his health, and sometimes they seated the Sultān with some trouble at an elevated spot, and had drums

except by his father's orders but going back to his own house he continued to drink (see 1-603)

¹ See Śīvara's *Rājataranginī*, I line 604 मन्त्राण । आदस्वानमानिन्युर्गुदलेखै-
दिग्नरात् ।

² There is a slight difference in the readings. One MS. and the lith. ed. have ارمدن او ده امد، while the other MS. has فرشتاه in the corresponding passage says سلطان اعلیٰ الکعب را و بھی کرد، Siwara in I, line 606, says پریش سخ کتو پیکھو نہ پا بھوت۔

³ The MSS as well as the 1th ed have گردید اعلاه و دیمادی This appears to me somewhat imperfect

4 This is somewhat differently stated by Śivāya in I, lines 626-27 तत्समच्च
वधा ये, पि तत्प्रसङ्गाद्भाषिरे । राजन्मुखाद्यते देशो राज्यलुभ्ये सुनैस्व । एकस्यैव निज राज्य
किं नापं यसि यो द्वित ।

⁵ Sīvara in I, lines 630-33, says that the Sultān pointed out the bad qualities of his sons, and declared that he would not bestow the kingdom on any of them, but गते मध्य वल्ल यस्य स प्राभोक्तिं से सतम्, i.e., after my death let him who has the strength get it.

⁶ One MS has *ا* but the other and the 11th ed have *او*

⁷ This is mentioned by Śīvara in I, lines 685–689.

⁸ One MS omits ~~the~~ by mistake.

beaten to inform the people that the Sultan had recovered. By this plan they managed to keep the country on its feet (*i.e.* safe from disturbances). At last when the Sultan's illness became very serious and he remained unconscious for a whole day and night one night ¹ Adam Khan came alone from Qutb ud dinpur to see him and left his army outside the city so that it may keep watch on Haji Khan and other enemies. On that night Hasan Kachhi who was one of the great *amirs* had taken the promise of allegiance to Haji Khan from the *amirs* in the audience hall of the Sultan. On the following day the *amirs* got Adam Khan out of Kashmir by some plan and summoned Haji Khan with great promptitude. Haji Khan came in compliance of the summons of the *amirs* and took possession of all the horses in the Sultan's stables and a large army collected round him but on account of apprehensions of disturbances and the treachery of his enemy ² he did not go inside the palace.

When Adam Khan heard this news he became frightened and retired to Hindustan by way of ³ Nawil. Many of his retainers

¹ Firishtah's account is slightly different. According to him Adam Khan left his soldiers in the environs of the city and he himself passed the night in the audience chamber of the Sultan. Hasan Khan Kachhi also took the promise of allegiance to Haji Khan from the *amirs* that same night in the audience chamber. The account of the behaviour of the three princes and of their movements which agrees generally with that in the text is given by Srivara I line 71 *et seq.* Hasan Kachhi is described in line 74 as حسن کاچھی or Hasan the treasurer. He is also described as سلطان کو مادھن پرائی a deceiving others blinded by his self-honesty. Adam Khan is said to have gone to Qutb ud dinpur (I 1 725).

² This is also mentioned by Srivara I line 728. I do not understand why so much importance was attached to the possession of the horses.

³ Srivara I line 731 says he was unable to go to see his father for fear of treachery although he was anxious to do so (ساتکارپی ڈوہڑھیا) Zain ul abidin died later دادیا نے امام رضا صدیقا کے at midday on the 1st lunar day in the month of Jyaishtha (I 1 744).

⁴ I cannot find anything about this place. It is written like بارہل in one MS and بارہل in the other and بارہل in the litho ed. Firishtah has Baramula the well known pass. M. Hidayat Hosain has adopted بارہل in the text edition.

separated from him ¹ Zain Badi, who was one of the trusted chiefs of Hājī Khān, hastened in pursuit of him Ādam Khān fought bravely, and having slain many of his near relations escaped Hasan Khān son of Hājī Khān, who was at ² Pūnch, came to his father, and the affairs of Hājī Khān were splendidly arranged

The Sultān (*i.e.*, Zam-ul-‘ābidīn) passed away from the world ³ The period of his rule was 52 years

AN ACCOUNT OF ⁴ SULTĀN HAIDAR SHĀH, SON OF SULTĀN ZAIN-UL-‘ĀBIDIN, WHO HAD THE NAME OF HĀJĪ KHĀN

Three days after his father's (death) Hājī Khān took the latter's place and assumed the title of Sultān Haidar, and having ascended the throne in the manner of his father at ⁵ Sikandarpūr, which is

¹ I cannot find anything about him also The name is written as اُن بادر in the MS and ایں بارڈر in the lith ed Firishtah has زین لورک Zain Lurak He is not mentioned by Col Briggs or Rodgers or in the Cambridge History of India In the text edition زین بارڈر has been adopted

² See page 667, note 5 It will be seen there that the name of the place was Parnotsa It will be seen also from Śīvara, I, line 607, that one of Hājī Khān's sons hearing of the arrival of his uncle (*i.e.*, Ādam Khān), wishing to fight with him left the capital, and went to Parnotsa

³ Nizām-ud dīn does not mention the date and year of Zain ul-‘ābidīn's death According to Firishtah he died at the end of 877 A H, in his 69th year Col Briggs has 877 A H, 1742 A D The last mentioned year is of course wrong, the figures having been transposed and 1472 being made into 1742 The Cambridge History of India, page 284, says Zain ul-‘ābidīn died in November or December 1470 In this it follows Haig (*J R A S*, 1918, p 456) Śīvara, I, line 744, says that the Sultān in داڑھا جے یو ماس سے مध्यا کے جیवित جاہی The month of *Jyārīṣṭha* corresponds with June, July and not with November or December It appears also from Śīvara, II, line 4, that Hājī Khān assumed the sovereignty on the 1st day of the 2nd lunar fortnight of *Jyārīṣṭha*, (جے یو پ्रतیپदی) It appears also, that, according to Rodgers (*J A S B*, vol LIV, p 107) the coins of Haidar bear the year 874 A H, so we are as much in the dark as ever

⁴ Śīvara in line 4 of the 2nd *taranga* of his *Rājatarangīni* says اُن جے دار-گاہا لخا لخا پدھن بھیڈکار پسی । دا جیخا نے اپھی دھا جھ س جے یو پر تیپ دھنے ।

⁵ Neither Sikandarpūr nor Naushar appears to be mentioned in *Rājatarangīni*, but "Nau Shahr" is mentioned in the *Tanīkh-i-Rashīdī*, page 483, as being on the route by which Haidar Dughlat entered Kashmīr

famous as ¹ Naushahr he gave away to deserving men the gold which was scattered over him His brother - Bahram Khan and his son Hasan Khan placed the crown of the empire on his head and continued to serve him

Couplet

When death casts away the crown from one head
The sky (providence) places it on another's head

He allotted the country of ³ Kamraj as the *jagir* of Hasan Khan and made him the *Amir ul umara* and his heir and successor He allotted ⁴ Nagam as the *jagir* of Bahram Khan He permitted the Rajas of the different districts who had come to offer condolence on the death of the late Sultan and congratulations to the new Sultan on his accession to return to their territories after bestowing on them horses and robes of honour He also bestowed on most of the *amirs* jewelled swords and robes

He had innate generosity but was always drunk and as he had a vindictive temperament most of the *amirs* being aggrieved with him went away to their *jagirs* As he was careless about the state of the kingdom the *raiyats* perpetrated various acts of oppression on the *raiyats* He distinguished a barber of the name of Boli by proximating him to his person and acted according to what he said to him The barber took bribes from men and turned the Sultan's disposition

¹ नौशहर in the text edition

² See line 7 of the 2nd *taranga* of the *Rajatarangini* of Srivara where it is said that his younger brother and his son standing before the Sultan were like Sulra and Brhaspati shining in front of the moon

³ The allotment of Kamraj as the *jagir* of Hasan Khan does not appear to be mentioned by Srivara but he says (l 10 of the 9th *taranga*) बह्राम खान नागराज्या त समिन व्यपात ।

⁴ Nagam or Nagrama was a district of considerable extent in southern part of Madarayana

⁵ The name is لعلی in one MS and in the lith ed of Firishtah It is rather difficult to decipher it in the other MS and it is لعلی in the lith ed of the Tabaqat He is mentioned repeatedly by Srivara in the 2nd *taranga* see line 35 47 etc but I cannot find his name He is called Lulu by Rodger (*JASB* vol II p 107) and Luh in the Cambridge History of India p 284 لولی in the text edit on

against anyone with whom he happened to be on bad terms ¹ Hasan Kachhī, who before all others had endeavoured to secure the allegiance of the *amīrs* to the Sultān, was put to death on the accusation of the barber Bōlī

Before this ² Ādam Khān had collected a large army, and had arrived in the country of Jammū in order to fight the Sultān. When the news of the murder of the *amīrs* reached him, he turned back and went to Jammū. He then went to fight some Mughals, who had come to that neighbourhood to aid and reinforce the troops of Mānik Dēv Rāja of Jammū, was struck by an arrow in the mouth and died of that wound ³ The Sultān was sorrowful on hearing of his death, and ordered that his dead body might be brought from the battle-field, and buried near that of his father

At that time owing to his (excessive and) continual drinking several serious diseases attacked the Sultān ⁴ The *amīrs* conspired secretly with Bahrām Khān, and wanted to place him on the throne. When this news reached ⁵ Hasan Khān, who had conquered many

¹ The name is بار کچھی Bar Kachī in one MS and in the lith ed., and is rather indistinct in the other MS. Firishtah lith ed has Hasan Khān Kachhī. He was called Hasan Kachhī before this in the Tabaqāt. And Hasan Koseṣa or Hasan the treasurer by Śrīvara. As to his murder see line 79 of the 2nd *taranga* of Śrīvara's *Rājataranginī*

² See line 107 of the 2nd *taranga* of the *Rājataranginī* of Śrīvara where the Rājā of Jammu or *Madramandala* is called Mānikya Deva and the Mughals are called the *Turushas*. Firishtah agrees, but he calls the Rāja ملک راجہ Rāja Mulk or Malik Dēv. Neither Col. Briggs nor Rodgers nor the Cambridge History of India gives his name.

³ See line 110 of the 2nd *taranga* of Śrīvara's *Rājataranginī*, where however the dead body is said to have been buried near that of his mother (تادشا عقب مانیہ جاننے سنبھلی نبھات)।

⁴ I cannot find the mention of any actual conspiracy of the *amīrs* or ministers to place Bahrām Khān on the throne in Śrīvara's *Rājataranginī*. It is only said in line 160 of the 2nd *taranga* تاۋدۇغا س باشىم-خانو داڭنىرگەل ! آڭراڭماڭنىسىم نانو آغاڭلا آسالىن دىپ !

⁵ Firishtah, who is followed by Col. Buggs and Rodgers, says that it was Fath Khān, son of Ādam Khān who was making these conquests, but the Cambridge History of India, page 284, agrees with the Tabaqāt in saying that it was Hasan Khān the Sultān's son who was raiding the Punjab. According to Śrīvara, line 144 of the 2nd *taranga*, he (i.e., Haider Shāh) sent his son

fortress in India and had acquired much booty he with his victorious army returned to Kashmir by forced marches As his return was without (the Sultan's) permission interested and malicious persons having said words (as if) from his side turned the disposition of Sultan Haidar (from him) ¹ The latter being annoyed with him did not allow him to make his *qurnish* and none of his services was accepted

² One day the Sultan climbed to the polished terrace roof of a palace and occupied himself in drinking In his drunken condition his foot slipped and he fell down and died

³ The period of his sovereignty was one year and two months

⁴ AN ACCOUNT OF SULTAN HASAIN SON OF HAJI KHAN HAIDAR SHAH

He ascended the throne sixteen days after the death of his father

with an army outside the kingdom for a (conquering expedition) Then in line 179 it is said करदीपतम्भास य परमामहत्प्रियि । अभयचमामन
कर्मीरागमनारक ॥ i.e having made many kings his tributaries and having stayed for six months he became anxious to return to Kashmir at the end of the month of *Caitra* and then in line 180 he goes on to say that the wicked ministers shrivelled up on Hasan Khan's arrival as lotuses are shrivelled up on the rising of the full moon

² The Sultan's behaviour towards his son as described by Srivara Puri cannot be clearly understood He was apparently afraid of Bahram Khan and so as is said in line 166 he gave his son who had returned from his conquering expedition merely a sight of himself यात्रामाय पुष्टाय ददी दग्नमारक and in the next line it is said that he was certainly afraid of Bahram Khan otherwise how was it that he did not honour his son with giving him robes of honour नून मानुजमैसामृगाकास भोग्याय कद । परिधानादिवृक्तार मूलमेवाकरोवते । At the same time he was secretly very angry with Bahram Khan like the Sun with the fire concealed in its sting that the latter might injure the son (पश्चामो बाधते नून मरयचमिति शक्षित । य तप्त्वा एषकोपिष्ठा गमीतरविवाहत ॥)

The scene and the nature of the accident and subsequent treatment are described by Srivara in lines 169-73 of the 2nd *taraṅga*

³ Neither the *Tabaqat* nor *Irishtah* gives any indication of the date of Haidar Shah's death nor does Srivara But seeing that the death of Sultan Zain ul abidin occurred in the month of *Jaisal* and Haidar Shah reigned for one year and two months his death very probably took place in the month of Srivana in the year 8 A.H or 1473 A.D.

⁴ The heading is incorrect in both MSS One gives the name as Sultan Husain the other omits the name altogether I have adopted the heading in the litho ed

by the exertion of ¹ Ahmad Aswad. On the 10th day (after his accession) he imprisoned some people about whom he had suspicion. He ² went away from Sikandarpur to Naushahi, and took up his residence there. He gave away the treasures of his grandfather and uncle to (deserving) people, conferred the title of Malik Ahmad on Ahmad Aswad, and ³ entrusted the administration of the affairs to him and made his son named Nauñz Aswad his chamberlain.

Bahūm Khān came out of Kashmir with his son and went away towards Hindūstān. All his soldiers separated from him, and all his affairs will be narrated later. ⁴ The Sultān again revived all the rules and regulations of Sultān Zain-ul-Ābidīn which had been abolished in the time of Sultān Haidar, and directed that all affairs should be carried out in conformity with them. At this time, some people, who wanted to create disturbances, went to Bahūm Khān, and incited him to declare war against the Sultān. The amīns also wrote letters to him and summoned him. Bahūm Khān returning from

¹ The name is written as احمد اسواڈ and احمد اسوڈ in the MSS., and احمد اسواڈ in the lith ed. It is اسود in the lith ed of Firishtah, and Ahmad Ahoo in Col Briggs' History (vol IV, p 477). Rodgers (JASB vol LIV, p 107) and the Cambridge History of India, page 286, call him Ahmad Aswad, and Rodgers has (the black) in brackets after Aswad. اسود has been adopted in the text edition. Srīvara in the 2nd taranga of his Rājataranginī calls him अश्वदायुता in line 178, and आयुक्तादभद्रसेक in line 197. I cannot make out how Āyulta could be transformed into Aswad or vice versa. Aswad besides 'black' means 'powerful', 'illustrious'. Srīvara describes the contention between Hasan Khān and Bahūm Khān about the succession, and then after it had been decided in favour of the former, describes the burial of Haidar Shāh (lines 211 et seq. in the 2nd taranga). This chapter he calls हाज्यहैदरगाहराच्छवन्ननम्।

² Srīvara in line 7 of the 3rd taranga says—the Sultān left शिक्खपुरी and went to his पितामहविनिर्भित जैनगर. Then he describes the coronation ceremonies, which were highly Hindu in their character, and in which आहमदायुक्तो विधाय तिलक खय। सौवर्णकुसुमे पूजासकरोन्नवभृपते (l 9), then there was होमधूम in the चमिपेकक्रिया (line 12).

³ This is mentioned by Srīvara in lno 23, and the appointment of Ahmad Aswad's son नौरजा in the दारपालादिकार्य in line 25.

⁴ See Srīvara, line 33 in the 3rd taranga, where he says पितामहसमाचार प्रावर्तयत मण्डले।

the district of ¹ Karma arrived after traversing the hills in the district of Karma. The Sultan had at this time gone to Walipur on a pleasure trip. On hearing the news he went to Suwaypur in order to fight with him. ² Some people tried to persuade the Sultan to go away in the direction of India but Malik Ahmad Aswad inciting him to fight did not allow that he should retire towards India. The Sultan approved of the Malik's opinion and sent ³ Malik Taj Bhut with a large army against Bahram Khan. The latter had hoped that

¹ The name is کارما in one MS and looks like کارہا in the other. It is کرما which cannot be clearly deciphered in the lith ed. Firishtah lith ed has کرما کارما. The text edition has کرمائی کارما. Srivara in line 41 says کارنابھیان्तरत शेखानुभवृ कटकाक्षद । کرمراجपुर प्राप्त करमराज्य अिद्वीषया ॥ which means that wishing to seize Karamrajya he arrived at Karamrajapura from Karnabhyantara after crossing the hills. This is clear and agrees with the Tabaqat except that we cannot find what Karnabhyantara mean. Ordinarily it would mean from the interior of Arna but I cannot find any locality of the name of Arna. Now taking the European authorities I find Col Briggs (vol IV p 477) says Barham Khan came by the route of Kurmar and Rodgers (JASB vol LIV p 108) says he came by way of the mountains to Kamraj while the Cambridge History of India page 285 says he took refuge in the hills of Karna to the west of Kamraj and he apparently came from there. I cannot find anything about the Karna hills and the names do not agree with that in the Persian chronicle or in Srivara's work.

² It appears from line 42 of the 3rd taranga of Srivara's *Rajatarangini* that Hasan was at that time at Avantipura and he returned from there on hearing the news of the return of Bahram. This probably indicates the identity of Avantipura now called Vantipur on the Vitasta which was in old times probably the most important place in the district of Holesi with Walipur. Hasan's return to Suwaypura is also mentioned in line 43 سندور دینپور in the text edition.

³ See Srivara line 48 from which it appears that some of the leaders of the ministers said ملک طاح ملک طاح ملک طاح though the sentence appears to be somewhat incomplete.

⁴ The name is rather indistinct in one MS but it is ملک طاح in the other. The lith ed has ملک طاح ملک طاح Firishtah has only ملک طاح. Col Briggs (vol IV p 478) has Mullal Taj Bhut. Neither Rodgers nor the Cambridge History of India give the name of the commander of Hasan's army. Srivara in line 54 has سفیدیہ کارنابھیانیہ دین و خاند پ from which it appears that Taj Bhatia or Taj Bhat was the name of one of the commanders.

the Sultān's troops would come over to him; but in the end the contrary happened. There was a severe battle in a village of the name of ¹ Dūlapūr, and Bahām Khān was defeated and fled, and came to the village of ² Zainagir. The Sultān's troops hastened in pursuit of him and seized him. An arrow struck him on the face, and all his equipage and other things having been plundered, he was brought before the Sultān in a wretched condition. The Sultān ordered that both he and his son might be put into prison. After a time a blinding needle was drawn across his eyes, and after remaining in prison for ³ three years, he passed away from the world.

⁴ Sultān Hasan (at this time) had Zain Badr, who had been the *vazīr* of Sultān Zain-ul-Ābidīn and the rival of Malik Ahmad Aswad,

¹ The name is لولو Lūlū in one MS and in the lith ed. It is لولوور in the other. Firishtah lith ed has توله بور. Col Briggs (vol IV, p 478) has Looloopoor. The reading in the first MS is adopted in the text edition. Neither Rodgers nor the Cambridge History of India gives the name of the place. Śrivara in line 55 तावद्वामखानस्स प्राप दुलपुरान्तर। Dulapura is so near Tūlapūr the name in Firishtah, that I have no doubt it is the correct name of the place where the battle took place, though I cannot find out anything about it. It may be that لولو is a corrupt form of *Lōlāb*, the Kashmiri name of the *pargana* *Lōlāb* (see Stein, *Rājatarangīni*, vol II, p 487).

² The name of the place is زین کر Zainkar in both MSS and Ratankāra in the lith ed. Firishtah lith ed has مارھانپور Marhanalpūr. Col Briggs (vol IV, p 478) has Zeinpoor. Neither Rodgers nor the Cambridge History of India furnishes any further light on the matter. Śrivara in line 59 says अथ जैनगिरि यावदाययौ तद्गाकुलं from which it would appear that he came to Jainagiri dismayed with the result of the battle. Jainagiri or the *pargana* of Zainagir appears to comprise "the fertile Karēwa tract between the Volur and the left bank of the Pohui River" (Stein, *Rājatarangīni*, vol II, p 487).

³ The MSS and the lith ed have سے سے three years. Firishtah lith ed, however, has دو دو three days and Col Briggs and the Cambridge History of India following him have three days also. Rodgers (*JASB*, vol LIV, p 108) says, "He remained in prison for three years after this and then died." The Tabaqāt however, appears to be right, for Śrivara in line 125 says دلخ چر्च तावदनभूतमहायथ । अद्विग्निपतनु क्षेषात्तस्मिन्नेव चथ यथौ ॥ i.e., there suffering great agonies for three years, and being reduced to a skeleton from his privations he died.

⁴ This is also mentioned by Firishtah, almost in the same word as the Tabaqāt, but is not mentioned by Col Briggs. It is mentioned by Rodgers,

and who had exerted himself in the matter of the blinding of Bahram Khan and whom Sultan Zain ul abidin had on many occasions owing to being annoyed with him wanted to put to death but had not been able to do so seized. And it so happened that on the very day on which Bahram Khan was deprived of his eye sight the needle was drawn across Zain Badr's eyes and he also died in prison after three years.

Couplet

Who er in some one's eyes put the thorn of tyranny
It behoved that his own eyes were soon destroyed

¹ Malik Ahmad having now become the *tair* with full authority sent Malik Yari Bhat who was his favourite with a large

who says that he was blinded with the same needle with which Bahram Khan had just before been blinded. The Cambridge History of India does not mention this matter. It is mentioned by Sharara in lines 133 et seq at some length and the particulars appear to agree with those in the Tabaqat but the name of the man does not agree with that given in the Tabaqat or by Firishtah. M. Hidayat Hasan has adopted ^{جس نے} in the text edition but it was ^{رس} earlier on p. 678.

¹ The MSS and the 10th ed are rather obscure and it is not quite clear whether Malik Yari reinforced the Raja of Jammu or vice versa and which of them invaded the Punjab. Firishtah appears to say that Malik Yari reinforced the army of the Raja of Jammu who led the invasion of the Punjab and he looted the country and devastated the city of Si lkot. Col Briggs (vol IV p. 48) says that the invasion was undertaken at the instigation of the Raja of Jammu called Jeet Dew and that the latter took the command of the allied army that he was defeated by Tatar Khan who penetrated into Jammu and sacked the town of Si lkote. He calls the commander of the Kashmir army Mullik Taj Bhat. Rodgers calls him Malik Barla Bihut and says he was sent to assist the Rajah of Jammu against Tatar Khan who was harassing the borders of Kashmir and that they plundered some part of the Punjab and destroyed the town of Si lkot. The Cambridge History of India page 280 says that Hasan Shah sent an expedition under Malik Yari Bhat to co-operate with the troops of the Raja of Jammu in ravaging the northern districts of the Punjab where Tatar Khan Lodi represented the military oligarchy over which his cousin Bahlul presided at Dchli. The town of Si lkot was sacked and Malik Yari Bhat returned with as much plunder as enabled him to form a faction of his own. It does not say whether the Raja of Jammu commanded or even accompanied the troops.

It will appear from the above that there is great deal of discrepancy about the facts of this expedition. I am afraid Sharara's account does not clear it.

army in the direction of the territory of Delhi by way of Rājaurī, and 'Ajab Dēō the Rāja of Jammū came and met him, and reinforced him with an immense army Malik Yārī advanced and fought with Tātār Khān, who was the governor, on behalf of the *Bādshāh* of Dehlī, of the foot-hills of the Punjāb, and plundered the whole of his territory, and devastated the town of Siālkōt.

¹ The Sultān had a son by Hayāt Khatūn, who was a descendant of the Sayyids. The Sultān gave him the name of Muhammad and entrusted him for his education to Malik Yārī Bhat. His ² second son was named Husain, and was entrusted to Malik Nūr, son of Malik Ahmad, so that he might bring him up. Some enmity having occurred between Malik Ahmad and Malik Yārī Bhat, they tried to destroy each other, and differences having also come about among the *amīrs*, there were ³ great battles, till one night (the *amīrs*?) collected their men, and getting into the palace of Sultān created

up. It appears that although Ahmad Aswad or *Ahmad Ahmādkutta* had at first befriended Yārī Bhat (*Tājī Bhatta*), he and his sons were now jealous of him (l. 310 of the 3rd *taranga*). He insinuated that it was no good obtaining the kingdom, if the outskirts were being raided by the enemies (l. 314). *Tājī Bhatta* then prayed that he might be entrusted with an army to lead an expedition (line 315). He was accordingly provided with it. All the kings who were in the *Madramandala* (Jammu) headed by *Atyābha Dera* ('Ajab or Ajet Dēō) abandoned Tātār Khān and joined him (lines 319, 320). He caused much damage (खपद्रवम्) in Tātār Khān's country, burning down mosques built by the Khān in शृंगालकोटीदि, i.e., in Siālkot, etc. (l. 321). Then he quickly returned (line 325). From this it would appear that the expedition owed its origin to a political intrigue arising out of the jealousy of the minister, and more specially of his sons against *Tājī Bhatta*. سہت یاری in the text edition is apparently a misprint for یاری سہت.

¹ Compare line 222 in the 3rd *taranga* of Srīvara's *Rājatarangini*, which is अभूत्सुदान्वये जाता वस्त्रभा या सहौपते । रथातखातोना राज्ञी प्रमाद्वाचविलासभ् ॥ Her son was named Muhammad Khān (l. 226), and was made over to *Tājī Bhatta* for the purpose of being looked after (रक्षणाय).

² This is mentioned in lines 328-329 of the 3rd *taranga*, where it is said, somewhat curiously, that he was for being suckled or supplied with milk entrusted to Malik Nauroz पथोदानाय सङ्केकनौर्जाय समर्पित

³ One MS. omits ملک great Firishtah agrees generally as to these troubles. Both Rodgers and the Cambridge History of India note that the two factions were constantly quarrelling with each other.

¹ various disturbances and set fire to the palace and there was very great trouble in the work of the government. The Sultan imprisoned Mahk Ahmad Aswad and a number of his relatives and his property was given up to be plundered and he died in prison.

The Sultan sent for Sayyid Nasir who had been highly esteemed by Sultan Zain ul abidin who had in his assembly accorded him precedents even before himself but who had later been banished from Kashmir and had gone to the territory of Dehli. Sayyid Nasir died when he arrived near the valley of the Pir Panjal. Then (the Sultan sent for Sayyid Hasan who was the son of Sayyid Nasir and was the father of Hayat Khan from Dehli and made over the reins of authority to his hands. The Sayyid turned the mind of the Sultan from the Kashmiri amirs and a large number of the chief men of the state were put to death at his instance and by his endeavours Mahk Yari was put into prison. The other nobles fled out of fear and went to different places. Jahangir Makri who was a great nobleman fled to the fortress of Loharkot. After some time the Sultan was attacked by a ² severe form of diarrhoea and he became extremely weak. He made a will that if my sons are too young Yusuf Khan son of Bahram Khan who is in prison or Fath Khan son of Adam Khan who is in the country of ³ Hiswas be

¹ One MS and the lith ed have دس اندیشہ while the other MS has دس دریبہ the latter is adopted in the text edition.

² The Cambridge History of India page 28, describes him by mistake as chief of the Maha clan. In the text edition it is حبائیل ناکری instead of حبائیل ماکری

³ Firishtah says اُر کنوب اع سیار مرصع اسہال طاری سدھ where the word سیار seems to be redundant کنوب دماغ is translated by Rodgers (J A S B vol LIV p 108) as over uxorness and by the Cambridge History of India page 28, more correctly I think as debauchery.

⁴ The name of the place is حسوان Haswan in one MS and looks like حسواس in the other and in the lith ed. It is جسروٹ in the lith ed of Firishtah and is transliterated as Jasroth by Rodgers (J A S B vol LIV p 109). Col Briggs (vol IV p 479) does not mention the place but he says that Hussun directed that either Yoosoof Khan or Futtah Khan should succeed him. The Cambridge History of India does not mention any testamentary direction by Hasan Shah. The name of the place does not appear to be mentioned by Srivara who describes the king's illness in somewhat poetic language without specifying any particular disease from which he suffered (line 541 et seq.)

placed on the throne, and Muhammad Khān should be declared as the next heir. Sayyid Hasan outwardly accepted this. The Sultan died of the illness from which he was suffering.

¹ The period of his reign is not known.

2 AN ACCOUNT OF SULTĀN MUHAMMAD SHĀH, SON OF SULTĀN HASAN SHĀH

Muhammad Khān was aged seven years when he attained to sovereignty by the exertions of Sayyid Hasan.² On that day all articles of gold and silver, and arms and valuable stuffs, and viands etc., were placed before him. He did not pay any attention to any of these things, but took up a bow. Those who were present inferred from this act of his that he would be a great and brave man and said that he would endeavour to rule wisely and well.

The power of the Sayyids attained to such a height, that they³ did not permit any of the *amīns* and *rāzīns* to go near the Sultan. The Kashmīrs, being much annoyed at this,⁴ one night, in concert with Parasiām, Rāja of Jammū, who for fear of Tātāi Khān had taken shelter in Kashmīr (*i.e.*, Srīnagar) treacherously slew Sayyid Hasan with thirty of the chief Sayyids in the garden at Nau Shahr. They

¹ According to Srīvara he reigned for twelve years and five days (l. 560). According to the Cambridge History of India, page 698, his reign extended to eighteen years from 876 A.H., 1472 A.D. to 894 A.H., 1489 A.D. Col Briggs (vol. IV, p. 80) is inclined to believe that he must have reigned for about 19 years, but as Heidur, his father, did not die till 878 A.H., and he died in 891 A.H., the period of his reign could not be more than 13 years in any case.

² There are slight differences in the heading. I have taken that in one of the MSS. The other MS. has Husain instead of Hasan as the name of the preceding Sultan, and omits the word Shāh after the name. The lith. ed. agrees with the first MS. but omits the word Shāh after Sultan Hasan.

³ This is mentioned by Firishtah and by Col. Briggs and Rodgers. Srīvara (4th *taranga*, lines 4, 5) says something slightly different तस्य मिहासनस्यान्ते खापिता वस्तुसल्लति । त्यक्ता भोजनसामग्री पूर्वं शङ्केऽपत्तकर ॥ एतद्दराज्ये सदा युद्ध भविता मण्डलान्तरे । द्वाः शकुनविज्ञा केऽप्यूच्चुस्त्रान्तिकमिता ॥

⁴ Both MSS. and the lith. ed. have اورا دبی کے لئے! It appears to me that the word ا should be inserted after اورا, and I have done this. Firishtah lith. ed. has ا after اورا!

⁵ The attack on and the slaughter of the Sayyids is described by Srīvara in lines 37-49 of the 4th *taranga* of his *Rājatarangīni*.

then crossed the river Bihut (Jhelum) and broke down the bridge and collecting their men sat down on the other side of the river Sayyid Muhammad son of Sayyid Hasan who was the maternal uncle of the Sultan collected his men and took up his quarters in the palace in order to guard him

One of these nights when a great disturbance was going on and every one was in fear and distress ¹ Abd Zina wanted that he would take away Yusuf Khan son of Bahram Khan who was in prison. But one of the Sayyid amirs of the name of Ali Khan becoming acquainted with the plan slew Yusuf Khan and he also slew ² Baji Bhat who was making lamentations at the murder of Yusuf Khan in Yusuf Khan's mother who was called ³ San Devi who from the time when she had become a widow did not eat more than three mouthfuls of barley meal when breaking her fast kept watch for three days in her house over the coffin of her son and after it had been buried had a chamber built for herself near his grave and lived there till the time when she passed away.

In short Sayyid Ali Khan and the other Sayyids collected their retainers and sat down on the bank of the river in order to fight their enemies. They spent much money and collected an immense army. The people of Kashmir came from all directions in a large

¹ The name looks like عَدْدِي and لَهْلَهْدِي in the MSS and عَدْدِي رَسَا in the lith ed. Firishtah lith ed has لَهْلَهْدِي رَسَا, see In the text edition it is عَدْدِي رَسَا. Neither Col Briggs nor Rodgers nor the Cambridge History of India gives the name. According to Srivara Yusuf Khan was killed by a man of the name of Ali Khan when he was being taken away by some of his partisans who are described as एदराजामकार्या (the exact meaning of which I cannot make out) who had released him from the prison (in lines 77-9 of the 4th taranga)

The name is written as ماحی ہب ناہی ہب in the MSS and ماحی ہب ناہی نہب in the lith ed. Firishtah lith ed has ناہی ہب نہب. Srivara calls him پاچماہ (4th taranga 1 83). It is ناہی نہب in the text edition.

² The name is written as سان دوئی and سان دوئی in the MSS and in the lith ed. Firishtah lith ed has سان دور سان دور Srivara has پاٹاٹ دےو (l 88 of the 4th taranga). The facts of her living on चबाह and her living अजीवम् (without life) and in गृहानिरे (place of cremation) are also mentioned M Hidayat Hosain has adopted سان دوئی in the text edition.

body and joined the latter. Skirmishes took place with arrows and muskets, and every day large numbers were slain on both sides. Robbers came into the city openly and plundered and looted. The Sayyids dug a trench round the city so that they might be safe from the robbers. They also razed to the ground the houses of their enemies in the city and the villages wherever they might be, and having plundered their property and cattle, did not, because of great pride, guard their own property. At this time, ¹Jahāngīr Mākī, who was at Lohālkōt, came to the capital at the summons of the Kashmīri party, i.e., those opposed to the Sayyids. Although the Sayyids made overtures of peace to him he did not agree. One day Dāūd the son of Jahāngīr Mākī and ²Saīfī and Ankīr crossed the bridge and fought with the Sayyids. Dāūd and most of his companions (they are called *Mulhālīsān*, i.e., enemies of the Sayyids) were killed. The Sayyids became ³joyful, and beat drums and made minarets of the heads of their enemies. On another day the Sayyids went to cross the bridge. The enemies met them and there was a great fight near the middle of the bridge. Then the bridge ⁴broke down and many people of the two parties were drowned in the river.

¹ The invitation to Jahāngīr (جہانگیر) is described in lines 137–42 of the 4th *taranga*, and his arrival by پرہیز مارم in line 145. The overtures of the Sayyids to him are mentioned in lines 147–151 and Jahāngīr's reply in 155–162. The Sayyids were angry on receiving the reply, and prepared for war (lines 163–165). Then سفید راجون راجا نکادی crossed the bridge and came to the capital to fight with the Sayyids (line 166).

² The names appear to be سیدی and اکرمی in the MSS., and in the lith ed of the *Tabaqat* اکرمی and سیدی. In the lith ed of *Frishtah* there is only one name مکرمی شق. Neither Col. Biggs nor Rodgers have any of the names mentioned in the *Tabaqat* or in *Frishtah*. In the text edition the name is سیدی داکرمی. Dāūd is called داکرمی, and his death is mentioned in line 178 of the 4th *taranga*.

³ I cannot find any mention of minarets being made of the heads of the slain but in line 190 it is said that the corpses were placed on the road درجن-گھٹاٹی درج. Dāūd's head was also cut off and placed راجپथانترے (l. 187). The Sayyids also made ویچیو تھوڑی وائی (l. 193).

⁴ The breaking down of the bridge and the falling of سفید راجون راجا نکادی that day in the *Vitastā* is mentioned in line 196 of the 4th *taranga*.

¹ After that the Sayyids wrote letters to Tatar Khan the governor of the Punjab and asked him to come to their help. He sent a large army to help them. When his army arrived in the neighbourhood of ² Bhumbar the ³ Raja of the place named Hans fought with them ⁴ and slew their best men. The enemies (of the Sayyids) on hearing this news made great rejoicings and for a period of two months there were constant skirmishes between the Sayyids and the Kashmiris. At last the latter divided themselves into three troops crossed the river and seized the environs of the hills. The Sayyids came to meet them and fought with great bravery but as the number of their enemies was double their number most of their leaders were slain and the rest fled into the city. The Kashmiris pursued them and entering the city stretched their hands for slaughter and rapine. They set fire to the city and in the conflagration ⁵ the Khanqah of Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani was burnt down and from

¹ Neither the Tabaqat nor Firishtah mentions it but it appears that after this Jahangir *Jallala Saiphadamara* and others thought of various plans of defeating the Sayyids (I 202). There were frequent skirmishes च नाशोदिवसो यत्र दिवा वौरा पतविमि । विद्धा मुमुपश्चनौराज्ञ नौता स्वगद्वान प्रति (line 08) and they frequently degenerated into mutual abuse in indecent language (line 210).

² The sending of a नौरक युक्त बल by Tatar Khan is mentioned in line 217 of the 4th taranga.

³ The name is written as بہاڑ Bahaz and بھت Bahtah in the MS and as بھت Bahtar in the 1th ed. In the 1th ed of Firishtah it is بانور Banur Col Briggs (vol IV p 183) has Bhumbur and Rodgers Bhumbar. In the text edition it is بانور.

⁴ The name looks like پیس Pe h in one MS and in the 1th ed and عہنس Hans in the other MS. Firishtah 1th ed has عہنس Hansh and Col Briggs (vol IV p 483) Howns مار راحدہ عہنس طام in the text edition. Srivara does not mention the arrival of Tatar Khan's army at Bhumbar but says that on their arrival at Sastragalasthana they were met by Habhabhodana Raja and others (I 218).

⁵ It appears from Srivara line 223 of the 4th taranga that two thousand were slain near the camp of Tatar Khan's army and then the Kashmiris being delighted determined on a war (काष्ठमीरिकः सतच्छकृ रणाथ हृष्टमानमा)

⁶ According to Firishtah the fire was extinguished on reaching the Khanqah and that edifice was not damaged in any way. Srivara in line 319 says that the fire reached the Khanqah of نوبلخندہ سادان but it is not quite clear

there the fire was extinguished. The number of the slain in the course of the day was two thousand. This happened in the year 892 A.H. Sayyid Muhammad, son of Sayyid Hasan got into the house of a man named Gadāī of the ¹ Rāwat tribe, and fortified himself.

The enemies (*i.e.*, the party opposed to the Sayyids) then all collected together in the palace or audience hall, and went to offer their homage to Muhammad Shāh. They got him to join them, and he banished Sayyid ‘Alī Khān and other Sayyids from Kashmir.² They now sent back Parasiām after presenting him with various gifts. As everyone of the Kashmiris claimed to be the *sardār* (chief), in a very short time enmity made its appearance among them, and the administration of the government fell into confusion.³ Fath Khān son of Ādām Khān, who after the death of Tātār Khān, had become the governor of the Punjab arrived in Rajaurī from Jālandar and took up his quarters there in an endeavour to regain his ancestral dominions. As he was the grandson of Sultān Zain-ul-‘abidīn,⁴ people, who sought for adventures among the *amīs* and the Sayyids went to him in large numbers, and he giving rewards to each one of them gave them hopes (of further favours). He hoped that Jahāngīr Mākri would come before all others, and would see him, but Jahāngīr imagining that his enemies had gone before to see Fath Khān, did not join the latter, and dissuaded him from attempting to conquer Kashmir.

Sultān Muhammad Shāh came out of Kashmir (*i.e.*, Srīnagar), being persuaded by Jahāngīr Mākri to do so, and encamped in the whether that was burnt down or not. Firishtah also says that the number of persons slain that day was not less than ten thousand.

¹ The word is written as Rāwat in both MSS. In the lith ed and the text-edition it is Rāwan, while in the lith ed of Firishtah it is راون. In line 339 of the 4th *taranga* of Srīvara's *Rājataranginī* it is said that Miyan (میان) Muhammad got into سُلْطَنِیَّہ.

² Srīvara in line 347 says अयु परशुरामाद्या सदेश प्राप्तिकृद्या *i.e.*, Parashurāma (Parasram) and others went to their own country after receiving honours.

³ The account of his birth, etc., is given by Srīvara in lines 406–410 of the 4th *taranga*.

⁴ This is mentioned by Srīvara in line 419 and the following lines. Then the negotiations between Fath Khān and Jahāngīr Mākri are described at some length.

plain of ¹ Karsawar Fath Khan also arrived in the neighbourhood of Audan by way of Hirpur and placing a spring of water between the two armies settled down in front of the Sultan's army. Then the lines of the troops having been arranged the flame of battle blazed up. At first Fath Khan made an onset and it appeared probable that the Sultan's army would fall into disorder. But Jahangir Makri placing his feet firmly slew about fifty of the best men of Fath Khan's army and that army being discomfited Fath Khan was about to be seized when one of the enemies raised a (false cry) that Sultan Muhammad Shah had been taken prisoner by his enemies. Jahangir becoming disturbed in his mind refrained from further pursuit of Fath Khan.

The Sultan came to Kashmir (*i.e.* Srinagar) after the victory and sent Malik Yari Bhat to ravage the villages which had given shelter to Fath Khan. ² Adam Khan and Fath Khan having disappeared for sometime again raised their heads in the neighbourhood of ³ Bahramgala and for a second time having collected a number of men advanced to conquer Kashmir. Jahangir Makri advanced with an immense army to meet them and encamped in the village of ⁴ Gosawar in *pargana* Nagam. Zirak a servant of Fath Khan availing himself of an opportunity went into the city (Srinagar) and released the large number of *amirs* who were in prison there.

¹ The name of the place is written as جرسوار Karsawar in one MS. and in the lith ed of Firishtah. In the other MS. it is کسوار Kiswar and in the lith ed it is گوسوار Gursawar. Col Briggs and Rodgers do not mention the name of the place. Srivara mentions two names but I cannot find any place mentioned as the camping ground of Muhammad Shah's army which at all resembles the names mentioned in the Tabaqat or by Firishtah.

² Both MSS. and the lith ed have Adam Khan and Fath Khan but Adam Khan had died earlier and so the mention of his name is a mistake. Firishtah lith ed does not mention him.

³ The name is written as آکھر جن or آکھر جن in the MSS. and the lith ed of the Tibaqat and of Firishtah. There is a place mentioned in Srivara Rajatarangini 4th taranga line ۱۸۰ called Bhairavagala of which Bahramgala is the modern name (See Stein's Rajatarangini vol II p 398) I have therefore taken Bahramgala as the correct name. The text edition following the second MS has آکھر جن.

⁴ The name is written as گوسوار Karsawar and گوسوار کے والahu in the MSS. and گوسوار Gosawar in the lith ed. and as گھواکہ کھواکہ in the

Among them were Saifi and Ankūi Jahāngīr was sorrowful at Saifi and Ankūi having obtained their release, and ¹ determined to make a treaty of peace with Fath Khān He sent a message to the Rāja of Rājaurī, by whose help Fath Khan had invaded the country that he might create disaffection in Fath Khan's army The Rāja of Rājaurī and other amīns separated from Fath Khan, and joined Jahāngīr Fath Khan in great dismay turned back, and Jahāngīr pursued him as far as Hīnahpūr Fath Khan went to Jammū and conquered it, and bringing great army from that country again advanced to conquer Kashmīr

² Jahāngīr now gave assurances of safety to the Sayyids, whom he had before this banished from the country, and summoned them, and a great battle took place between the Sultān and Fath Khan Saifi and Ankūi on the side of the latter fought with great gallantry, and on the side of the Sultān the Sayyids made fine efforts, and behaved with great bravery and courage ³ A large number of them attained to martyrdom, and the rest who survived obtained the confidence of the Sultān and Jahāngīr On this occasion Fath Khan was defeated and retired But he again collected an immense army and invaded Kashmīr, and after fighting several battles, became victorious

Couplet

If the flower of joy thou seekest, from the thorn of sorrow
draw not thy skirt,

If treasure thou seekest, thy foot into the mouth of the serpent
place

lith ed of Firishtah In the text edition it is دار وار Khaswār Various names are mentioned by Srīvara in lines describing this meeting, but I cannot find any which at all resembles any of the names mentioned in the MSS of the Tabaqāt or the lith ed of the Tabaqāt and of Firishtah , but in line 598 the battle is called the battle of Gusikoddāra (गुसिकाड्डार) (See also Stein's Rājatarangī, vol II, p 474 and also note 1 on p 687)

¹ The meaning is not clear The MSS as well as the lith ed of the Tabaqāt and of Firishtah all say ارادہ ملک عظیم حاں موسیٰ، but apparently it was only a stratagem, and there was no real intention of making a treaty with Fath Khan

² This is mentioned by Srīvara in line 570 of the 4th taranga of his Rājatarangī

³ See line 596 of the 4th taranga

Things now came to such a pitch ¹ that no one remained with the Sultan and all his treasure was gone ² Jahangir who was wounded secluded himself in a corner and Mir Sayyid Muhammad son of Sayyid Hasan joined Fath Khan ³ After some time some zamindars seized Sultan Muhammad Shah and surrendered him to Fath Khan At this time Muhammad Shah had reigned for ten years and seven months ⁴ Fath Khan kept him in the palace with his own brothers and gave orders that articles of food and drink and all other necessaries should be provided for him and Saifi and Ankri always showed all honour and respect to him and were always at his service

AN ACCOUNT OF FATH SHĀH WHICH IS ANOTHER NAME FOR FATH KHĀN

He sat on the throne of power in the year 894 A H assuming the title of Fath Shah and made ⁶Sufi and Ankri respectively the superintendent and administrator of all his affairs

At this time ⁶Mir Shams one of the disciples of Shah Qasim came from Iraq to Kashmir and many people accepted him as their

¹ See line 614 of the 4th taranga.

Sce line 632 of tha 4th taranga

² See line 643 of the 4th taranga.

⁴ See line 644 of the 4th taranga.

⁵ In the text edition it is only سلطان سعیج کو Acco Jing to the
 Jayabhaṭṭa's *Rajatarangini* खोमराजानक व्यवस्थितिरेखाचेमक प्रतीहा१५५तिद्वान्यमय
 e his three ministers (see lines 16-19) It is impossible to identify
 of them with the plain Saifi and Aniki of the Tabaqat and Kirtiatal
 with Sufiy and Runga Ray of Col Briggs (vol IV p 489) or with Saif
 inkari or Saifdar as Rodgers (*J A S B* vol LIV p 110) joining the two
 names jumbles up two persons into one I cannot find anything about
 Naraja or Pratihara but *Adhipati* or *Adhipa* seems to be the same as
 a margeśa or a lord or keeper of the road Stein thinks that a margeśa was
 equivalent to the Malik of the Muhammadan period but I do not think
 that there is any connection between the two names

⁶ He is called शास्त्राभिमत्य दाव ६१कदशज सब्दिग्रानविन्मेरयेष
but it is also added अस्य द्वापदेश विना गुरुं the meaning of which is not clear to me
(see I 21) Some person of the name of Somacandra probably the same
as *Somarayana* is said to have made over to his servants the lands appertaining
to temples (I ~) and his followers called Suphas cut down very tall trees
on the pretext of getting fire wood (I 23)

Firi htah gives some account of the tenets of Mir Shams from which it appears that they were the same as those of the Shi as in the guise of Sufism.

religious teacher, and all the endowments and property of the religious establishment of Dēvharah were allotted to his disciples, and his Sūfi followers endeavoured to burn and destroy all the temples of the *Kāfs*, and no one dared to forbid them. In a short time disputes arose among the *amīrs* and they came to the palace and slew one another ¹ Malik Ajhī and Zīnā, who were among the chief *amīrs* of Fath Khān, combined with a number of others, and taking Sultān Muhammad Shāh out of prison, brought him to Bāīāmūla, but as they did not find any marks of wisdom in him, they repented of what they had done, and wanted to seize him again, and surrendered him to Fath Khān. Muhammad Shāh having got information of this, made his escape one night to another place.

After that, ² Sultān Fath Shāh divided the country of Kashmīr into three equal parts, among himself and Malik Ajhī and Sankar, and made Malik Ajhī, the *vazīr* with full powers, and Sankar the *Dīwān* or revenue officer of the whole territory (*Dīwān-i-kul*). Malik Ajhī had wonderful skill in the decision of cases. Among the cases was this two men had a dispute about an ³ invoice of fine silk

and says that in a short time the people of Kashmīr specially the Chaks became his disciples, and some, who were ignorant, and did not understand his esoteric doctrines, became *mulāhids* or heretics, after his death. For other accounts of his doctrines see the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (Elias and Ross, pp. 435-436).

¹ The names are written as ملک احمدی و رانی in the MSS and ملک احمدی و رسا in the lith. eds of the *Tabaqat* and *Firishtah* respectively. In the text edition the names are ملک احمدی و ریسا. I cannot find any name in Prājyabhatta's *Rājataranginī* which at all resembles them but see the next note from which it appears that Malik Ajhī was called مسکن کا خل

² See lines 70 of Prājyabhatta's *Rājataranginī* from which it appears that one share was allotted to Fath Shāh (फत्ताख़ाख), another to Malik Ajhī (मस्कौत्सु), and the third to Shankar (राजानश्वन्दर). The reason of this division is not at all easy to discover. It also appears from line 73 that अत्यमस्कौ had the सुख मञ्चपद and राजानश्वन्दर had the सिद्धादेश.

³ The words are سر سبک ناریک اور سام، Col Briggs does not mention the matter. Rodgers says that the dispute was about a bale of silk سبک in the dictionary is said to mean an invoice, a list. But this meaning does not quite fit in with the context, where the judge is said to have inquired whether the دینچک had been wound with the finger, or on his finger. In the text edition M. Hidayat Hosain has سر سبک

Each claimed the invoice to be his and they both agreed as regards the weight and the colour. When the dispute came before Malik Ajhi he asked whether the silk had been wound on the finger or on a spindle. The owner said on the finger and the opposite party said on a spindle. When the silk was unwound it appeared that it had been wound on the finger.

¹ After some time had passed after the accession of Fath Shah Ibrahim son of Jahangir Makri on whom the position of his father had been conferred went to Muhammad Shah and having persuaded him to come from Hindustan brought him to invade Kashmir and a great battle having taken place between him and Fath Shah in the neighbourhood of Kholahuyah Sultan Fath Shah's army was defeated. He retired to Hindustan by way of Hirapur. He had reigned for nine years when this happened.

After that Sultan Muhammad sat on the seat of government for the second time and made Ibrahim Makri his *ta'ir* with absolute powers and named ² Iskandar Khan who was a descendant of Sultan Shihab ud din his successor to the throne. ³ The sons of Ibrahim went into the prison and put Malik Ajhi who was their brother in law to death. After some time Fath Khan having collected an immense army again invaded Kashmir and Sultan Muhammad Shah not having the power to oppose him fled without a fight. On this

¹ From line 90 of Prajyabhāṭṭa's *Rajatarangini* it appears that Fath Shah ruled the country for nine years after which Muhammad Shah regained the kingdom under the protection of the *mṛgīśa* (Ibrahim).

The name is written as كھلھویہ کھارلہ Kholahuyah and كھاندھ کھانمی Khumanmūz in the 11th ed of the Tabaqat and in the text edition and كھسالہ کھسالہ Khusulah in the 11th ed of Firishtah. Col Briggs says that the battle took place near Baramoola while Rogers (*JASB* vol LIV p 111) says it was at Kohesula. I cannot find any name in Prajyabhāṭṭa's *Rajatarangini* which at all resembles any of these.

² This is mentioned in line 91 of Prajyabhāṭṭa's *Rajatarangini*.

³ Firishtah 11th ed has by mistake دخن near for دخن brother in law. Col Briggs (vol IV p 488) says that it was the sons of Mullah Atchi and not himself that were put to death. Rogers (*JASB* vol LIV p 111) says correctly that the sons of Ibrahim Makri put Malik Ajhi to death in prison but he does not mention the relationship between them. Lines 9-94 of the Prajyabhāṭṭa's *Rajatarangini* agree with the Tabaqat.

occasion the period of Sultān Muhammād's reign was nine months and nine days¹

Sultān Fath Shāh again took possession of Kashmīr, and made² Jahāngīr, who was of the tribe of Badiyah his *vazīr* and Sankar Zinā his revenue minister (*Dīwān-i-Lul*) He ruled justly Muhammād Shāh after his defeat went to³ Iskandar Kakhār, and the latter sent a large force to help him Jahāngīr Badiyah was also aggrieved with Sultān Fath Shāh, and joined Muhammād Shāh and brought the latter into Kashmīr by way of⁴ Rājaurī Sultān⁵ Fath Shāh made Jahāngīr Mākī the commander of the vanguard of his army, and sent him to oppose Muhammād Shāh But his army was defeated and⁶ Jahāngīr Mākī together with his son was killed in the battle, and some chief *amīrs* of his such as 'Alī Shāh Bēgī and others joined Muhammād Shāh Sultān Fath Shāh being utterly helpless fled to Hindūstān, and died there⁷ His rule thus time lasted for one year and one month

Sultān Muhammād Shāh sat on the seat of authority again for the third time, and had the kettledrums beaten⁸ He imprisoned

¹ See line 99 of Prājyabhutta's *Rājatarangīnī*

² See line 100 of Prājyabhutta's *Rājatarangīnī* This Jahāngīr is called in it प्रतीक्षारच्छवाङ्गी, and Sankar Jīna is called राजानश्वर। I cannot find anything about *Pralihāra* or *Rājānaśringāra*

³ One MS and the lith ed have اسکندر کھنجر Iskandar Kakhār, the other MS اسکندر کاکی Firishtah lith ed, however, says that he went درد ملا سکندر شاہ لوڈھی رادشاہ دھلی and he is followed by Col Briggs (vol IV, p 489) and Rodges (J A S B, vol LIV, p 111) The Cambridge History of India is silent on this point, and so is Prājyabhutta's *Rājatarangīnī*

⁴ One MS and the lith ed have اور را حوری, but the other MS has اور را حوری, which is correct and which I have adopted Firishtah lith ed, also has اور را حوری! The return of Muhammād Shāh is described in lines 120–125 of Prājyabhutta's *Rājatarangīnī*

⁵ Compare line 127 which says that Fath Shāh advanced from the capital to fight Muhammād Shāh, aided by only one of his ministers प्रतीक्षारच्छवाङ्गर

⁶ These facts are mentioned by Firishtah, who, however, calls 'Alī Shāh Bākī, 'Alī Shāh Bēg, but they do not appear to be mentioned in Prājyabhutta's *Rājatarangīnī*

⁷ Compare line 130 of Prājyabhutta's *Rājatarangīnī*

⁸ Compare lines 135, 136 Kājī Chak is called चक्रेश्वराचन in line 136 He is also called काचचक्र elsewhere (see I 194)

Sankar who was among the great and trusted *amirs* of Fath Shah and selected Kaji Chak who was noted for his wisdom and bravery to be his *ta ir*. This man had wonderful cleverness in the decision of disputes. Among the disputes one was thus. A writer had a wife. It so happened that he remained at a distance from her for some time. The woman in her pessions married a second husband. After a time the writer again appeared and there was a dispute between him and the second husband (of his wife). They appeared before Kaji Chak. As neither of them had any witnesses in support of his claim the decision of the matter appeared to be difficult. At last Malik Kaji Chak said to the woman. You are telling the truth and the writer is a liar. Come pour a little water into this inkstand of mine so that I may write a bond (judgement¹) for you so that he may have no further dealings with you. The woman got up and put as much water in the inkstand as was required. The Malik said. Pour more. Again she put a little water so that it might not spill the ink and in doing so she showed the greatest caution. The Malik said to those who were present. From the greatest caution shown by the woman it is evident that she is the wife of the writer. In the end she also acknowledged it and the dispute was settled.

As the government of Sultan Muhammad acquired greater stability he ordered the execution of most of the *amirs* of Fath Shah such as² Saif Ankr and others and Sankar Zain died a natural death. The servants of Fath Shah brought his dead body from Indra. Sultan Muhammad Shah went forward to meet it and ordered it to be buried in the neighbourhood of the tomb of Sultan Zain ul abidin. These events happened in the year 922 A.H. (1516 A.D.)

In the same year Sultan Sikandar Lodi the *Badshah* of Dehli died and his son Ibrahim sat on the throne. At this time Malik Kaji imprisoned Ibrahim Makri Abdul Makri the son of the

¹ Compare lines 16-166 where the execution of सिफडामहमदिसि mentioned in the first and the death of राजानगर्जिर or rather his following Fath Shah to the grave owing to the great love he bore him are mentioned in the second.

² Compare line 171 of Prajyabhata's *Rajatarangini* from which it appears that Ibrahim Makri is there called देवराजामक. He is however called एवाच्छवपति

latter, in concert with some people from Hindūstān, made Iskandar Khān a claimant for the throne, and brought him to Kashmīr. Sultān Muhammad and Malik Kājī advanced to meet them in battle at¹ Lūlpūr in *pargana* Bāngil. ² Iskandar Khān not having the power to meet them retired into the fort of Nākām. Malik Kājī besieged the fort, and³ for some days there were skirmishes between the two parties. ⁴ At this time, a number of the *amīns* of the Sultān rebelled against him, and went to Iskandar Khān. Malik Kājī sent his son named Mas'ud to attack them, and he fighting bravely against them was slain, but the victory remained on his side, Iskandar Khān left the fort of Nākām and escaped, and the Malik entered it. The Mākrīs in distress and disorder followed Iskandar Khān, and Sultān Muhammad Shāh returned to the city joyful and happy. These events happened in the year 931 A.H. (1524 A.D.)

It was in that year, that His Majesty, Firdūs Makānī Bābāi Bādshāh attacked Ibrāhīm Lūdī and slew him in the battle of Panipat. At this time the disposition of Muhammad Shāh at the insinuations of his enemies turned against Malik Kājī.⁵ He became suspicious, went to Rājaurī and made the Rājas of the various parts of the

in line 173, and his sons ملکوکا اندھا لکا دیا: are said to have brought پتیہ شاہ ج خان مسکندر بیڈھ from outside Kashmīr (باقھاڑ) (I 174)

¹ The name is written as لولپور, and as نولپور in the MSS and as مالکل in the lith ed. Firishtah lith ed has دون درگی ممالک, but the name is not very distinct. Prājyabhatta's *Rājatarangīnī*, line 175, has لیلپوره فکل. Col Briggs (vol IV, p 490) calls the place Alwurpoor in Fankul district, and Rodgers (*JASB*, vol LIV, p 112), apparently following Firishtah, has Nolpin in the *parganna* of Māhekal. The name of the *pargana* is مالکل, or مالکل in the MSS and مالکل س in the lith ed of the *Tabaqat*. The correct name is Bāngil (No 31 in the list of Kashmīr *parganas* on page 494 of Stem's *Rājatarangīnī*, Vol II).

² Compare line 176 of Prājyabhatta's *Rājatarangīnī*

³ Compare line 178 of Prājyabhatta's *Rājatarangīnī*

⁴ The account in Prājyabhatta's *Rājatarangīnī* is somewhat different. It is said there that پتیہ شاہ with others (who were the rebels) entered the fort of Luhara, and the Cakrapa, i.e. Kājī Chak, finding two armies on his two sides (آرڈش صہیت اُن سینے نمیں), sent his son مساؤد کرا to attack Luhara (lines 179, 180). The fight of Masa'ud's army with the Lohara garrison and Masa'ud's death are described in lines 182-190.

⁵ This appears to be mentioned in line 218 of Prājyabhatta's *Rājatarangīnī*

country obedient to himself At this time Iskandar Khan who had gone away after being defeated by the Sultan came back with a number of Mughals and took possession of Lôharkôt ¹ Malik Yari brother of Malik Kaji hearing of it went and attacked him and having fought with him seized him and sent him to the Sultan The Sultan being pleased with Malik Kaji on account of his loyal services again entrusted the post of the *taârat* to him ² He had Iskandar's eyes blinded by drawing the needle across them

At this time Ibrahim Lûdî son of Sultan Muhammad Shah who had gone with his father to Sultan Ibrahim Lûdî when the latter had furnished Sultan Muhammad Shah with a large army and had given him permission to return to Kashmir but had kept Ibrahim Khan in his service came to Kashmir owing to the catastrophe which had overtaken Sultan Ibrahim Lûdî Malik Kaji who was annoyed with the Sultan on account of his having blinded Iskandar Khan put him and his immediate attendants by every pretext that he could think of into prison After having imprisoned him ³ he raised Ibrahim Khan to the throne

¹ Firishtah says that these Mughals belonged to or were sent by Firdus Maloni Zahur ud din Muhammod Babur Badshah

² He is called Tajcsakra in line 230 in which it is said that he and his other heroic brothers slew the Mughals in a battle in लोहरादिय।

³ This is mentioned in lines 236 237 in Prajyabhat'a s *Rajatarangini*

⁴ The matter of the deposition of Muhammad Shah महम्मद शाह साम्राज्यम् as it is called in Prajyabhat'a s *Rajatarangini* begins in line 245 where the author exclaims on the strange act of Providence (प्रियट) by which Muhammad Shah lost his kingdom by the act of his own son In line 248 it is said that on Ibrahim Lûdî's defeat Ibrahim Khan came to Kashmir cherished by his father's affection (प्रियविवदित) In the following line it appears that Kaji Chak's evil intention towards the Sultan made its appearance on account of his wish to seize the kingdom (राज्यजितौया) and he in his anger cast the राजानाहुकान मस्कलमदादीन into prison and from line 252 it appears that the चक्ररात swallowed up the महादमान् i.e. the sun called Muhammad Shah It would appear therefore that according to the chronicler it is not true that Kaji Chak cast Muhammad Shah into prison because he was annoyed with him for having caused Iskandar Khan to be blinded but he did so to gratify his own ambition It is true that the chronicler after stating the fact moralises that अ फलति कालेन सद्य पाको हि सीमवत् । खानसान्याहुथा यामूद्राभ्यधरान्त्रपस्य सा (l 254)

The period of the reign of Muhammad Shāh was, on this occasion,¹ eleven years and eleven months and eleven days

AN ACCOUNT OF SULTĀN IBRĀHĪM SHĀH, SON OF MUHAMMAD SHĀH

² When he sat on the throne, he made Mahk Kājī his permanent *vazīr* according to previous custom ³ Abdāl Mākrī son of Ibrāhīm Mākrī, who had gone to India to escape the tyranny of Malik Kājī, having at this time entered the service of His Majesty Fūdūs Makānī, submitted to him, that he had sought an asylum at that threshold, from the violence of his enemies If His Majesty would help that slave with an army, he would conquer Kashmīr for the servants of His Majesty in the easiest possible way His Majesty, ⁴ after obtaining the necessary information, about his appearance and character, said in kind language, that ⁵ even in jungles such men could be met with He honoured Abdāl Mākrī with the gift of a horse and a robe of honour, and detached ⁶ a large number of troops to accompany him He made ⁷ Shaikh 'Ali Bēg and Muhammad Khān and Mahmūd Khān the commanders of the detachment

¹ This agrees with Firishtah and Rodgers (*J A S B*, vol LIV, p 113), but Col Briggs (vol IV, p 491) says that Mahomed had reigned for nineteen years, when he was deposed, but it is not clear whether this was the period of his reign in the third term Prājyabhatta's *Rājataranginī* (I 253) makes it eleven years, ten months and ten days (एकादशर्षान् दश भाषान् दिनानि च)

² Compare lines 257 and 258 of Prājyabhatta's *Rājataranginī*

³ Compare line 260 of Prājyabhatta's *Rājataranginī* where Bābar is called दिल्लीप सुमुलेश्वरम् ।

⁴ This is stated by Prājyabhatta as आकारेक्षितवाक्चेष्टासमूर्ण वीच्य भार्गप । अय तु एष्काराजोऽभृत्स्थानतकन्वर । (I 261) from which it would appear, that Bābar was greatly impressed by what he saw of and heard from Abdāl Mākrī

⁵ It is rather difficult to understand the mention of jungles but Firishtah also has the same word The idea probably is that Bābar was probably surprised that a country like Kashmīr, which he thought was covered by forests, could produce such a fine looking and able man As the *Rājataranginī*, in the line I have quoted, says, he lowered his head in astonishment

⁶ Prājyabhatta's *Rājataranginī* (I 262) says सहस्रसूरा वौराणि सेनासै प्रतिपादिता ।

⁷ All the three names appear in both MSS and in the lith.ed., but Firishtah lith. ed. omits the second name, and he is, of course, followed by Col Briggs and Rodgers Prājyabhatta's *Rājataranginī* (I 265) also has the first and third

As Abdal Makri perceived that the Kashmiris would ¹ hate the coming of the Mughals he advanced towards Kashmir having for political reasons given the name of Sultan to Nazuk Shah son of Fath Shah. On the other side Mahk Kuji took Ibrahim Shah with him and made the village of ² Sullah in the pargana of Bangil his camp-ground. The two armies encamped in front of each other. Abdal Makri sent the following message to Mahk Kuji ⁴ I waited on Babar Badshah and have brought reinforcements from him. The power and grandeur of that Badshah are so great that he made Sultan Ibrahim the Badshah of Delhi who had five hundred thousand men in the winking of an eye like the dark dust. Your welfare lies in this that you should come into the band of his loyal adherents. But if this great fortune is not in your lot come quickly and fight with this army. There is no time left for remedy or hesitation. Mahk Kuji made ⁵ Suvid Ibrahim Khan and Sirang and Mahk Yarl the

names which it transforms almost beyond recognition into شیخ احمد و سید عادل خاں।

¹ Rodgers (J I.S.B. vol LIV p 113) I think quite incorrectly translates the words میر حرامہ فر by the words "would despise."

² Kirishtah lith ed incorrectly calls Nazuk Shahi the son of Ibrahim and he is followed by Col Briggs and by Rodgers. The Cambridge History of India page 287 agrees with the Tabaqat and calls him the second son of Fath Shah. Prajyabhatta's Rajatarangini (I - 60) has پٹیا خانہ خاں بھائی کشاپی دیلم!

³ Both MSS and the lith eds of the Tabaqat and of Kirishtah have در موضع مساح اور سرکش سا مل Col Briggs (vol IV p 40) has Sullah in the district of Fankul and Rodgers (J I.S.B. vol LIV p 113) has Sulah in the pargana of Bankul. The Cambridge History of India III page 287 says the battle took place at Naushahra (Nowshera) but does not give any authority. According to Prajyabhatta (I - 6) the Cakrapa i.e. Qili Chak placed his army at Nilaava. The place is mentioned in various places of Kalhana's Rajatarangini as a district of Kashmir. In the text edition نکل is changed to نکل while in the English translation following Stein (vol II p 481) Bangil has been adopted.

⁴ A part of this adjuration of Abdal Makri appears in lines 60- 1 of Prajyabhatta's Rajatarangini.

⁵ The commanders are called سید احمد خاں میر حامد سردار and سید کشاپ دیلم in line 273 and those of the other army are called سید کشاپ دیلم ریغ تراپر شفیع and

commanders of three detachments, and began the battle. A great fight took place between the two armies, and many were slain. And of the renowned nobles of Ibrāhīm Shāh, Yārī Chak, and Sarang and others, each of whom had large number of followers, were slain. Malik Kājī in great distress fled to the city but he could not stay there also, and went away towards the hilly country. Nothing is known about Ibrāhīm Shāh, as to what happened to him, and where he went.

The period of his rule was eight months and twenty-five days.

AN ACCOUNT OF ¹NĀZUK SHĀH, SON OF FATH SHĀH

After the victory,² he ascended the throne in the city of Srinagar, and gave assurances of safety to the Kashmīris, who were afraid and suspicious of the Mughals. The Kashmīris then made rejoicings at his accession. And he then left the city, and took up his abode in Nau Shahr, which from ancient time was the capital of the Sultāns. He selected Abdāl Mākrī to be his *vazīr* and representative (*vakīl*). Abdāl went as far as the ³country of Jamalnagari in pursuit of Malik Kājī, but whom he found that it would be impossible to seize him, he commenced to make a division of the country. Leaving aside the *Khālsa* or the crown lands, the country was divided into

شیخیمیں which are probably identical with Malik Lōhar and Malik Rēgi Chak, and شیخیمیں seems to be another form of شیخ علی بے the name of Shaikh 'Ali Bēg. See the latter part of note 7, pages 696, 697. The battle is described with some spirit in line 275 and the following lines and the death of Yārī Chak (called ملک تاجاک) is mentioned in line 282, and that of Sarang in the next line. The flight of Qādī Chak to the city is mentioned in line 284. In the text-edition مک has been adopted in place of سرگ.

¹ He is also sometimes called Nādū Shāh, as the name is Nādū on all his coins (Rodgers, *J A S B*, vol LIV, p 114) but all the histories call him Nāzuk Shāh.

² Compare lines 285–287 of Prājyabhatta

³ The words are تا سواہ حمل مگری or تا سواہ حمل مگری in the MSS and in the lith eds of the Tabaqāt and of Firishtah. Col Briggs (vol IV, p 492) has "The town of K'hulnagāy", and Rodgers (*J A S B*, vol LIV, p 114) has "the confines of Jahalnagāri". In line 288 of Prājyabhatta it is stated that جاتا جسماں مارغا صنپا کوئی مانیا though it is not said there, that they went there in pursuit of Malik Qādī. In the text-edition it is لکھی مگری.

four shares ¹ One share was allotted to Abdal Makri the second to Mir Ali the third to Lohar Makri and the remaining to one of the Chaks Abdal Makri then sent back the servants of Irdus Makani to Hindustan after giving them many presents and valuable gifts They sent an angry message to Malik Kaji and summoned Muhammad Shah to come to them - and going to Mir Ali brought Muhammad Shah out of the fort of Loharkot and they all came together to Kashmir (*i.e.* Srinagar) They did not permit Malik Kaji to come

Sultan Muhammad Shah then sat for the fourth time on the throne and he made Nuzuk Shah ² who had governed the country for twenty years his successor At this time His Majesty Irdus Makani departed from this transitory world and His Majesty Jinnit Ashfaqi Muhammad Humayun Budshah sat on the throne of the empire This happened in

¹ The division is mentioned by Firishtah and Rodgers with some differences and also in Prajyabhatta's *Rajatarangini* lines 288-289 but no one gives any reason for the division The division as given in Prabhatta's *Rajatarangini* agrees with that in the Tibaqat the four shares being allotted in it respectively to महोकर्त्ताक आलीम सामनदर and राजेश्वर It is curious that according to Mirza Haider Dughlat (page 411 Flas and Ross's translation of the Tarikh-i-Ra-hid) he found the following four Maliks in Kashmir Abdal Makri Kajehak Lohur Makri and Yakhchak Three of the 6 names appear to agree with those who got three of the shares The fourth आलीम or Ali Mir had been killed in an engagement with the Mirza himself

Firishtah's account is somewhat different According to him Shaikl Mir Ali went to Loharkot and brought Muhammad Shah with him According to Rodgers (J A S B vol LIV p 114) Abdal Makri recalled Muhammad Shah from his prison of Loharkot and the two *i.e.* Abdal and Muhammad Shah entered Kashmir as friends This does not appear to me to be quite correct Prajyabhatta in lines 90-96 mentions the message sent to the Cakreshi the sending back of the Mughals and the going of Ali Mir to Muhammad Shah

² Firishtah says he had governed the country for twenty years and eight months Rodgers (J A S B vol LIV p 114) has 20 years and 0 months the number of months is of course incorrect Prajyabhatta in line 299 has राज्य कर्त्तव्य संप्रेक्ष ८ वर्ष नाजिकी दृष्टि । असु धुक्त राज्य प्राप्त योवराज्य भद्रमदात् । *i.e.* the King Naujha (Nazuk) having reigned for one year obtained the position of heir apparent from King Muhammad The period of Nazuk's reign certainly was not twenty years he ascended the throne in 933 A.D. 1537 A.D. and was deposed and made heir apparent in 934 A.D. 1539 A.D. so he reigned for a little more than a year as stated by Prajyabhatta

the year 937 A H. When one year of the reign of Sultan ¹ Nāzuk Shāh had elapsed, Maḥk Kājī Chak, who had gone to the hilly country collected a vast number of men there, and came to the neighbourhood of ² Kahīān. Maḥk Abdāl came and confronted him, and fought with him. Maḥk Kājī fled and went to Hindūstān.

At this time, Mīrzā Kāmiān had absolute power on the Punjāb. Shaikh ‘Alī Bēg, Muhammad Khān and Mahmūd Khān, ³ who had, after the conquest of Kashmīr returned with the permission of Abdāl Mākāī, represented to Mīrzā Kāmiān, “As we have acquired a knowledge of the whole country of Kashmīr, if you pay a little attention, the whole country can be conquered with the greatest ease.” ⁴ Mīrzā Kāmiān appointed Maḥmam Bēg to be the commander of his army and sent him to conquer Kashmīr in concert with the nobles who had joined them. When the Mughal army arrived in the neighbourhood of Kashmīr, the inhabitants in great terror left all their property and things in their houses, and fled towards the hills. The Mughal army

¹ Both MSS and the lith ed have Nāzuk Shah, but this is clearly a mistake. Firishtah has ار ۱۰۰۰ میں ار ۱۰۰۰، i.e., of the reign of Muhammad Shāh, which is correct.

² Both the MSS and the lith ed of Firishtah have کھرائی Kahrāi. The lith ed of the Tabaqāt has پunjhrār Punjhrār. Rodgers (*J A S B*, vol LIV, p 114) has Kahrār. Prājyabhatta has सप्तमेऽन्वेष्यपै सार्व धुङ्केच्छु काच्चच्रापि। मौर्वीरयासादगमत् सचेष्योदय दिग्न्तरस् (I 301) which does not, however, make one much wiser as to the locality.

³ Rodgers (*J A S B*, vol LIV, p 114) says, “Shaikh Ali Beg and Muhammad Khān the leaders of the allies who had helped Abdāl Mākāī, and who had left him without permission.” This is totally incorrect. As a matter of fact they were sent back with many presents and valuable gifts. In the particular passage under translation both Nizām-ud-dīn and Firishtah say سے ۱۰۰۰ and not سے ۱۰۰۰۔ In the text edition it is سے ۱۰۰۰.

⁴ This is mentioned by Prājyabhatta (I 303) Maḥmam Bēg being transformed into مہموماً خصوصی پتی and Mīrzā Kāmiān into میرزاً کامیان and the following facts are mentioned (lines 304–308) that شریخ اعلیٰ بھیگ, مہموماً دخان and other Mughals accompanied the Mughal army, that Muhammad Shāh and others quickly brought back the Calīesa, i.e., Qādi Chak to help him, that the Mughals having invaded the city with thousands of horses and elephants, the Kashmiris took shelter in the fort, and the Mughals burnt down and looted the houses and cities, etc.

then looted the city and set fire to it. Some of the Kashmiris who had returned from the hills to fight with the Mughals were slain. Abdal Makri had a conviction at first that Malik Kaji was with the Mughals but when he knew at last of a certainty that he was not with them he showed friendship and attachment towards him and summoned him with his sons and brothers and they made promises and bound one another by oaths. This became a source of strength for the Kashmiris and they set their heart on a battle and combined together and engaged the Mughals in a big fight. ¹ The latter considering it advisable to do so went back to their own country.

After some time Malik Kaji having seen the treachery and pride of Malik Abdal did not consider it desirable to remain in the country and went to Hindustan. ² It was in this year that is in 939 A.D. that Sultan Suynd Khan the Badshah of Kashghar sent his son Sikandar Khan in company with Mirza Haidar Kashghari with twelve thousand men by way of Tibet and Lār to invade Kashmir. The Kashmiris (frightened) at the rumour of their power and grandeur evacuated Kashmir and without any battle fled in different directions and sought shelter in the hilly country. The Kashghar army having entered the Kashmir territory razed the grand edifices which had been built by the old Sultan to dust and set fire to the city and the villages and having searched for the treasures which were buried under the ground seized them and all the soldiers loaded themselves with the booty and went everywhere to find the Kashmiris who had

¹ This appears to be described in a very metaphorical language in line 311 of Prajyabhatta's *Rajatarangini*.

² Firishtah agrees but says Malik Qad Chak went to Bhar. Rodgers (*JASB* vol LIV p 115) says Malik Gaji Chakk could not endure the prosperity of Abdal (which is not at all correct) so he betook himself to Bhar. Prajyabhatta gives (l 312) the reason and the fact of the departure of Qadi Chak very succinctly namely मरग्न नादृवसु कापचका विद्ययो ते being alarmed at the scanty regard shown to him by the Margeša i.e. Abdal Makri Kaca Cakra left the country.

³ Firishtah agrees almost *verbatim*. The invasion of the Kashghar army is mentioned Prajyabhatta in line 314 etc. It is said to have been commanded by Mirza Haidar (मीरजहैदर) and Sikandar Khan is not mentioned in the beginning but is mentioned further on in line 331.

hidden themselves, and slew them and took them prisoners. This state of things went on for ¹ three months.

And Malik Kājī Chak and Malik Abdāl Mākī and other renowned *sardārs* went to and took shelter in ² Chakdhar, but as they did not consider it advisable to remain there, ³ they descended from the mountains in the direction of Khāwāiyāyah, and having resolved

¹ Rodgers (*J A S B*, vol LIV, p 115) contrary to both Nizām-ud-dīn and Fīrishtah has six months. Prājyabhatta (I 325) also says that the Kashmiri chiefs fought with the *Mlechhas* for three months.

² The name is written as چکدارہ in both MSS., and as چکو مر in the lith ed. Fīrishtah lith ed has چکدارہ Col Briggs (vol IV, p 494) has "the town of Chukdura," and Rodgers (*J A S B*, vol LIV, p 115) has Chakdara, but no attempt has been made by anybody to identify the place, and I also have not been at all successful. Prājyabhatta (I 324) has अलावरण-युतांशु भूपम्भिपु गितिधि। कामीरिकासमूनाया आव्रयान् स्वेच्छशक्या, i.e., the commanders of the Kashmiri army, fearing the *Mlechhas*, obtained asylum in the *Bhūpabhuṁis* (whatever they might be) which were covered with water, but I have no idea as to what the *Bhūpabhuṁis* were and where they were situated. The next line, however, mentions three places, Ciroddāra, Hajyengakotta and Cakradhara, but the line goes on to say سُلْطانیَّا حَدَّادَیَن مَا سَنَنَ سَنَنَ پَرَادَیَتَے। If اُلْبَا is a mistake for اُلْلَا, then the line would mean that taking shelter in Ciroddāra, Hajyengakotta and Cakradhara, they carried on the war with the *Mlechhas* for three months, and then Chakdara or Chakdhārī would probably be Cakradhara, but unfortunately I cannot find anything about Cakradhara also, and I cannot alter سُرُتَّا to سُرِتَّا. In the text-edition it is چکدارہ.

³ The readings here are different. One MS. has بھاپ کھاوارہ وار انھا بھاپ کھا و ریادہ و ارانھا برلا مارہ فروہ امددا نارہ کوہ فروہ امددا while the lith ed has بھاپ کھا دربارہ و ارانھا برلا ماریادہ اور کوہ فروہ امددا فروہ امددا. Fīrishtah lith ed has بھاپ کھا دربارہ و ارانھا برلا نادہ اور کوہ فروہ امددا Col Briggs (vol IV, p 494) has (they) "retreated to Baramoola living occasionally in the hills." Rodgers says that from Chakdara "they went to Khāwāia and Bāradār. From this place by the way of Bādah they descended from the mountains." Prājyabhatta does not give much help. He says (I 330), چکڑا دیس میں نجی یونیا میں بامدادی سنبھالیں سنبھالیں۔ لے دی ریوا مس پار چکڑا دیسا مار گپا آہ وایا! If Cakrādhāra is identical with Cakradhara, then we find that the Kashmiri leaders coming from Cakrādhāra or Cakradhāra encamped near Bhimādevī after crossing the Ledari, for a battle, but there is no mention of any places like this in Nizām-ud-dīn or Fīrishtah. In the text-edition مار نادہ is apparently a misprint for مار ناوہ

to engage the Mughals in battle went forward from there by way of Marbiwah. The Sultanzada Iskandar Khan and Mirza Haidar also came forward with an immense army to meet them.¹ There was a great battle and Malik Ali and Mir Husain and Shaikh Mir Ali and Mir Kamal among the Kashmiri commanders were slain. Of the Kashghars also some good men met their death. The Kashmiris wanted to turn their backs on the battle field but Mahl Kajt and Abdal Makri placed their feet of bravery firmly and persuading and encouraging the others did justice to their bravery and gallantry. So many men were slain on the two sides that they were beyond all calculation. Some headless bodies rose up and moved about. The reason of this has been mentioned on a former occasion. The battle between the parties went on from morning till evening. When night came on the two armies taking note of their plunder went back to their respective places. Both sides coming out of the battle agreed to a settlement. The Kashghar men sent camelot the warm woollen cloth (purpet) and other beautiful things to Sultan

¹ The account of the battle as given by Firuztah agrees with that in the text except that Mir Husain is called Mir Haian. He is also called Mir Ha in one of the MSS. of the Tabaqat but he is called Mir Husain in the other MSS. and in the lith ed. Col Briggs and Redvers generally agree but the statement made by Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.* vol. I IV p. 11) that the prisoners were numbered on both sides and were liberated does not appear to me to be correct. In Cambridge History of India page 87 only mentions this battle briefly but the statement made in it that the army of Kashmir fought so fiercely from morning until evening that the invaders were fain to make peace is also not correct. The advantage if any lay on the side of the invaders as the Kashmiris at one time were about to retire and in any case both sides were anxious for peace. The battle is described by Irajat-hatfa in lines 331 to 337 and here we have not only the dancing bodies mentioned by Nizamuddin and Firuztah but کھنڈلہ کا چاندی وہ تاریخ اور یہ پھر میٹھا نہیں یہ the dancing headless bodies *Takshanaras*. *Takshas* are *Rakshas* i.e. *not* feed on human flesh.

² The presents according to the MS⁴ were *عَصْرَلَبْ وَلَبْ* instead of *عَصْرَلَبْ وَلَبْ*, reading the latter as is a purpet. Firuztah agrees with the MSS but changes *لَبْ* to *لَبْ*. Col Briggs does not mention the presents but Iod. ed. (*J.A.S.B.* v. I IV p. 115) has wool hawks and greenish things. Neither the Cambridge Hist. of India nor Irajat-hatfa's *Pojaratangini* mentions the presents.

Muhammad and ¹ agreed to a relationship. Sultān Muhammad also in concert with Mālik Kājī and Abdāl wrote a treaty of peace, and sent it with the wonderful products of Kashmīr to the Kāshghar people. ² It was also settled that Sultān Muhammad's daughter should be given in marriage to the Sultānzāda Sikandar, and the Kashmīr prisoners still in the custody of the Mughals should be released. The Kāshgharis agreed to this treaty, and turned towards Kāshghar, and the disturbances which had been caused in Kashmīr became changed to peace and prosperity.

During this ³ year two comets or stars with tails rose above the horizon. A terrible famine took place in these days so that most of

¹ For an explanation of this see the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, p. 441 where it appears that, "everyone, according to his rank, formed a connection (*mulākāt*) with one of the Sultans or Maliks of Kashmīr." Mirzā Haidar became connected with Muhammad Shāh, and according to "the Moghul practice we called each other 'friends'." Similar relations were formed between the other Moghul leaders and the Kashmir nobles.

² Rodgers (*JASB*, vol. LIV, p. 115) gives what appears to me to be a quite incorrect account of these terms. He says, "the Kāshghar party taking with them presents of wool, hawks and precious things, went to Muhammad Shāh, and asked his daughter in marriage to Sikandar Khān, and desired that the women whom the Mughals had in their hands, should there remain." Neither Nizām ud dīn nor Firishtah says that the Kāshghar people went to their presence, and asked for Muhammad Shāh's daughter. They both say that it was settled that the marriage would take place. Prājyabhatta in line 342 makes a curious statement about the marriage of the princess, खरेस सुगुला ययु। बलात् पौरत्रिय साम्नादाय राजसुतासपि। This would mean that the princess was taken away by conciliatory methods.

³ The comets and famine are mentioned by Firishtah and Col. Briggs. The Cambridge History of India, page 288, mentions the famine but not the comets. Rodgers (*JASB*, vol. LIV, p. 116) mentions two comets and the famine, and with reference to the latter, he makes the curious statement, "The massacre of Zuljir was regarded no less severe than this famine in its effect," which is very different from what Nizām-ud-dīn and Firishtah say about the matter as would appear on a comparison of my translation. He had also apparently forgotten that he had called *Zuljir* *Zuljū* on page 99 of his paper. According to Prājyabhatta (l. 344) there were not two comets, but there was a rain of meteorites everywhere on the ripe paddy fields, and then a comet made its appearance. The line is पक्षशालिवरस्फानिपूर्णचेषु सर्वतः। नभसत्ताका

the people died of hunger and the remainder who survived abandoned their native land and went away to distant places and the story of Dilju who had perpetrated a general massacre having sunk into oblivion in people's minds appeared as of no importance in comparison to this catastrophe. These hardships continued for ten months and then ceased and as the fruit season also drew near some happiness made its appearance among the people.

During this period a disagreement occurred between Malik Kayl and Ahdal Makri and the former coming out of the city took up his residence in Zainpur. Malik Abdal continued to be the Sultan's *ta'ir* and the governors and the officers perpetrated every kind of oppression that they wanted on the *ra'ayat* and no one was there to attend to their complaints.¹ After some time Sultan Muhammad Shah suffered from a burning fever he gave away all the gold that he had to the poor and needy and passed away from the world as a result of the same illness. The period of his reign was² fifty years.

पैदुम्य वेतुरकात। The famine is described in lines 340-358. It is said (l 350) that अदाचनकोऽयु उत्तरतः दि से। प्रत्यह सणुलग्ने पक्षान्ति उपुष्यन।

¹ Compare line 360 of Prajyabhatta. The place where Qadi Chak took up his residence is called Jainapura in this line. Zainapor is mentioned in the Index of Stein's *Rajatarangini* but the page reference vol II page 47^o against it is incorrect on page 471 however it is stated that from the small town of Jainapuri founded by him the new subdivision took the name of Zainapor or Jainapura.

² The illness and death of Muhammad Shah and his adjurations to his ministers are described in Prajyabhatta's *Rajatarangini* lines 360-373. He seems to have suffered from various complaints and not from the उर्ध्वम् व alone mentioned by Nizam ud din and Firishtah as it is said महान् दो देहो दुष्टिवामयै। बवावामा न पैरते पीडया अजरीकरत।

³ Firishtah also says he reigned for fifty years and Rodgers (*JASB* vol LIV p 116) explains this by saying that the fifty years must reckon from 891 A.D. and include all the reigns of Fath Shah and Nuzuk Shah. It is noteworthy however that Prajyabhatta (l 373) says that he reigned for five years वयान पच राती भूयो राज्य क्ला. His last or fourth reign extended from 935 to 941 A.D. i.e. 9-1 34/35 A.D. which is about 6 years so that the fifty of Nizam ud din and Firishtah may be a mistake for five.

¹ AN ACCOUNT OF SULTĀN SHAMS-UD-DĪN, SON OF SULTĀN MUHAMMAD SHĀH

² Sultān Shams-ud-dīn sat on the throne of the empire after his father, and divided the whole country, in agreement with his *vazīr*, among the *amīrs*. The people of Kashmīr made rejoicings on his accession. But in a very short time there were disputes between Malik Kājī and Abdāl Mākrī, and the former carried the Sultān away in the direction of Gōswā to fight with the latter. Abdāl also came forward to meet him with a ³complete army. But in the end a peace having been determined upon, Abdāl went away to Kamīūj, which was his *jāgīr*, and the Sultān and Malik Kājī returned to Sīmagai. ⁴ Again after some time Abdāl Mākrī turned his head from allegiance, and commencing to make disturbances created confusion in Kamīūj. This time also the disturbance was quelled with ease. Nothing more than this can be gleaned from the *Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr* about Sultān Shams-ud-dīn, and the period of his rule.

¹ Both MSS. and the lith. ed. omit the word *و* the son, after Shams ud dīn. Firishtah lith. ed. has it. I have inserted it.

² Firishtah agrees, but Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 496) following the *Touarikh-Kashmīri* calls the successor of Muhammad Shāh, Ibrāhim, and not Shams-ud-dīn. Rodgers and the Cambridge History of India follow Nīzām-ud-dīn and Firishtah. Prājyabhatta devotes some lines (374–376) to the people's lamentation on the death of Sultān Muhammad, and calls the new Sultān شمس الدین (l. 380) a very abbreviated form of Shams-ud-dīn Shāh. It also mentions the rejoicings of the high and the low (سہن و پامراں سارے) and their blessings in line 382. Then we suddenly come to the disputes between the two factions, but it is difficult to discover any reason for them. The two armies were stationed at गर्धमोड़ार and जलगांतिक, and then Rīgacakra went as an intermediary, and concluded a settlement to the effect that Kācacakra (Qādi Chak) should remain at the capital and the Mārgapas (Mākrīs) in Kamīūj (l. 389).

³ استعداد دیماں in the text edition is apparently a misprint for دیماں تماں

⁴ As to the account of the latter part of the reign of Shams ud-dīn and the reign of Nāzuk Shāh, Firishtah agrees almost word for word, and so does Rodgers. The Cambridge History of India, page 288, says that Shams-ud-dīn II died in June or July 1540, when Nāzuk Shāh was restored. The account in Prājyabhatta's *Rājataranginī* is very confused. It mentions the intrigues of the leaders and the incursions of the Mughals (l. 403) but I have not been able to discover anything about Shams ud-dīn or Nāzuk Shāh.

cannot be ascertained After him his son Nazuk Shah sat on the seat of government but five or six months had not passed when Mirza Haidar having acquired power in the country took possession of it During the period of his rule public prayers were read and coins struck in the renowned name of His Majesty Jinnat Ashiani¹ Humayun *Badshah*

AN ACCOUNT OF THE RULE OF MIRZĀ HAIDAR

In the year 948 A.H. at the time when Jinnat Ashiani having been defeated by Sher Khan had come to Lahore Ahdal Makri and Regi Chak and some other of the chief men of the Kashmir sent a petition through Mirza Haidar containing expressions of their loyalty and incitements to him to seize the country His Majesty (i.e. Humayun) gave Mirza Haidar permission to go and also decided to follow him himself When Mirza Haidar arrived at² Bhumbar

¹ One MS omits by mistake to take the passage from حدب اسدانی نادسائی بود including the heading about the rule of Mirza Haidar

² He is called Zangi Chak in the lith ed of Firishtah Zungy Chuk by Col Briggs (vol IV p 498) and Zangi Chakk by Rodgers (*JASB* vol LIV p 117) and the Cambridge History of India and the translators of the *Tarikh-i-Rashid* also call him Zangi Chak but the name is رنگی حک in both MSS of the Tabaqat and more distinctly رنگی حک in the lith ed Of course there is very little difference between رنگی and رنگی as written in Persian *رینچک* or *رینچکه* is mentioned by Prajaprabhatta in lines 388-393 and elsewhere *Riga Cakra* may be transformed to Regi Chak but cannot be changed to Zangi Chak Regi Chak is therefore the correct name and I have kept the رنگی حک in the text edition is incorrect

³ The name looks like بھر in the MS The lith ed has بھر and Firishtah lith ed has بھر Col Briggs (vol IV p 498) has Mein and Rodgers (*JASB* vol LIV p 117) has Bhir The Cambridge History of India does not mention the name of the place I consulted the fountain head for the correct name but Mirza Haidar is delightfully vague in the *Tarikh-i-Rashid* page 483 where he says when I arrived at the foot of the pass (leading to) Kashmir Kach Chak ascended (?) by one road and we by another and without further contention or discussion we (all) arrived at (Kashmir) I cannot find any place of the name of Bhir but Bumbar or Bhumbar lies at the foot of the outer hill in the centre of the tract between the Vitasta and the Cinab note 180 page 33 Stein's *Rajatarangini* So I think Bumbar is correct and I have kept it In the text edit on M. Hidayat Hosain has بھر

Abdāl Mākri and Rēgī Chak came and joined him. There were not more than four hundred horsemen with Mūzā Haidar. When he arrived at Rājamī, Kūjī Chak, who was (then the *de facto*) ruler of Kashmīr, came with three thousand horsemen and fifty thousand foot soldiers to the ¹Kāimal pass, and strengthened it. Mūzā Haidar abandoned that route, and started by way of Pānj. Kājī Chak in his great pride did not guard that road, and Mūzā Haidar, crossing the hill, arrived in the Kashmīr plateau, and suddenly took possession of the city of Sīmagār. Abdāl Mākri and Rēgī Chak having secured a footing, took charge of all affairs, and allotted some *parganas* as the Mirzā's *jāgīr*. It so happened that about this time Abdāl Mākri's days came to an end, and he died after recommending his sons to the Mirzā.

After the arrival of Mūzā Haidar in Kashmīr, ²Kājī Chak went to Shēr Khān Afghan in Hindūstān, and brought five thousand horsemen, who were commanded by Husain Shāwānī and ³Ādil Khān.

¹ Firishtah has كَتَلْ كَرْتَلْ and Col Briggs (vol IV, p 498) has Kurmul pass. In the text-edition كَرْتَلْ has been changed to كِيرْتَلْ. Rodgers (*J A S B*, vol LIV) p 117, has transformed Katal Kartal to "Khabal Kartal (it is called Kāimal by Erskine)", and he has transformed سُبْحَنْ, which is written as سُبْحَنْ in the MSS and in the lith ed of the *Tabaqat* and as سُبْحَنْ in Firishtah lith ed out of all recognition to "Pabhaj (the Pamīj of Erskine)". Col Briggs comes very near the correct name and calls it Punnuj. The Cambridge History of India, page 288, does not give the name of the place, where Kājī Chakk was stationed, but gives the correct name (Pūnch) of the pass, by which Mirzā Haidar crossed the hill. It makes the statement that Mirza Haidar's allies "engaged Kājī Chakk's attention by threatening a frontal attack", but I cannot find any authority whatever for it. Both the *Tabaqat* and Firishtah simply say that he abandoned that route, and Mirza Haidar (whose words I have quoted in the preceding note) whatever he says or means, does not mention any threat of a frontal attack by his allies on Kāchī Chak.

² According to Mirza Haidar (*Tarikh-a-Rashidi*, p 485), there was an interval of some months between his arrival, and Kāchī Chak's bringing the troops from Shir Khān. Mirza Haidar crossed the pass into Kashmīr on the 22nd of Rajab. Then the winter came on, and it was not till the beginning of spring that Shir Khan's troops arrived. Just then Abdāl Makri was attacked by paralysis and died.

³ The name is 'Alāwal Khān in one MS and in the lith ed, but it is 'Ādil Khān in the other MS and in the lith ed of Firishtah.

and two elephants to reinforce his own troops Mirza Haidar in concert with Regi Chak advanced to meet him in battle. The two parties arrayed their forces between the villages of ¹Datarbar and Kawah and the breeze of victory having blown on the plumes of the standards of Mirza Haidar the amirs of Sher Khan and Kaji Chak were routed. Kaji Chak took up his residence in ²Bahramgalah Mulla Muhammad Yusuf the *Akhatab* (preacher) of the *Jama* Mosque of Srinagar ³obtained the date of the victory in the words *Fath-i-Mukarrar*

In the year 950 A.H. Mirza Haidar took up his residence in the fort of ⁴Indarkot ⁵Owing to Mirza Haidar having entertained suspicions about Regi Chak the latter fled and went to Kaji Chak and the two united together and in the year 951 A.H. advanced towards Srinagar with the object of destroying Mirza Haidar's power. Bahram Chak son of Regi Chak reached Srinagar. Mirza Haidar nominated Bandagan Kokih and Khwajah Haji Kashmiri to crush

¹ The names are دار بارو and گارہ in one MS and in the lith ed and مارو and گارہ in the other MS Firishtah lith ed has دار بارو and گارہ The *Tarikh-i-Rashid* gives various particulars which are not to be found in the *Tabaqat* or in Firishtah but does not give the names of these villages Col Briggs (vol IV p 499) has Dhunuj and Gava and Rodgers (*JASB* vol LIV p 117) has Danahdyar and Kawah. The Cambridge History of India does not give any name. In the text edition the names are مراجع گارہ and دار بارو

² Bahramgalah has wrongly been changed to گارہ پرمکالہ in the text edition

³ The meaning is not clear some words having probably been omitted I have however supplied the omission by a reference to page 485 of the *Tarikh-i-Rashid*

⁴ According to the *Tarikh-i-Rashid* page 485 Mirza Haidar is said to have placed his and his followers families in the fort of Andarkot when he was going to fight Kachi Chak and Sher Khan's armies. The translators say in a note that this must be the Indrakot of Firishtah. Firishtah however would not dream of writing Indrakot he has Indarkot. It may be noted however that there is a *pargana* called Andarkot among those of the Kamraj tract (Stein vol II p 494). So Indarkot may be correct.

⁵ Firishtah agrees but Col Briggs makes various mistakes Rodgers's account follows Firishtah. The Cambridge History of India page 288 apparently follows Col Briggs about Zangi (Regi) Chak's becoming suspicious of Haidar's attitude instead of Haidar becoming suspicious of him.

him, and he was unable to meet them, and fled When the Mīrzā's troops pursued him, Kājī Chak and Rēgī Chak, considering flight the safest course, took up their quarters at Bahramgalah Mīrzā Hāidar left Bandagān Kōkah and others at Srinagar and advanced to conquer Tibet, and seized the fort of ¹ Kōsūr, among the great forts, and some other forts

In the year 952 A.H., Kājī Chak and his son Muhammad Chak died of a ² shivering fever Mīrzā Hāidar passed the year in peace In the year 953 A.H., Rēgī Chak fought with the *amīns* of Mīrzā Hāidar, and was killed, and his head with that of his son Ghazī Khān was brought before Mīrzā Hāidar

In the year 954 A.H., an ambassador arrived from Kāshghar Mīrzā Hāidar went to Lār to welcome him Ūjh Bahrām, son of Mas'ūd Chak, who for seven years had fought bravely in Kamīāj and had defeated everyone there, made proposals of peace to Khān Mirak Mīrzā, and made conditions and engagements Khān Mirak Mīrzā summoned him after making promises and taking oaths But when Ūjh Bahrām came to his *majlis*, he drew a dagger out of his boot, and stabbed him in the stomach The man, wounded as he was, fled and got into the jungle Khān Mirak Mīrzā hastened in pursuit of him, and seizing him cut off his head, and brought it to Mīrzā Hāidar at Lār, believing that Mīrzā Hāidar would be pleased ³ 'Idī Zinā, after the food had been brought in, rose up in great

¹ The name of the fort is كوسور in the MS, and كوسوار in the lith ed Firishtah lith ed has لوسور, Col Briggs (vol IV, p 499) has Looshoo, and Rodgers (*J A S B*, vol LIV, p 117) has Lansūi The *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* is of no help, as it ends with Mīrzā Hāidar's victory

² قرۃ instead of قرۃ in the text edition

³ It is not clear who he was He was apparently someone in authority, for Mīrzā Hāidar thought it necessary to excuse himself on the ground of his ignorance of Mirak Mīrzā's acts (Jān Mirak Mīrzā in the text edition) He is, however, named, a few lines below, as one of the leaders of the vanguard of the army sent to conquer Kishtwār Both the MSS say طعام ساختن اور حاصل The lith ed omits the word طعام Firishtah says nothing about anything being brought If the reading in the MSS is correct, the production of the head was delayed till the food was brought in, apparently with the object of giving it a special relish In the text-edition the name is زینہ عیدی 'Idī Rainā, but Rodgers (*J A S B*, vol LIV, p 118) has Idē Zinā

anger and wrath on seeing the head and said It is not right to kill a person after making conditions and engagements Mirza Haidar said I had no information of these happenings

After this Mirza Haidar advanced from Lar to Kishtwar He made ¹ Bandagan Kokah Muhammad Makri Makna Mughal Murza Muhammad Yohiya and Idi Zina the commanders of his vanguard and himself remained in the village of ² Jhusu near (the boundary of) Kishtwar The vanguard after traversing marches of three days in one day arrived in the village of ³ Dolut which was on their side of the river Marma The Kishtwar army was on the opposite side of the river There was a skirmish of arrows and musket shots but neither party could cross the river The following day Mirza Haidar's army turning from the right road wanted to get into Kishtwar When they arrived in the village of ⁴ Dar a strong wind

¹ The names are as I have them in the text in the MSS and the lith ed of the Tabaqat with slight variations Firishtah lith ed omits the third and makes Mirza Muhammad Yohiya Zina one man Col Briggs (vol IV p 200) only gives the name of Bandagan Kokah and add with other officers Rodgers (J A S B vol LIV p 118) follows Firishtah but calls the last man there Yahi Zin The Cambridge History of India does not give any name

² The name looks like جھار and حے in the MS and دوھاٹ in the lith ed of the Tobaqat Firishtah lith ed has حے دوھاٹ Col Briggs does not mention the place but Rodgers following Firishtah calls it Jhupur The place is not mentioned on page 1 of the Introduction to Flax and Ross's Tarikh-i-Rashidi where the editors speak of the expedition against Kishtwar In the text edition it is ملکہ

³ The name of the village looks like دوھاٹ در in the MSS It is دوھس in the lith ed of the Tibaqat and در in that of Firishtah Rodgers (J A S B vol LIV p 118) has Dahlot No name is given in the introduction of the Tarikh-i-Rashidi but it is said that the advance guard came up with the enemy on the banks of the Kishtwar river The name of the river is لیلہ or لیلہ or لیلہ in the MS and the lith ed of the Tabaqat Firishtah lith ed has لیلہ Col Briggs does not give the name and Rodgers says where the river winds In the text edition در is adopted as the name of the village

⁴ The name of the village is لار in one MS and in the lith ed and also in the other MS It is Dhar in the lith ed of Firishtah and Rodgers (J A S B vol LIV p 118)

rose, and it became dark The Kashmīris came bravely in crowds and attacked them Bandagān Kōkah, who was the leader of Mirzā Hādar's army, was slain with many others When they started from there, Muhammad Mākri and his son with twenty-five principal men were slain on the road The rest, who had escaped death from the sword, came and after suffering much privations, joined Mīrzā Hādar The Mīrzā coming back from there in the year 995 A.H., advanced towards Tībet and conquering Rājaurī from the Kashmīris made it over to ¹ Muhammad Nazr and Sabr 'Ali He gave Paklī to Mullā 'Abd-ul-lah and little Tībet to Mullā Qāsim, and conquering great Tībet appointed a person of the name of ² Muhsin to be its governor

In the year 956 A.H., Mīrzā Hādar turned his attention to the fort of ³ Danil Ādam Kakhar came there, and prayed for the pardon of the offences of Daulat Chak, nephew (brother's son) of Kājī Chak Mīrzā Hādar granted the prayer, and sitting with Ādam in his pavilion, summoned Daulat Chak to come there The latter ⁴ became angry, and rose up, and taking the elephant which he had brought with him as a tribute, went away Some persons wanted to pursue him, but Mīrzā Hādar forbade them

¹ The first name is Muhammad Nazr in both MSS and the lith ed The second name is Ṣabır 'Alī in one MS and حسر علی which may be a mistake for دسر علی in the other, and Mīr 'Alī in the lith ed Fīrishtah lith ed has Muhammad Nazīr and Nāsīr 'Alī Col Briggs does not mention the names, and Rodgers gives the names after Fīrishtah No names are given in the introduction (p 21) to the *Tarikh-i-Rashīdī*, which contrary to Nīzām ud-dīn and Fīrishtah's account, that he seized Rājaurī, Paklī, Little Tībet and Tībet in the order mentioned, says that he conquered Little Tībet (or Baltistan), Tībet (or Ladak) and subsequently Rājaori and Pakhlī

² The name is دہلی نامہ in both MSS and مس س نامی in the lith ed Fīrishtah lith ed has Mullā Qāsim

³ The name is دہلی and دھلی in the MSS, and دھلی in the lith ed Fīrishtah lith ed has دیبل Col Briggs (vol IV, p 501) has Deebul, and Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol LIV, p 118) has Danel In the text edition it is دھلی عالیاً چنائجہ موصی او بود اعراور اکرام بھا یا وردید

⁴ Fīrishtah surmises that دے اکرام بھا یا وردید as the probable reason for Daulat Chak's anger

After some time Mirza (Haider) returned to Kashmir ¹ Daulat Chak and Ghazi Khan and Hasan Chak and Bihram Chak went to Haibat Khan Niyazi who having been deserted by Islam Khan had come to Rijauri Islam Khan had also come to Madwar belonging to the Naushahri area in pursuit of the Niyazis ² He sent Sayyid Khan Abd ul mulk one of his trusted servants to Haibat Khan and Sayyid Khan having introduced matters about an amicable settlement brought the mother and sister of Haibat Khan to Islam Khan The latter then turned back and coming to the village of ³ Ban in the neighbourhood of Sialkot took up his quarters there The Kashmiris mentioned above took Haibat Khan to ⁴ Barannla and wanted to take him to Kashmir in order to do away with Mirza Haider (with his help) He however could not make up his mind to do so and sending a Brahman to Mirza Haider made proposals for peace Mirza Haider sent ample funds by the hand of that Brahman and Haibat Khan leaving the place where he was went to the village of ⁵ Bir which is a dependancy of the territory of Jammu ⁶ The

¹ Firishtah substitutes Jar Chal for Hasan Chak and is followed by Rodgers Firishtah however has the name of Haibat Khan correctly but Rodgers (*J A S B* vol LIV p 118) converts it to Haider Khan though a few lines further down he has Haibat Khan Niyazi

The name is Madwar in one MS and Badwar in the other and in the lith ed Firishtah lith ed has Madwar The article ⁷ appears to have been omitted before ^{۱۰} in the MSS and the lith ed

² Firishtah (and following him Col Briggs) and Rodgers (*J A S B* vol LIV p 118) say that it was Haibat Khan who sent Sayyid Khan Niyazi to Islam Shah

³ The name is Ban in one MS and in the lith ed It looks like Man in the other MS Firishtah lith ed and Rodgers have Ban but Col Briggs (vol IV p 502) has Bhumbur

⁴ The MSS have ^{۱۱} and the lith ed has ^{۱۲} but Firishtah lith ed has ^{۱۳} which I think is correct It is ^{۱۲} in the text edition

⁵ The name is ^{۱۴} and ^{۱۵} in the MSS and ^{۱۶} in the lith ed Firishtah lith ed has ^{۱۷} Col Briggs (vol IV p 50) has the town of Subzee while Rodgers (*J A S B* vol LIV p 119) has Hir and says that it is Nir in MS No 6571 in the British Museum ^{۱۸} has been adopted in the text edition

⁶ Firishtah and Col Briggs and Rodgers agree Rodgers (*J A S B* vol LIV p 119) says that he has seen two coins of Islam Shah of this time

Kashmīris separated from him, went to Islām Khān, but Ghāzi Khān went to Mīrzā Haidar

In the year 957 A.H., Mīrzā Haidar, becoming assured in his mind of the condition of the outskirts of the country, sent Khwājah Shams Mughal, with a large quantity of saffron, as an ambassador to Islām Khān, and in the year 958 A.H. Khwājah Shams returned with many presents, and much rich stuffs, and Yāsin Afghān came from Islām Khān with Khwājah Shams, and Mīrzā Haidar gave (many) shawls, and much saffron to Islām Khān's ambassador, and gave him permission to return

He then appointed Qarrā Bahādūr Mīrzā to the government of Bahāmal, and sent ‘Idī Zinā and Nāzuk Shāh and Husain Mākī and Khwājah Hājī from amongst the Kashmīris with him¹ Qarrā Bahādūr and the Kashmīris left Indarkot, and took up their quarters at Bālāmūla, and commenced to create disturbances on the ground that the Mughals looked down on them. The Mughals represented this to Mīrzā Haidar, but the latter did not believe it, and said that the Mughals were not in any way better than the Kashmīris in the matter of creating disaffection and disturbance² Husain Mākī sent his brother ‘Alī Mākī to Mīrzā Haidar, to make him acquainted

and adds that the Kashmīris were tired of Mīrzā Haidar, and wanted to have Islām Shāh as their king, and the coins were struck in anticipation of his conquering the country, or they might have been struck by Mīrzā Haidar himself in compliment to Islām Shāh

¹ Firishtah agrees, but Rodgers wrongly translates the words ارادہ کوں پر امداد which are in the lith ed of Firishtah as well as in the Tabaqāt, by the words "came back to Indarkot". The sentence, as it stands, means that Qarrā Bahādur and the Kashmīris all commenced to create disturbances, but apparently it was the Kashmīris who did so. Rodgers's translation of the words کہ معلم ایسا بردا در دار سے ارادہ by the words that "the Mughals (the forces of Mīrzā Haidar) were not acceptable to them" also appears to be incorrect

² Apparently Husain and ‘Alī were not acting in concert with the other Kashmīris. There are slight differences in the wording of the sentences I have adopted the reading quoted by one of the two MSS which makes most sense, but I have had to change the last word طلب which is in both MSS to طلب. Firishtah lith ed has طلب. Rodgers's translation (*JASB*, vol LIV, p 119) in which he reads the word دعہ as جاء (excuse) appears to me to be incorrect

with the treachery of the Kashmiris so that he might decide to recall the army Mirza Haider took no notice and refused to listen to him and said What cause of jealousy should the Kashmiris have against you that they should act treacherously towards you and did not summon the army back

On the 27th of the Ramadhan there was a great conflagration in the Iadarkot and most of the houses were burnt down Qarra Bahadur and all the men sent the following message Our houses have been burnt down if you will give an order we would come and repair our houses and turn our attention next year to Baharmal Mirza Haider did not at all agree to this and the army had to proceed to Baharmal whether they liked it or not

Ibd Zina and ill the Kashmiris then combined together and when night came they separated them selves from the Mughals and came to the pass of Baharmal They also separated Husain Makri and Ali Makri from the Mughals and took them with them selves so that they might not be slain with the Mughals In the morning there was a battle between the Mughals and the men of Baharmal and the former were entangled and confined in the hills Suvid Mirza however fled to 'Dabil About fifty renowned Mughals were slain and Muhammad Nazr and Qarra Bahadur were taken prisoners The rest who escaped the sword came by way of Punch to Bahrangarh Mirza Haider was deeply grieved on hearing this news and ordered that the broken silver *degs* (sauce paas) which are now current in Kashmir be coined He also made Jahangir Mikri his trusted agent and bestowed the *jagir* of Husain Makri on him He also gave horses and money to many of the crafts men and made soldiers of them Just after this news came that Mulla Abd al-lah on hearing of the rising of the Kashmiris

¹ The name looks like دل and دل in the MSS and دل in the lith ed and appears therefore to be identical with Danil see page 71 and note 3 Firdaus lith ed however has دل دل دل in the text edition is certainly incorrect

² There is a word which looks like سہی or سہی Sahi in the MSS and in the lith ed which I cannot make out but which may be made of copper Irish tah lith ed has دل دل دل in the corresponding passage دل has been adopted in the text edition

was coming to meet Mīzā Haidar, but when he arrived near Bārāmūla the rebels who had collected in large numbers slew him, and Khwājah Qāsim was slain in little Tibet, and Muhammad Nazr was taken prisoner in Rājaurī, and the Kashmiris having collected in large numbers had come from Bahramgalah to ¹ Hirahpūr Mirzā Haidar, having no other alternative, ² came out of Indarkot, with the intention of engaging them. The total number of men with him was only a thousand. Among the Mughals men like 'Abd-ul-rahman and Shāhzāda Lang, and ³ Khān Miāk Mirzā and Mir Makta and ⁴ Sabr 'Alī and others, who were altogether about seven hundred men, joined him, and they took up their quarters at Shihāb-ud-dinpūr.

Daulat Chak and Ghāzi Khān and other notable leaders in concert with 'Idī Zinā collected their men, and came to Hirahpūr, and leaving that place came to the village of Khānpūr. Mirzā Haidar encamped in the plain of Khālīdgārī, which is close to Srinagar Fath Chak, whose father had been slain by the Mughals, raided Indarkot with Rāja Bahām and three thousand men, in order to avenge his father's death, and burnt down the buildings erected by Mirzā Haidar in the Bāgh-i-Safā. When Mirzā Haidar heard this news, he said, "I did not bring these edifices from Kāshgār. With Divine favour similar ones can be built." Sabr 'Alī burnt down the edifices of Sultān Zain-ul-ābidīn, which were in Suyyapūr, in retaliation of the burning down of Mirzā Haidar's buildings, but the Mīzā was not pleased at this. (They) also burnt down the houses of 'Idī Zinā and Naurūz.

¹ The name is clearly Hirahpūr in the MSS as well as in the lith ed. Firishtah lith ed has what looks like Habzāpūr. Col Buggs's account (vol IV, pp 502, 503) is very sketchy, the whole of the incident from the appointment of Qarrā Bahādur (called Khan Bahādur) to Baharmal (called Bheerbul) to the death of Mirza Heidur being narrated in the space of eight or nine lines, and the name of the place under consideration is not mentioned. Rodgers (*J A S B*, vol LIV, p 120) calls the place Hambarapūr.

² Rodgers translates اُر اُدھر کوئی نہ امدھا as "came to Indarkot."

³ حان میرک میرا in the text edition is a misprint for حان نرک میرا

⁴ The name is صور علی in one MS and the lith ed., and حر علی in the other MS. Firishtah lith ed has حر علی, but Rodgers has Jai Alī. In the text-edition میر مکنہ میر مکنہ is a misprint for میر مکنہ

Chak in Srinagar After thus Mirza Haidar came and took up his residence in Khanpur In this village there is a ¹ plane tree in the shade of which two hundred horsemen can stand and it has been found by trial that whenever a single branch of it is moved the whole tree shakes The writer of this history Nizam ud din Ahmad was in attendance when the sublime standards of His Majesty the Shahzada Ishaq went on a visit to Kashmir for the second time and he saw the tree and examined it In short the Kashmiris moved from Khanpur and came to the village of Adanpur and the distance (between the two armies) was not more than ² two karohs

Mirza Haidar then decided that he should make a night attack on the enemy and he gave direction that Mirza Abd ur rahman his brother who was adorned with the attributes of piety and purity should become his heir and took the allegiance of his men to him Then they all mounted and started for making the attack As decreed by fate there were heavy clouds that night When they arrived near the tent of Khwaja Haji who was the cause of the disturbance and also the talil (agent or representative) of the Mirza nothing could be seen owing to the darkness Shah Nazr a curassier says At this time I shot an arrow The voice of Mirza Haidar came to my ears which said ⁴ thou hast done an evil thing I knew that my arrow had hit the Mirza It is also narrated that a

¹ The name is شاہ in one MS and شاہ in the other The lith ed has شاہ and شاہ may be mistakes for شاہ Chanar or the plane tree while شاہ is a willow Firishtah lith ed has شاہ and Rodgers has willow Both plane trees and willows grow in Kashmir but I should be inclined to think that the tree in question was a plane tree which is a tall spreading tree

Both MSS have ادی دور The lith ed has ادی دور Firishtah lith ed has ادی دور and Rodgers (J A & B vol LIV p 190) has Adnipur

³ It should be noted however that just before this apparently the two armies were both in Khanpur

⁴ The readings in the MSS are مصاحب بولڈی and مصاحب بولڈی and in the lith ed مصاحب بولڈی or بولڈی These are all incorrect unless بولڈی or بولڈی is the same word in the dialect of Kashgar Firishtah lith ed has مصاحب کرڈی which I have adopted The whole affair is mysterious Although it was dark the cause of the death could have been ascertained Then why was the corpse or in fact the man who was on the point of death left lying where he had fallen

butcher hit his thigh with an arrow. Another tradition is that ¹ Kamāl Kōkah slew him with the sword, but there was nothing (visible) on his body except a wound caused by an ² arrow. In short, when the morning came, it was bruted about, that a Mughal, who had been killed, was lying there. When Khwājah Hājī and his son arrived at the spot, they saw that it was Mirzā Haidar. They raised his head from the ground. There was no more than breath left. The dying man opened his eyes, and surrendered his life to the creator. The Mughals fled to Indaikot. The Kashmiris going in pursuit of them ³ took up the corpse of Mirzā Haidar to the Daibadū Mausoleum, and buried it.

The people were sorely grieved at the death of Mirzā Haidar. The Mughals got into Indaikot, and fortified themselves in it, and fight went on for three days. On the 4th day Muhammad Rūmī ⁴ shot Kashmiri coins from mortars, and every one, who was hit, was killed. At last, ⁵ Khānam, the widow of Mirzā Haidar, and his sister said to the Mughals, "As Mirzā Haidar has gone away from us, it is better to have peace with the Kashmiris." The Mughals accepted this, and sent Amin Khān, the architect, to the Kashmiris to conclude a pact. The Kashmiris agreeing to a peaceful settlement gave a letter containing engagements and oaths to the effect that they would not cause any trouble to the Mughals.

The period of Mirzā Haidar's rule was ten years.

¹ The name is كمال دوئي in the MSS and کمال دوئی in the lith ed. I cannot find any meaning of دوئی or دوئي. Firishtah lith ed has Kamāl Kakah and I have adopted it. The reading in the MSS is followed in the text edition.

² One MS has رام تیر و تدر و حندر دیگر, which is of course incorrect. The other has رام سر چاری دیگر, which appears to be correct. The lith ed is also incorrect, it has رحم سر و تدر چاری دیگر. Firishtah lith ed has the same reading as the second MS, and this is followed in the text edition.

³ It is curious that the Mughals did not even attempt to carry away the Mirzā's dead body, and it was left to the Kashmiris to bury it. The MSS as well as the lith ed say that they buried the body in در دلو مزار. I cannot find out what this burial place was. Firishtah only says that the Kashmiris seeing the body of the Mirzā buried it.

⁴ There are slight differences in the readings.

⁵ She is so called in the MSS and in the lith ed. Firishtah lith ed calls her حابھی and it calls the Mirzā's sister حابھی.

AN ACCOUNT OF NAZUK SHAH

When the gates of the fort (of Indarkot) were opened the Kashmiris entered the ¹ apartment continuing valuable furnitures etc belonging to Mirza Haidar and carried away fine and delicate goods. They brought the family and dependants of Mirza Haidar to Srinagar and placed them ² in the house of Hasan Matu. They divided the country of Kashmir among themselves and *pargana*. ³ Devsar was allotted to Daulat Chak and that of ⁴ Wahī to Chazi Khan and that of ⁵ Kamraj to Yusuf Chak and Bahram Chak. One *lakh* of ⁶ donkey loads of paddy (or rice in husks) was allotted to Khwajah Haji the *takil* of Mirza Haidar. Daulat Chak gave *pargana* Devsar which was his *jagir* to his son Habib Chak and the daughter of Idi Zina was married to the latter. The amirs of Kashmir and more specially Idi Zina having gained complete power raised Nazuk Shah on the throne and kept him as a puppet but in fact Idi Zina was the *Badshah*.

¹ The word is نووسک حاڻه which according to the dictionary is a wardrobe and which Rodgers calls the treasury. It is really what I have called it in the text. There is or at least was some years ago what was called a *Talukha* correctly *Tasla Khana* of the government of India in which the articles offered to the Viceroy at the Durbars were kept.

I have not thought it necessary to point out all the mistakes in Rodgers's paper but I cannot pass this over. The words both in the *Tabaqat* and in *Farsi talik* are اهل و عمال صیرا را در سری مگاردد و در حوطی حس مدوحا داده but مدو of the *Tabaqat* is مدر in *Farsi talik*. My translation is based on the text Rodgers (*J A S B* vol LIV p 1-1) ha the family of the Mirza was taken to Srinagar and placed in the hands of Manju.

³ Given as one of the S E *parganas* see list on page 369 of the *In Akbari* (Jarratt vol II)

⁴ It is written as رُهی in both MSS and the lith ed. Firishtah lith ed has دھی and I have taken this in preference to رُهی as it is probably identical with the one of the parganahs east of Srinagar (*In Akbari* Jarratt vol II p 368).

⁵ Kamraj is called a tract containing 16 *Matal* page 30 of the *In Akbari* (Jarratt vol II) but there is a *pargana* also of the name of Kamraj included in the S W parganas of the Kamraj tract.

⁶ ک لک حروار سالی i.e. a *lakh* of donkey loads of paddy is transformed into a *lakh* of shawls by Rodgers (*J A S B* vol I IV p 1-1)

In the year 959 A H Sankar Chak, son of Kājī Chak, wanted to go away from Kashmīr (*i.e.*, I suppose Srīnagar), as Ghāzī Khān who called himself the son of Kājī Chak and had much *jāgīr*. The details of this statement are these, that Sankar Chak was the son of Kājī Chak without any difficulty or doubt, and Ghāzī Khān although he was commonly known to be the son of Kājī Chak was not in reality his son, for Kājī Chak, after the death of his brother Hasan Chak, took the latter's widow, who was then with child (who was afterwards named Ghāzī Khān), and after two or three months the child was born. Hence Sankar Chak on account of the envy (which he bore) to Ghāzī Khān wanted to leave Kashmīr and go to ¹ Īdī Zinā. When a rumour of this got about, Daulat Chak and Ghāzī Khān sent ² Isma'il Hāyat and Harjū, with one hundred men to summon Sankar Chak. They told them that if he did not come with them they were to bring him by force. Sankar Chak did not come on their summons, and went to Īdī Zinā. In the end Īdī Zinā came to them, and made an amicable settlement, and the *parganas* of ³ Kothār and Khāwar and Māwar having been allotted to Sankar Chak the disturbance subsided.

At this time, there were four groups who had power in Kashmīr
(1) Īdī Zinā with his group, (2) Hasan Mākri, son of Abdāl Mākri

¹ It is not at all clear where he was

² The name is written as اسحیل ریاست in one MS and in the lith ed. In the other MS the last half of the name is written as حاشت without any dots above or below the second or third letters. This second part is distinctly written as شاہت in Firishtah lith ed, and Rodgers has Hanit اسحیل حاشت has been adopted in the text-edition

³ The names of the *parganas* are not very easily decipherable. They look like کوٹھار و کھادر و مادر in one MS. In the other they are the same except that the first is کوڑھار و مادر. In the lith ed there is apparently only one name کوڑھار و مادر. Firishtah lith ed has Kothār Khāwīn and Madūr. In the list of *parganas* in the Āīn-i-Akbarī (Jarratt, vol II, p 369) there are two *parganas* Khattār and Khāwarpārah, and I think it very probable that Sankar Chak got these. In the tabulated list of Kaśmīr Parganas in Stein's *Rāzatai angīnī* (vol II, pp 493, 494) I find Kutahār, but no trace of any of the other. In the text-edition the names are کوٹھار و کھادر و مادر

with his group (3) the ¹Kishtwaris whose leaders were Bahram Chak and Yusuf Chak and others and (4) the Kamis of whom Kaji Chak Daulat Chak and Ghazi Khan were the leaders Yebayya Zina gave his daughter in marriage to Hasin Khan son of Kaji Chak the daughter of Daulat Chak was married to Muhammad Makri son of Abdal Makri and the sister of Yusuf Chak son of Regi Chak - Kopwari by name was married by a *nikah* ceremony to Ghazi Khan These alliances became the cause of the strength and power of the Chaks and they in concert with one another went away to different parts of the country Ghazi Khan went to the country of Kamraj and Daulat Chak to Suypur The Makris went to ³Bankal and Idi Zina remained at Srinagar in a sorrowful mood and devised plans for their destruction

As the season for egg fruits or *brinjals* now came Idi Zina ordered that fowls and *brinjals* may be brought so that they be cooked together This was a dish ⁴ much liked by the Kashmiris Then Bahram Chak and Suqid Ibrahim and Suqid Ya qub came at his invitation but Yusuf Chak did not come Idi Zina had the three guests seized and imprisoned them Yusuf receiving information of this went away by way of Kamraj with three hundred horsemen and seven hundred foot soldiers and joined Daulat Chak When Idi Zina saw that the Kashmiris had united with the Chaks he released the

¹ The name is written very differently in the different MSS etc The MSS have کھواریان and کسواریان while the lith ed has فریشتہ کھواریان Firishtah lith ed has کھواریان Col Briggs (vol IV p 503) has Kapoories and Rodgers (J A S B vol LIV p 1^o) has Kapuris I prefer Kishtwaris as it means the people of Kishtwar while the others have no meaning at all

² The name is written as کھواری and کوواری in the MSS and in the lith ed Firishtah lith ed has کھواری The name is not given either by Col Briggs or by Rodgers

³ Firishtah lith ed has تاکل and Rodgers has Pakul but the MSS and the lith ed of the Tabaqat have بانکل Bankal which is the name of a pargana in SW part of Kamraj See page 371 of the *Ain-i Akbari* (Jarratt vol II) where it is Bankal one of the south west *parganahs*

⁴ The word is لطف in both MSS and the lith ed of the Tabaqat Firishtah lith ed has مکر لطف

Mughals, such as ¹Qāriā Bahādūr Mīrzā, 'Abd-mi'-rahmān Mīrzā, Khān Mīnāk Mīrzā, Shāhzāda Lāng, Muhammād Nāzī, and Sabr 'Alī from prison, and showed favour to them, and giving each one of them a horse and ²armour and some money remained at ³Chakpūr.

At this time, Sayyid ¹Ibrāhīm and Sayyid Ya'qūb, in concert with Jārūd, who was employed to guard them, fled, and going to Kamrāj joined Daulat Chak. Bahādūr Chak could not escape. On the following day, Ghāzī Khān came to Srinagar with ⁵three thousand horsemen. Īdī Zīnā sent the Mughals to fight with him, but he broke down the bridges, and so the Mughals could not do anything. At this time Daulat Chak also came, and joined Ghāzī Khān in Srinagar, and they joined together and took up a position in the īdgāh. There were constant skirmishes between the two parties, but Bābā Khalīl went to Īdī Zīnā in order to bring about a peace. He said, "You put your trust in the Mughals, and paid no regard to the Kashmiris. This was not right. Having said words like this he effected a peace.

¹ The names are as I have them in the text in the MSS and in the lith ed., with slight differences. In the Firishtah lith ed. some of the names are different.

² The word used is سرپا in one MS and in the lith eds of the Tabaqāt and Firishtah and سروپا in the other MS. I cannot find either Sirpā or Siropā in the dictionary. Rodgers has translated the word as armour, and I have adopted his translation. There is a Bengali or Hindi word *Siropā* (সিরোপা) which means an article of dress, e.g., a scarf, which can be worn as a mark of distinction, for instance, in certain places of pilgrimage various different kinds of Siropās are given to the pilgrims, according to the amounts offered by them to the presiding deity of the temple. *Siropā* may also mean something covering the head and feet.

³ The name is Chakpūr in one MS and in the lith ed. of Firishtah. In the other MS and in the lith ed. of the Tabaqāt it is چک بونو Chakpanū.

⁴ This passage with which Firishtah agrees word for word has been translated by Rodgers (*J A S B*, vol. LIV, p. 122) quite incorrectly as "the Sayyids Ibrāhīm and Yaqūb by the help of the troopers escaped from prison, and joined Ghāzī Chakk at Kamrāj." The name of the officer-in charge is incorrectly given as حاردو Jārūd instead of حاردو Jārūd in the text edition.

⁵ The numbers are very differently given. One MS has سی هزار سوار. The lith ed. has سی هزار کس. In the other MS and Firishtah lith ed. it is سی سوار, and this is followed in the text edition. I am inclined to think that three thousand was the correct number.

between him and the Krishmoris They then sent away the Mughals with their families and dependants by way of Tihet ¹ Khanamji the sister of Mirza Haidar went away to Kabul by way of ² Pakhi The people of Tihet slew ³ Sabr Ali and the other Mughals and Khanamji reached Kashgar

Following these events news came that Huhat Khan and ⁴ Sayyid Khan and Shahzad Khan Afghans who were of the Niyazi tribe were coming to conquer Kashmir and had arrived in the *pargana* of ⁵ Banhal and have entered the hills of ⁶ Lunkot Idrizina Hasan Makri Bahram Chak Daulat Chak and Yusuf Chak combined together and marched out to fight the Niyazis The two parties confronted each other and fought bravely ⁷ Bihā Rāhe a the wife of Haidar Khan also fought manfully and struck Ali Chak with her sword In the end Hāhat Khan and Sayyid Khan and Firuz Khan and Bihā Rāhe a were slain and the Krishmoris returned to Srinagar with triumph and victory They sent the heads of the Niyazis by the hand of Yaqub Mir to Islam Khan in the village of Ban which is near the river Chinah

¹ The name is حارم حی in one MS and حام in the other MS and in the lith eds of the Tabaqat and Firishtah It will be seen from page 718 and note 5 that in the account of the events which happened immediately after Mirza Haidar's death his widow was called Khanam in the Tabaqat but the sister a name was not mentioned but Firishtah lith ed called the widow Khanam and the sister Khanji I have therefore called the sister Khanamji following the MS which gives her that name It is Khanji in the text edition

The name in the text edition is ملکی Bakl Rodgers (JASB vol LIV p 123) has Pagl

³ The name looks like صدر علی in one MS and حرم علی in the other and صدر علی in the lith ed The name is Sabr Ali in earlier passages سد حمل

⁴ Firishtah lith ed has سد حمل but later on he calls him سد حمل
⁵ Firishtah also has Banhal but Rodgers has Banhal There is a *parganah* called Banhal to the SE of Srinagar (see Ain-i-Albari Jarratt vol II p 369)

⁶ The MSS and the lith ed have در کوہ لون کوب Firishtah lith ed has کوہ لون or کوہ لون Rodgers (JASB vol LIV p 123) has at the salt range but I do not know his authority for saying so Of course it may be the Salt Range which runs parallel to the Jhelum near Pind Dadan Khan

⁷ Rodgers (JASB vol LIV p 123) calls her B bi Raba

After that, hostilities again commenced among the Kashmîris, and 'Idî Zînâ, in concert with Fath Chak, ¹ Lôhai Mâkrî, Yûsuf Chak, Bahîam Chak, and Ibrâhîm Chak came to ² Khâlidgarh, and took up residence there, and Daulat Chak, Ghâzî Khân, Husain Mâkrî and Sayyid Ibrâhîm Khân and a band of ³ Dûms joining together, took up their quarters in the 'Idgâh. When a period of two months had passed in this way, Yûsuf Chak, Fath Chak, ¹ Lôhai Mâkrî son of Sahu, and Ibrâhîm Chak separated themselves from 'Idî Zînâ and joined Daulat Chak. Then Daulat Chak mounted with a large force advanced against 'Idî Zînâ, and he being unable to meet them fled without fighting, and went to the village of ⁵ Jhaîo. About this time he wanted to mount a horse, but by accident the horse kicked him on the chest, and he concealed himself in the village of ⁶ Saminâk, and he passed away from the world on account of the pain of the accident. They brought his body to Srînagar, and buried it in

¹ The name is Kohrûd Mâkrî in one MS., but two lines further down it is Lôhar Dânkrî and is Kôhar Dânkrî and Lôhar Dânkrî in the other and in the lith ed. In Firishtah it is Kôhar Mâkrî. I have accepted Lôhar Mâkrî.

² The name is حالہ کر ^{کر} Khâldkar and حالہ کر ^{کر} Khâldkarah in the MS., and حالہ کر ^{کر} Jâlakar in the lith ed. In the lith ed. of Firishtah it is Khâlidgarh, but Rodgers has Khângarh.

³ The MSS. have طایعہ دو مان, and the lith ed. of Firishtah has what also looks like طایعہ دو مان. The lith ed. of the Tabaqât has دو مان. I do not know what the طایعہ دو مان would mean. دو of course means base, vulgar, etc. and مان may mean a group of the common people. Rodgers (J A S B, vol LIV, p 123) translates طایعہ دو مان یکھا شد as "joining themselves together".

⁴ See note 1 above. After words like وله هیو and لوهہ دانکری occur in the MSS. The lith ed. has وله سهو. Firishtah lith ed. has no corresponding words. I have adopted the reading of the lith ed. The text edition has وله سهو.

⁵ The name is مروہ, and مرہ in the MSS., and مرہ in the lith ed. Firishtah lith ed. has مرہ or it may be مروہ, and Rodgers (J A S B vol LIV, p 123) has Merv. I cannot decide between these various readings, but I certainly do not consider that Merv is the correct reading. In the text edition it is مرہ.

⁶ The name is سیمالہ in the MSS. and the lith ed. has سیمالہ, but Rodgers has Simâle.

the ¹ mausoleum of Musa Zina The amirs then rebelled and excusing Nazuk Shah who had nothing of the government except a name from that also determined on ruling themselves

(Nazuk Shah) ruled nominally for ²two months for the second time after (the death of) Mirza Haidar

⁴AN ACCOUNT OF IBRĀHĪM SHĀH SON OF MUHAMMAD SHĀH
WHO WAS THE BROTHER OF NĀZUK SHĀH

As Idi Zina had passed away Daulat Chak became the *Madar ul mulk* and took up the management of affairs into his own hand But when he saw that there was no escape from having someone who should bear the name of Sultan he raised Ibrahim Shah to the seat of government and kept him as a puppet At this time Khwajah Haji the *takil* of Mirza Haidar came out of the ⁵jungle and went to Islam Khan ⁶And seizing Shams Zina and Bahram Chak put them into the prison When the day of the *Id i fitr* came Daulat

¹ Rodgers (*J A S B* vol LIV p 193) translates در مزار موسی رسا as in the village of Musa Zina

ارادہ حود ارادہ حود کردا سری کردا I have adopted the reading in the lith ed which is correct and which is also the reading in the lith ed of Firishtah

³ The MSS and the lith ed have for the second time Firishtah lith ed has for the third time Firishtah lith ed and Col Briggs have two months but Rodgers and the Cambridge History of India have ten months

⁴ That is the heading in the MS as well as in the lith ed Firishtah however calls Ibrahim Shah the son of Nazuk Shah Col Briggs calls him brother of Nazuk Shah on one page and his son in the next page Rodgers and the Cambridge History of India page 789 say that he was a son of Nazuk Shah

⁵ It is حکل jungle in the MSS and the lith ed of the Tabaqat and Firishtah but Rodgers (*J A S B* vol LIV p 193) has khaigal and he translates بس اسلام ساہ رسا as took refuge with Islam Shah

⁶ This is the reading in the MSS and also in the lith ed The sentence has no nominative and the verb کردا is in the plural Firishtah lith ed has درس و س عدی رسا then as in the Tabaqat which makes matters if anything worse for the two defects pointed out remain there is the additional difficulty that Id Zina was dead I think the nominative should be Daulat Chak and the verb should be in the singular Rodgers tides over the difficulty by saying that Shams Zina and Bahram Chakk were thrown into prison but he does not say by whom

Chak having put his troops in order, came to the foot of the ¹ Qabq (to practise archery) Yūsuf Chak also rode out to the foot of the Qabq The runner or footman, who was collecting the arrows, came among the horse's legs ² The horse got entangled, and Yūsuf Chak fell from his horse, and his neck was broken

In the year 960 A.H. hostility took place between Ghāzī Khān and Daulat Chak and there was very great dissension among the Kashmiris Husain Mākrī and Shams Zīnā, who were in Hindūstān, came back, and in the year 961 A.H., joined Ghāzī Khān ³ The sons of Yūsuf Chak and Bahrām Chak went to Daulat Chak These disputes and dissensions continued for two months, but at length a husbandman, ⁴ in a spirit of impudent interference, came to Daulat Chak, and said in his ears, "Ghāzī Khān has sent me to you to enquire why you have collected these unprincipled ⁵ men round you, as they are all your enemies" In the same way, he went to Ghāzī Khān,

¹ The word is مدقق in one MS It looks like فدق in one place and like مدقق in another in the second, and it is مدقق Fabq in both places in the 4th ed In the lith ed of Firishtah it is ملحوظ in both places Whatever the correct word is it seems to be the name of a hillock near Srinagar Rodgers's translation (J.A.S.B., vol LIV, p 123) is "outside the city"

² The words are اس سندھ مدد in one MS and the lith ed, and اس سندھ مدد in the other MS Firishtah lith ed has no corresponding words In the text-edition the reading اس سب تند مدد has been adopted

³ Both MSS and the lith ed have Yūsuf Chak and Bahrām Chak, but Yūsuf Chak had broken his neck, and Firishtah lith ed has the sons of Yūsuf Chak, so I have inserted the word sons before Yūsuf Chak in the translation The text-edition has followed the manuscripts

⁴ The words are معلوان وضول which Rodgers has translated "assuming the garb of an ambassador" The meaning is somewhat doubtful, but I think my translation is correct The second word is مصولى in one MS and in the lith ed of Firishtah, but it is وضول in the other MS In the lith ed of the Tabaqāt the words from و این احتلاف to گفت are omitted, and in their place the words are در گوش او گئی اور در گوش او گئی according to which the meaning would be that it was the sons of Yūsuf Chak and Bahrām Chak who spoke the words in Daulat Chak's ear

⁵ There is an adjective بی نقرہ to the noun مردم in both the Tabaqāt and in Firishtah Rodgers has omitted translating it I think my translation is correct

and said Daulat Chak intends to be at peace with you Why are you quarrelling with him Having said things like this he effected a settlement between them Shams Zina then fled and went to Hindustan

At this time some Tibetans came and drove away the flocks of sheep of *parganas*¹ Khawah and Barah which were allotted as the *jagir* of Hahih Chak brother of Nasrat Khan Daulat Chak sent Ibrahim Chak Haider Chak son of Ghazi Khan and other chief men with a large army by way of Lar to invade great Thet Hahih Khan himself advanced with great rapidity in pursuit of the Tibetans by the road by which the flocks had been driven away He suddenly came up to a fort of the Tibetans fought with the garrison and slew their commander by the sword The rest all fled Habib Khan encamped there and said to Darvish Chak his brother Do you mount with the troops and get into Thet Darvish Chak was negligent and did not comply with his words Hahih Chak in spite of his² wounds which were still bleeding mounted and got into the edifices and great mansions of Thet The Tibetans being unable to oppose him fled without attempting to fight Forty of the men who were clinging to the roof of one of the palaces were seized They made much importunities and begged that they might not be killed They also promised to give five hundred horses one thousand³ pieces of *pattu* (woollen cloth) fifty yaks and two hundred *tolas* of gold Hahih Chak paid no attention to their words and hanged them all He mounted and rode to another fort and destroyed it also The Tibetans sent three thousand horsemen five hundred pieces of *pattu* one hundred sheep and thirty yaks for his acceptance He also

¹ The name of the *parganas* are as I have them in the text in one MS in the other they are خواہ، بارہ and in the lith ed خواہ، بارہ، کھاون، بارہ Firishtah lith ed has خواہ، بارہ and Rodgers (*J A S B* vol LIV p 194) has Khawan and Bara I think however that the flocks were taken away only from one *pargana* that of Khawarpurah which is one of the *parganas* to the NE of Srinagar (see *Ain-i-Albari* Jarratt vol II p 369)

² One MS insert between بارہ and خواہ the phrase بود کے میرے

³ The word is دوسرے a segment a piece Rodgers has pieces

took from the Tibetans some ¹ good horses of Kashghai, which had come into their hands.

Haidar Chak, son of Ghāzī Khān, sent ² Sūkhānī, his foster brother, to Habib Chak (with the message) "The Tibetans had kept these horses for Ghāzī Khān, and it would be better that you should send them, that I may send them to him." ³ Habib Chak had Sūkhānī struck about two hundred times with a stick, and said, "What power does Ghāzī Khān possess that he should take these horses, which I have seized by the force of my sword?" They wanted to fight about these horses, but men intervened to effect a settlement, and did not allow them to fight. After that they came to Srinagar, and passed the winter there.

In the year 962 A.H., there was a great earthquake in Kashmir, and many villages and towns were destroyed. The villages of ⁴ Jhalū and Dāmpūr, with buildings and trees, were removed from one bank of the *Bihat* (Jhelum) to the opposite bank, and in the village of Mārwarah which is situated at the foot of a hill, owing to a landslip (*lit* falling of the hill) ⁵ about sixty thousand people perished.

¹ Rodgers (*J A S B*, vol LIV, p 124) translates حوب کاسپر "some five Kashgari horses", apparently here five is a misprint for fine.

² The name is سوکھانی in the MSS and in the lith ed Firishtah lith ed has Khānī, Rodgers also has Khānī. Col Briggs (vol IV, p 506) does not mention the name, and his translation of the passage is quite incorrect.

³ Firishtah lith ed has a totally different account of what happened, but it appears to me less natural than that in the text.

⁴ One MS has دامپور, the other has دامپور. The lith ed has حلو و دامپور. Firishtah lith ed has دامپور. Col Briggs (vol IV, p 506) does not mention the first, but calls the other Dampoor. Rodgers (*J A S B*, vol LIV, p 124) has Nilū and 'Adampūr.

⁵ Firishtah agrees. Col Briggs (vol IV, p 506) says the town was removed from the east to the west bank of the Behut river, and in a footnote he adds that it is not easy to say whether the text should be taken literally. Rodgers says that the villages were "washed away". Dāmpor, with a spring, is mentioned by Stein دامپور in the text edition is apparently a mistake. The earthquake is mentioned by Prājyabhatta (lines 513 to 521). There is no mention of the removal of Jhalū and Dāmpūr from one bank of the Bihat, but it is said هسنه پور ده سنه پور بدو ر ورچنیں । ندی مسکب ر بُوكمپے چونکو جیا پی دشکتے । (l 517)

⁶ The words are distinctly هر ار مئار in the MSS as well as in the lith ed. Firishtah, however, has مصہ سی six hundred, and this is more probable.

1 AN ACCOUNT OF ISMA IL SHAH BROTHER OF IBRAHIM SHAH

When five months had elapsed from (the beginning of) the rule of Ibrahim Shah which was in reality the rule of Daulat Chak the times became propitious for Ghazi Khan and ¹ Daulat Chak was slain Ghazi Khan became fully independent but for name's sake raised Ismail Shah to the throne in the year 963 A.H. In this year Habib Chak wanted to join Daulat Chak (it would appear that what was said about his being slain or defeated and blinded as in Firishtah was said in anticipation of a coming event) and with this determination he went towards ² Marda Dun. Ghazi Khan said to Nasrat Chak

Your brother Habib has joined Daulat Chak. It is right that before he arrives we should seize Daulat Chak for after his arrival the matter

¹ That is the heading in one MS. in which however the name is اسعاء instead of عیا. In the other MS. and the lith. ed. the words سے ملے are added after Ibrahim Shah but it does not appear who Ali Shah was. Ibrahim Shah according to the Tabaqat was a son of Muhammad Shah and according to Firishtah a son of Nazuk Shah (see p. 72^a and note 4).

² The MSS. and the lith. ed. all say دوں حکم نہیں رسید Firishtah however says Daulat Chak مکنوب و مکنوب گردید i.e. was defeated and fettered Prajyabhutta's Rajatarangini has a curious story (see lines 523-35). It says دیوناٹکا (the change from Cakra to Cakka should be noted) attempted to stop the flow of water in the वेतामाइमभूमि. Thrown by the angry Vetilas (some kind of supernatural beings) stones fell into his hands. He then went to a मदाग्रपा साधु known as अभिमन्य who lived in a village called Tulamula and inquired of him how the deminuons could be rich and free from all fears. The Sadhu said मदाग्रपा वार्षिक ब्राह्मणकर निवारय. When Daulat Chak inquired how he could do such a thing the Sadhu became तोषचक्रुलभानश and he cursed Daulat Chak. The curse also was curious प्रधनमध्यमाधाद चन्द्राको ते पतिष्ठत that is the moon and sun will fall on your reaching the middle of the sea. After इमामाभिमभूत (i.e. I suppose Ibrahim Shah) had reigned for one month Ghazi Khan himself in his avarice took his position (जपाद तत पद स्थीमानाजानस्त स्थय)

I have included this long quotation as it appears to me to show a great increase of superstition and a great deterioration in the historical sense of the chronicler.

³ The name is written as مردادون and مردادون in the MSS. and in the lith. ed. Firishtah lith. ed. also has مردادون. I have retained the reading in the lith. ed. while the text edition has مردادون.

would be difficult" ¹ It so happened that Daulat Chak had got into a boat, and had gone to the Dal reservoir (lake) to shoot ducks. When he got out of the boat, Ghāzī Khān coming up seized his horses, and he fled and got on the ² Jāk hill. Ghāzī Khān pursued and seized him. Habib Chak arriving at ³ Nū, knew that Daulat Chak had been seized, and became distressed in his mind. Ghāzī Khān caused Daulat Chak to be blinded.

After that Habib Chak came, and saw Ghāzī Khān. The latter was not pleased with him. He sent for Nāzuk Chak, nephew (brother's son) of Daulat Chak, and ⁴ wanted to give him the trouble of becoming his *vakīl*, but he did not agree owing to the anger he felt at his uncle having been blinded, and Ghāzī Khān wanted to seize and imprison him, but he being warned fled, and went to Habib Chak.

AN ACCOUNT OF HABIB SHĀH, SON OF ISMA'IL SHĀH

When two years had elapsed from (the beginning of) the rule of Isma'il, he died, and Ghāzī Khān raised his son to the government. At the end of the year 964 A.H., Nasirat Chak, Habib Chak, Nāzuk Chak, Sankar Chak brother of Ghāzī Khān, and Yūsuf and Hastī Khān all collected together, entered into an agreement, and determined to the following effect "Today Ghāzī Khān has taken a ⁵ medicine, his brother Husain Chak is in prison. We will bring the

¹ Rodgers (*J A S B*, vol LIV, p 125) translates ﴿كَلْمَةٌ﴾ "Once upon a time", and سَعْوَدْ دَل "to a pond in the lake". For a description of the Dal lake, see Stein's *Rājataranginī*, vol II, page 416, and page 417 for its islands and shores.

² The name is حاک in one MS. In the other it is not decipherable. In the lith ed it is حاک. Firishtah lith ed does not give the name. The text-edition following the lith ed has کوہ حاک

³ The name is نیز, and نیز in the MSS, and نیز in the lith ed. Firishtah does not give the name of the place.

⁴ The words are نکلیہ و کالٹ ناو بیوہ in the MSS as well as in the lith eds of the *Tabaqat* and of Firishtah, the meaning of which is not quite clear. Rodgers's translation (*J A S B*, vol LIV, p 125) is "gave Nazuk Chakk the nephew of Daulat Chakk much inconvenience and trouble".

⁵ The word in the MSS as well as in the lith ed are اسْتَ حُورَدَه کار. I cannot find any meaning of the word کار which would suit the context. Firishtah lith ed has got the same words, but the word کار is omitted. Rodgers

latter out of prison and kill Ghazi Khan. This news reached Ghazi Khan. He won over Yusuf Chak and Sankar Chak and summoned them to his presence. Habib Chak, Nasrat Chak and Darvish Chak declared that they would either go (to Ghazi Khan?) or would make their escape after engagements and promises have been made in the presence of Qadis and learned men. Nasrat Chak went to Ghazi Khan without any engagements and was thrown into prison. Habib Chak in concert with Nazuk Chak broke down the bridges and rose in rebellion. Hasti Khan came with a large force and joined them. Ghazi Khan sent a large army to attack them and a great battle took place. Ghazi Khan's army was however defeated and some of his men were taken prisoners. Habib Chak having gained the victory went to ¹ Mamun. After his men had been defeated Ghazi Khan himself rode out to attack Habib Chak. He went to Dumrah and having got hold of three or four boats crossed the river.

He had three elephants and three thousand men with him. When he arrived at the plain of Khalidgarh Habib Chak came forward with ² two thousand men and engaged him in battle. After much fighting Habib Chak got into the ³ Jamjah river and his horse could not cross it. Hasti Tariq one of the servants of Ghazi Khan coming after

(J A S B vol LIV p 125) has translated the words "was eaten up by physic" which cannot be understood.

¹ The word is مامون and ماسون in the MS and ماسون in the lith ed. Firishtah lith ed has حکم مامون and Col Briggs (vol IV p 509) has Hamoon and Rodgers has mountains of Mamun. I cannot find anything about any of these places and have adopted Mamun. The text edition following the lith ed has ماسون.

² There are different readings here. One MS has در دو مرغه ریس the other has در دو مرغه ریس while the lith ed has در دو مرغه ریس. Firishtah lith ed has در دو مرغه ریس. Col Briggs (vol IV p 509) has marched on to Domra and Rodgers (J A S B vol LIV p 125) has went to Badimara which is certainly incorrect as he has prefixed the preposition *Ba* to Dumra and has made one word of them. I have adopted Dumra though I have failed to find its location. In the text edition it is در دو مرغه apparently a misprint for در مصیره.

³ The MSS as well as the lith ed have نسب کس twenty men but this is apparently incorrect. Firishtah has نسب سب twenty hundred and I have inserted hundred after twenty but the text edition has followed the MSS.

⁴ The name is حاتمه and حاتمه in the MSS and حاتمه in the lith ed. Firishtah lith ed has حاتمه ~ Col Briggs (vol IV p 509) has the

him, put his hand on his mouth, and brought him down About that (time) Ghāzī Khān's elephant came there and he was seized Ghāzī Khān ordered his *fiṭbān* to cut off his head When the *fiṭbān* put his hand on Habib Chak's face (or into his mouth), the latter caught his fingers firmly and bit them In the end his head¹ was severed from his body, and was taken to² Kalahmāt, where his house was, and hung there from the gallows Ghāzī Khān also seized Darvīsh Chak and Nāzuk Chak, and had them hanged After some time, Bahrām Chak came from Hindūstān to Ghāzī Khān, and the *pargana* of³ Kahuna-hāmū was allotted as his *jāgīr* He received permission to leave Srīnagar, and went to⁴ Madanjah, in *pargana* Zaingar, which was his Muchbul", and Rodgers (*J A S B*, vol LIV, p 125) has "at the bridge of Jamja "

Rodgers's translation (*J A S B*, vol LIV, p 125) of Firishtah's version "he was compelled to flee At the bridge of Jamja his horse stuck fast", is not correct The correct translation would be "his horse stuck fast in the river of the Jamja bridge" Prājyabhatta's *Rājataranginī* is rather difficult to follow in the later portions, but I think the following words refer to this incident
 नदौसुखम् । भूपालो युद्ध थाला महार । सितानदैवताहेषु हमेषकूममारथत् ।
 (lines 551-52) It will be noticed that Ghāzī Khān is already described as Bhūpāla or king, and Habib Chak is transformed into Habhe Cakka and not Cakra I hoped to be able to fix the locality by finding out something about the Sitā Nādī, but this has not been possible

¹ The words سر اورا ارتی حدا کردہ occur in only one MS , but not in the other or in the lith ed , but as this was necessary before it could be sent to the place of his residence, and as Firishtah has سر اورا حدا کردہ, I have inserted them

² The name is کلہ باب in one MS and کلہ نامت in the other, کلہ باب in the lith ed and کلہ نامت in Firishtah lith ed Col Briggs (vol IV, p 509) has Kulānamut, and Rodgers has only Kala thinking that the latter part of the name in Firishtah which is نامت means the name Rodgers (*J A S B*, vol IV, p 126) translates the words مدار کر دیا which follow immediately afterwards, "hung it there on the door "

³ The name is کھوہ نامو in both MSS , and کھوہ هامون in the lith ed Firishtah lith ed has کھوہ هامون Col Briggs has Kohtahamoon, and Rodgers has Khuba or Khoba Hāmūn The nearest I can get to these in the list of *parganahs* in Āīn-i-Albarī (Jarratt, vol II, p 370) is Khoihāma, in the N W part of the Kamrāj tract The text edition has followed the MSS

⁴ The name is تباہات and تباہات in the MS , and تباہات in the lith ed of the Tabaqāt and of Firishtah تباہات has been adopted in the text edition

birth place Then Sankar Chak and Fath Chak and others went to Bahram and they all came together to *pargana* Suypur and began to create disturbances Ghazi Khan sent his son and brothers to attack them They were unable to meet them and fled towards the hills On the next day Chazi Khan went in pursuit of them and when he arrived in the village of Madanjah he selected two thousand men whom he sent in pursuit of them so that they might capture them The next day news came that Bahram ¹ having been hit by an arrow had gone away to some (unknown) place and Sankar Chak and Fath Chak had separated from him Ghazi Khan went with great rapidity to ² Kahunahamu and for six days made great search to capture Bahram Ahmad Jaurin ³ brother of Haidar Chak son of Chazi Khan was entrusted with the duty of capturing Bahram Ghazi Khan himself returned to the city Ahmad Jaurin went to Sherko which was the abode of the ⁴ Rishis i.e. Sufis and

¹ There are different readings and the meaning is not quite clear The MSS have بہرام سر (سری or سری) حربہ بھائی روند instead of سر or سری Firishtah lith ed has بہرام اوس کوب روئے Col Briggs gives no translation of the passage Rodgers (*J A S B* vol LIV p 1-6) has Bahram Chakk had escaped from Sarkob taking Sarkob to be the name of a place which I do not think is correct It will be seen that a few lines further down the place is called Sh rhot in the Tabaqat though it is called Sarkob there also in Firishtah Sherko is apparently the correct name of the place

² See page 73 and note 3

³ The MSS as well as the lith eds of the Tabaqat and of Firishtah all say احمد حیدر حک ولد عاری حان I do not know why Ahmad Jaurin could not be called son of Ghazi Khan instead of being called the brother of his son Col Briggs (vol IV p 509) has Ahmad Hoorem a son of Haidur Chuk brother of Ghazy Khan This is probably correct The words brother and son have become transposed

⁴ The name is written ریسائی in the MSS and the lith ed of the Tabaqat Firishtah lith ed has ریسلی I think the latter to be the more correct form Col Briggs calls (vol IV p 509) them Russies and he thinks they were the inhabitants of a convent of Russian missionaries being in Thibet for he argues the philosophical and horticultural Russies can be no other though their being there is a very extraordinary fact Rodgers simply calls them *Rishis* or *Sufis* I have no doubt also that they were some kind of Sufis of whom there were apparently many sects in Kashmir (see *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* p 436) Mirza Haidar paints them in very dark colours but some of them might have been peaceful rustics as those mentioned here are described to have been

seized them, and in order to make them produce Bahūām had them bastinadoed. The *Rishīs* said "We took Bahūām in a boat to the village of ¹ Bādhal to the house of Amīr Zīnā." The *Rishīs* are a community or a group of people, who always carry on agriculture and plant orchards, and ² they live in a society by themselves and do not marry. ³ Ahmad Jaurīn went to Amīr Zīnā, and after much search, got hold of Bahūām Chak, and took him to Srinagar. He was there hanged by the neck, and Ahmad Jaurīn received the title of Fath Khān.

⁴ At this time, Shāh Abu-ul-ma'ālī, who was in the custody of the Khakais, came with fetters on his feet mounted on the back of Yūsuf Kashmīrī. When he arrived at Rājaurī, a band of Mughals collected round him. The blind Daulat Chak and Fath Chak and other Chaks and Lōhaīs and Ankrīs all came to him, and in the year 965 A.H., they advanced towards Kashmīr. When they arrived at Bārāmūla, Muhammad Haidar and Fath Khān, who guarded the road,

¹ The name of the village is بادھل in both MSS., and بادیل in the lith ed of the Tabaqāt. In the lith ed of Firishtah it is بادیلی. Col Briggs (vol IV, p 510) has Nadīl and Rodgers (JASB, vol LIV, p 126) Bādēlī.

² I am not sure whether my translation is correct. The words in the Tabaqāt MS and lith ed are اتعان فرمایند و سرپرید گدراند. The lith ed of Firishtah has دنیا گدراند instead of گدراند کنن.

³ The text in the Tabaqāt (MSS and lith ed) is حورین احمد رینا رفعت (imperfect here). I have inserted Ahmad before Jaurīn, and have put in سرپرید instead of رینا. In the text-edition it is حورین سرپرید رفعت.

⁴ Prājyabhatta's *Rājatarangīni*, which is very meagre and very incorrect in its later pages, has some account of Shāh Abu-ul-ma'ālī's invasion immediately after the mention of the death or slaying of Habib Chak in lines 551-52 (see note 4, pp 731-32). It says गते वज्जविषे काले नोस्मीचकप्रचोदित । आयथौ सुगुज्जखामो श्रीकम्भीरजिगीषया । शाह अब्दोलमालोति नाम धस्याभवद्धुषि । (lines 552-53) It is curious that Shāh Abul Ma'ālī should be called the Lord of the Mughals, when he was fleeing from them. I cannot identify Nosmī Cakka. The Cambridge History of India, page 290, describes the raid of Shah Abul Ma'ālī, as "the serious rebellion of Yūsuf Chakk who was supported by Shāh Abul Ma'ālī". This does not appear to me to be correct. No Yūsuf Chak is mentioned in connection with the reign, except one, who is said to have carried Shāh Abu-ul Ma'ālī on his back. If Yūsuf Chak should be identified with the Nosmī Cakka referred to in the early part of the note, there will be some foundation for the statement.

fled and went to the village of Budukhi Shah Abu ul ma ali having adopted the path of justice none of his soldiers had any power to oppress the *raiyats*. When he arrived in the village of ¹ Barbakha which is near Pittan he encamped on high ground. Chazi Khan also marched out from Srinagar and encamped in Pattana in front of Shah Abu ul ma ali. He made his brother named Hu am the commander of his vanguard and stationed himself in ² maula Khed. The Kashmiris who were with Shah Abu ul ma ali attacked without his permission the army of Hussain Khan and compelled him to turn back. Chazi Khan coming to his aid fought with great gallantry and having slain many of the Kashmiris deserted Shah Abu ul ma ali. The latter seeing the state of things without fighting turned his face to flight. When his horse became exhausted on the way a Mughal came to him and gave him his own horse which was fresh and strong. He then took hold of the exhausted horse and stood on the spot and kept back all the Kashmiris who were going in pursuit of Shah Abu ul ma ali. When his quiver became empty the Kashmiris advanced on him in a crowd and slew him. During this time Shah Abu ul ma ali managed to make his escape. Chazi Khan then turned back and went to Pattana. He ordered every Mughal who was brought before him to be beheaded except Hasi (one who has memorized the *Quran*) Habibul one of the readers of His

¹ The name of the village is *آل مار* and *آل جل* in the MSS and *آل جل* in the lith ed of the *Tabaqat*. In the lith ed of *Lumtah* it is *آل جل*. The text edition following the first MS has *آل مار*.

² Pattana or Pittan is on the side of the ancient Sankarapura and lies on the direct road between Srinagar and Baramula according to Ishaq bhatta (I 60) आषपाद स पूर्णस पत्तनामुरामिक where I think Chazi Khan is referred to in the words पूर्णस. I cannot find out the distance between Parhasapura and Pattana but seeing that Sankaravarmen is said to have carried off whatever was of value in Tarihasajura in order to raise the fame of his own town of Sankarapura where Pittan now stands (vide Stein's *Rajatarangini* vol II p 481) it could not have been very great. In the text-edition the name of the village is given as سن.

³ The name in both MSS is *گھوڑہ*. The lith ed says incorrectly در گھوڑہ اساد. Firishtah lith ed has *گھوڑہ*. Col Briggs (vol IV p 510) has Gahwar and Rodgers (J S B vol LIV p 196) has Khanud. In the text edition the reading in the MSS has been followed.

Majesty Jinnat Ashiānī, whom he did not slay on account of the beauty of his recitation

After this victory (Ghāzī Khān) released Nasīrat Chak out of prison, and sent him to wait upon His Majesty, the asylum of the Khilāfat (Akbar) Nasīrat Chak went, and saw the Khān Khanān Bahārām Khān, and the latter showed him all honour and respect

In the year 966 A.D., there was a change in the disposition of Ghāzī Khān, and ¹he began to act with tyranny and oppression, and the people showed great detestation of him. At this time a report was conveyed to his ears, that his son, in concert with some people, wanted to seize the kingdom. Ghāzī Khān summoned ²Muhammad Sadūr, who was his *wakil* (representative or agent), and Bahādur Bhat, and said, "People say this" They said, "What they say is true" Ghāzī Khān told them, "Give him good advice, so that he may not again allow such a thought to enter his mind" Muhammad Sadūr called Haidar Chak to his house, and reasoned with him, and abused him. Haidar Chak got into a rage, and forcibly took the dagger from Muhammad's belt, and struck it in his stomach and killed him on the spot. Men came in a crowd, and seized Haidar, and Ghāzī Khān gave the order for slaying him. In the end he was executed and his head was taken to Zaingarh, and there hung from

¹ Instances of his baseness and cruelty are given in lines 558, etc of Prājyabhātta's *Rājataranginī*. Among these is mentioned the slaying of his son named Haidar, but the circumstances surrounding the incidents are somewhat difficult to understand. It is said in line 560 भातुल स्व जिधांसना यौवनस्य प्रतापिन् । अप्पाज्ञाधान मूर्पाल स्वसुत ईदरामिध ॥ This can only be explained on the supposition that جوڈہ or جوڈ (see the next note) was the maternal uncle of Haidar. Prājyabhātta goes on to say that there was a great wail of lamentation on the execution of Haidar (دُرّاٹना । ہت' پونیڈھنے نہیں ہاہا کارو سہا نمہوت । (1 561)), which shows that the people were in sympathy with the son or at least were grieved over his death, and were hostile to Ghāzī Khān, and it is also said اَدَمْ بَهَّا مَهَّا سَلْسَلَهُ يُوَبَّرَاجَسَهُ مَنْجَلَهُ । ہلَا ج्ञाधान मूर्पाल जम्मा ई० १८८ । (1 562) which means that Ghāzī Khān like a mad Rāksasa had the eighteen councillors of the prince executed. I cannot understand the word ہلَا in this line. It may be a printer's mistake for س تاں. The description of Ghāzī Khān as a mad Rāksasa shows the intensity of the popular hatred towards him.

² The name is Muhammad Sadūr in one MS and in the lith ed. In the other MS it is Muhammad Sadū. The name is Muhammad Junaid in Firishtah

a gibbet Ghazi Khan also had the men who had conspired with him (Haidar) put to death

In the year 967 A.D. Qarra Bahadur came from Hindustan with a large army and nine elephants and he had with him¹ Nasrat Chak and Tath Chak and others from among the Kashmiris and also a large body of Khakars. He waited for three months at Lajpur. He had great hopes that the Kashmiris would join him but at this time Nasrat Khan and Tath Chak and Lohari and Ankri fled from him and went to Ghazi Khan. Owing to this great weakness crept into Qarra Bahadur's army. Ghazi Khan came out of Kashmir and arrived in Daurozkot. (He) sent some foot soldiers against him and defeated him. Qarra Bahadur fled and got into the fort of Dayarah. The following day he fled from the foot soldiers and his elephants fell into the hands of the Kashmiris and five hundred Mughals were put to death.

When a period of five years of the rule of Habib Shah had passed Ghazi Khan concealed him in a corner raised the standard of his own rule did not allow even the name of sovereignty to another and had the public prayers read and the coins struck in his own name and gave himself the title of Ghazi Shah.

³ AN ACCOUNT OF THE RULE OF GHAZI KHAN

Ghazi Khan having ascended the throne according to the custom of the rulers of Kashmir commenced giving himself the titles of *Badshah* and *Sultan*. Owing to² leprosy with which he had before this been afflicted his voice at this time underwent a change and his

¹ The name is Nasrat Khan in Chak in one MS. It is omitted in the other. In the lith. ed. both of the Tabaqat and of Irishtah it is Nasrat Chak.

The name is Lajpur in the MS as well as the lith. ed. of the Tabaqat. It is Lalajur in the lith. ed. of Irishtah.

³ The heading is as I have it in the text edition in both MSS and the lith. ed. Irishtah has ماء حکومت دکر which is better.

⁴ The attack of leprosy and the death of Ghazi Khan or Shah are described in Prajyabhatta's *Rajatarang尼* lines 663-67. It however omits all the incidents which are mentioned in the Tabaqat and Irishtah as having occurred after his assumption of the royal title.

singers were about to drop off, and there were ulcers in his gums (*dai dandān*, i.e., in his teeth) In the year 968 A.H., Fath Khān and Lōhiārī and Ankīrī and other Kashmiris became suspicious of him, and fleeing got into the hilly country Ghāzī Khān sent his brother Husain Khān with two thousand men in pursuit of them As it was the season of snow, Ifusam Khān, on arrival at ¹ Bahārānah, made a halt The enemy getting warning, went to the village of ² Ahlan, and a large number of them, falling under the snow, perished The rest, who survived, went to ³ Kishtwān, and in the year 969 A.H., they were in great distress there, and sought an asylum with Husain Khān The latter prayed to Ghāzī Khān to pardon their offences, and he pardoned them, and gave them good *jāgīs*

In the year 970 A.H., Ghāzī Khān left Kashmir, and took up his residence at Lāi, and sent his son Ahmad Khān in concert with Fath Khān and ⁴ Nāṣir Kiyānī and other renowned *amīns* for the conquest of Tibet When they arrived within five *laiōhs* of Tibet, Fath Khān went into (invaded) Tibet ⁵ with the permission of Ahmad Khān, and getting among the Tibetans ⁶ came out quickly The Tibetans

¹ The name is بَهَارَة, and بَهَارَة in the MSS., Firishtah lith ed has left out a considerable number of words from بَهَارَة to دُود مَحَالَان, and Col Briggs and Rodgers have followed it

² The name is Ahlan in both MSS., and Aslan in the lith ed

³ The name is کھوار in both MSS., and کنوار in the lith ed of the Tabaqāt, and کھتوار in the lith ed of Firishtah

⁴ The name is ناصِرِ کیابی in both MSS., and ناصِرِ کتابی in the lith ed Firishtah lith ed has ناصِرِ کتابی, but Col Briggs (vol IV, p 513) transliterates as Nasir Kutaby, and Rodgers (*J A S B*, vol LIV, p 128) has Nāsir Kibatu

⁵ The MSS. as well as the lith ed of the Tabaqāt have درست, i.e., with the permission, but Firishtah lith ed has دری رسم, without the permission, and the subsequent incident shows that the latter reading is probably correct

⁶ The reading in the Tabaqāt is درمیان تیان درامدہ روڈ ندر امد The penultimate word is سر in one MS which I have adopted In the other MS and in the lith ed it is سر Firishtah lith ed has a different reading, it is سپتہر after در آمدہ روڈ Col Briggs (vol IV, p 514) translates this in the words, "proceeded to the capital", and Rodgers (*J A S B*, vol LIV, p 129) has "went into the city" without specifying what city It is very doubtful that Fath Khān reached as far as the Capital of Tibet

were unwilling to fight and sent much tribute¹ At this time the idea came into Ahmad Khan's mind Fath Khan went into Tibet and came out If I do not do a similar deed the people of Kashmir will all praise him Then he determined that he should go *jaridah* (alone or with a small retinue) Iath Khan said It is not advisable that you should go and indeed if you must go go with a large force Ahmad Khan did not listen to his words and went with only five hundred men He left Fath Khan in the camp When the Tibetans saw that he had such a small force they attacked him He was unable to withstand them and fled on coming to Iath Khan said Today thou be the rearguard I am off He did not delay anywhere When the men saw that Ahmad Khan was running away they all turned their faces in flight Fath Khan however halted The Tibetans came up to him he fought single handed with them and was slain On hearing this news Chazi Khan got into a rage and strongly criticised his son's conduct

²The period of Chazi Khan's rule was four years

¹ Firishtah agrees except in the latter part where he says ما بروم او میں سد سالاں مار وسیدہ ہوں نہیں دادا سعید بر احمد هنچ ترکیت نکردا پیس سد سالاں مار وسیدہ ہوں نہیں دادا سعید بر احمد و دنیع حل اور کمال عرب نہیں ہندگ کردا کسیدہ سد سعید
The versions both in Col Briggs and Rodgers are altogether wrong but it would be useless to point out all their mistakes The Cambridge History of India page 290 gives a short summary as follows His advanced guard was defeated and instead of pressing forward to its support he fled with the main body of the force Every statement in this sentence appears to me to be incorrect The advanced guard was not defeated and in fact there was no advance guard and Ahmad Khan could not have pressed forward to its support He was in fact running away the main body running away with him and it was only Fath Khan whom when he was running away Ahmad Khan implored or ordered to be the rearguard and he fought bravely and was killed It is unfortunate that a history which is believed to be a standard work should contain such a statement The compiler apparently read neither the Tabaqat nor Firishtah and apparently not even the incorrect translations of Col Briggs or Rodgers

² The word اعراء (honours reputations) in the text edition is apparently a misprint for اعراء (criticism animadversion)

³ The account of the reign of Chazi Shah appears to end thus abruptly both in the Tabaqat and in Firishtah but as a matter of fact it is continued in the earlier part of the account of the reign of Husain Khan or Shah

¹ AN ACCOUNT OF HUSAIN KHĀN, BROTHER OF GHĀZI KHĀN

In the year 971 A.H., Ghāzi Khān left Kashmīr with the intention of conquering Tibet, and took up his quarters in ² Maukhadah Khār, but owing to an acute attack of leprosy he lost the use of his eyes, and adopted bad manners and perpetrated tyranny on the people, and extorted sums of money as fines from innocent men. The people being aggrieved at his conduct, divided themselves into two parties. One of them united with his son Ahmad Khān, and the other joined his brother Husain Khān. On hearing this, he came back to Srinagar, and as he had more affection and kindness for Husain Khān, he raised him in his place to the *sultanat*. The *rakīls* and *rāzīrs* of Ghāzi Khān all went to Husain Khan's house, and began to serve him. After fifteen days Ghāzi Khān divided all his equipages and rich stuffs into two portions. One share he gave to his sons, and made over the other moiety to tradesmen, and ordered that they should pay him its price. The tradesmen came to Husain Khān praying for justice. The latter forbade Ghāzi Khān (to effect the sale and demand the price). Ghāzi Khān being annoyed with him wanted to make his son his successor Husain Khān, on being informed of this, summoned Ahmad Khān, son of Ghāzi Khān, Abdāl Khān and other chief men, and took pro-

¹ The heading is as I have it in the text in both the MSS and in the lith ed Firishtah has ﺥاـنـ ﻭـ ﻷـمـ، which is better. The Cambridge History of India, page 290, says that the new ruler ascended the throne as Nāsir-ud-din Husain Shāh.

The accession of Husain Khān or Shāhī is mentioned in line 575 of Prājyabhatta's *Rājataranginī*, and the following lines describe his impartial justice, his prosperity, his fame and his pleasure, in respect of which, it says सुख तत्सदृशं खर्गं स चकार न वासवं । (l 578), i.e., even *Indra* did not have such pleasure in *Svarga*. The happiness of the people is described in line 583, which says दुर्भिंच्चौरराजभ्यो भये तेन निवारिते । अमस्तु खर्गसदृशं लोकं कम्भीरमण्डलं । i.e., famine, robberies and fear from kings having been prevented by him, the people thought Kashmir to be like *Svarga*.

² The name is جارک موكدار Maukhadah Khār in both MSS. It is Maukandah in the lith ed. Firishtah lith ed. has Maulad Khār. Col Briggs (vol IV p 514) has Mokudkar and Rodgers (*JASB*, vol LIV, p 129) has Mūladgħar, which is, however, not a correct transliteration of the name as given in the lith ed of Firishtah, where the last syllable is جارک ghār, or may be ghār but not għar.

muses and engagements from them that they would remain obedient to him Chizi Khan summoned and collected his own men and the Mughals Husain Khan also prepared to meet him The people and the Qadis intervened and quelled the disturbance Chizi Khan came out of the city and took up his quarters in Zainpur but after three months he came back to Srinagar Husain Khan¹ divided the country of Kashmir among men

In the year 972 A H Husain Khan granted Rijauri and Nau Shah jagir to Sankar Chak his elder brother and sent him there Immediately after this news came that Sankar Chak had risen in revolt (Husain Khan) then allotted the jagirs to Muhammad Makri and sent a large force against Sankar Chak The commanders of the force were Ahmad Khan Path Khan and Aliwajh Masud² Nayak They went and fighting with Sankar deserted him Husain Khan advanced to welcome them and brought them to Srinagar After some time Husain Khan learnt that Ahmad Khan and Muhammad Khan Makri and Nasrat Khan had made plans for murdering him and wanted to imprison them They on learning this came to Husain Khan with a large number of followers and he was unable to harm them in any way When they left his presence³ he became anxious (knowing) that they had become acquainted with the true state of things He

¹ Similar divisions have been made by other Sultans also but the reasons of such divisions is not clear Firishtah prefaces the statement by saying حسن حک اسحاق کلی ہمہ سائید but I do not think it gives any sufficient reasons

There are differences in the readings One MS has سرگردان while the other and the lith ed has سرداراں Then one MS has احمد حل و مسعود و مانک while the other has احمد حل و مسعود حواجہ مسعود مانک while the lith ed has احمد حل و مسعود حواجہ مسعود و مانک حک I was inclined at first to adopt the reading in Firishtah but I found that the construction of the sentence in the Tabaqat is different so I have adopted the reading in the first MS though I am not quite sure about the last word In the text edition M Hidayat Hosain has مسعود مانک in place of مسعود مانک in the translation above

² The readings are slightly different One MS has مسکر سد کے while the other and the lith ed have مسکر سد مسکر سد I have adopted the first reading

therefore, sent ¹ Mahk Lūlī Laund to them, with the message, that they should all meet together, and make promises and engagements that none of them would attempt any hostility to the others. Mahk Lūlī Laund went and made proposals of peace. They then all came together in the house of Ahmad Khān, and agreed that they should take Ahmad Khān to the house of Husain Khān. Ahmad Khān, after much pressing consented, and went with Nasrat Khān and Malik Lūlī to Husain Khān's house. Qādī Habib, who was one of the chief men of Kashmūr, and Muhammad Mākī were also sent for. They all met together in the *Dīwānkhāna*, which is celebrated as the *Rang Mahal*. When night came Husain Khān said, ² "We are inclined to-night to have some *natiyah-bāzī*. As the *Qādī* is puritanical, you go together to the first floor (*bālākhāna*) (and amuse yourselves), and I am also coming." When they went upstairs, "Husain Khān sent some men and had them imprisoned.

After that, he sent 'Ālam Khān and Khān Zamān, whose original name was Fath Khwājah, with a large army to attack Sankar Chak, who was near Rājamī. They went there and defeated Sankar Chak,

¹ The name is as I have it in the text, in both MSS and in the lith ed Firishtah lith ed has ملک لویدی لونڈ Col Briggs does not mention the name Rodgers (*J A S B*, vol LIV, p 130) has Lodnī Lond Laund according to the dictionary means a soldier or an adventurer. It also, I think, means a Levantine, but I cannot understand how a Levantine should have made his way to Kashmūr.

² The text is imperfect and contradictory. One MS has چون فاصی متن رع است ہوا با اتفاق فاصی سالحاء چون متن رع است ہوا با اتفاق فاصی رفتہ صحت دارید کہ من ہم می ایم The other has چون فاصی مقتصر است رفتہ صحت دارید کہ من ہم می ایم چون فاصی رفتہ صحت دارید کہ من ہم می ایم The lith ed of Firishtah has the same reading as the lith ed of the *Tabaqat*, but leaves out the word *Qādī*. I consider this reading the best and have adopted it for the reason mentioned below.

I cannot find the meaning of سوڑے ناری *Bāzī* means a game or play. In a preceding note I have said that *Natiyah* is probably a corruption of Sanskrit *Nāta*, an actor or a mimic. As there is a reference to the *Qādī*'s being orthodox or puritanical, the *natiyah bāzī* in this case was probably some kind of indecent mimicry or acting, but according to the text in the lith ed of the *Tabaqat*, the *Qādī* was also invited to go to the *Bālākhāna*, where the game would be played. If the text of the lith ed of Firishtah is adopted and the word *Qādī* is omitted then there would be no difficulty.

and returned with victory and triumph Khan Zaman having acquired much credit in order was passed that all the amirs should go every day to his house

In the year 973 A.D. (people) slandered Khan Zaman to Husain Khan The latter ordered that men should not go to his house Khan Zaman wished to go away from Kashmir and was arranging to get together the things that would be required for the journey ¹ Then Husain Khan went away on a hunting expedition Shams Dubar came and said to Khan Zaman Why are you going away Husain Khan is gone out for hunting and his house is unoccupied We should go there and take possession of all his equipages and treasure Khan Zaman liked these words of his and went in concert with Fath Chik and Lohir and Ankari and others like them and attacked Husain Khan's house They set fire to the door and wanted to bring out Ahmad Khan Muhammad Khan Makri and Nasrat Khan from prison Bahadur Khan son of Khan Zamin and Fath Chik then came there Masud Nayak was in charge of the prison He discharged water on the courtyard of the Diwan Khan so that it became muddy Diulat Khan one of Husain Khan's men was

¹ One MS has by mistake احمد سکاری کے حسن The lith ed of Firishtah has کے حسن مکاری احمد سکاری سعید رمان گفت

² There are differences in the readings here One MS has حسن حان سکاری درجہ حادہ او حادی اس بحانہ او باد روں سوں دو برامدہ بحانہ مان روندہ حادہ او حادی The other MS which has the incorrect reading mentioned in the preceding note has حسن حان سکاری درجہ حادہ او حادی بحانہ او باد روں The reading in the lith ed is the same as the reading in the ²nd MS but instead of سسرو در دویر امدادہ سوں دو برامدہ there is سسرو در دویر امدادہ which appears to be incorrect I have adopted the readings in the ²nd MS though I am doubtful as to who Shams Dubar was In the text edition it is حسن مکاری احمد سکاری Besides it was not likely that because Hu am Khan had gone away hunting his house should remain unoccupied Prajyabhatta refers to this in line 580 The line runs यानेजमाननामामूल्यन्वी तस्य सहीष्टत । य निगते सहीष्टते धर्माद नगर च ॥५०॥ Then there are some lines which appear to be an interpolation after which line 586 runs as तदीपेन्यामायत् नाग्यामास तत्पत् ॥ इसेनवपति प्रात रथकारमिवाशुमान । These two lines (580 586) mean that the king had a minister named Khan Zaman who when the king went out seized the city in a moment Then the king's troops came and destroyed (him) at once The king was like the morning sun which destroys the darkness

standing with his quiver on his back Bahādūn Khān ran to him, and struck him with his sword. The sword fell on his quiver, and he shot an arrow into the eye of Bahādūn Khān's horse, which reared up, and threw the rider.¹ Mas'ūd Nāyak and Ankūr attacked him, and cut off his head with a dagger. Khān Zamān received information of this from outside and fled. Mas'ūd Nāyak pursued and seized him, and took him to Husain Khān. The latter ordered that he should be carried to Zaingarī, and his ears and nose and hands and feet should be cut off, and he should be hung from a gibbet. He also gave the designation of son to Mas'ūd Nāyak, and honoured him with the title of Mubāriz Khān, and allotted the² *pargana* of Bānkal as his *jāgīr*.

³ In the year 974 A.H., Husain Khān ordered that the blinding needle to be drawn across the eyes of Ahmad Khān, son of Ghāzī Khān, Nasīrat Khān and Muhammad Khān. Ghāzī Khān, on hearing this news, suffered great anguish, and as he was already ill, he passed away.

Husain Khān then founded a college, and lived in the society of pious and learned men in its precincts, and he allotted them the *pargana* of⁴ Zampūr as their *jāgīr*.

In the year 975 A.H., Lūlī Laund informed Husain Khān that Mubāriz Khān says that as Husain Khān had called him his son, he

¹ These names are variously written. One MS has رَهْت مَارِيك وَابْرِي, the other has دَرِك وَابْرِي. The lith ed of the *Tabaqāt* has دَرِك وَابْرِي, while that of Firishtah has مَسْعُود بَلِيك وَابْرِي. The latter appears to me to be correct and I have adopted it.

² One of the *parganas* in the SW part of Kamrūj. See page 371, *Aīn-i-Albarī* (Jarratt, vol II, p 370)

³ This is also mentioned by Prājyabhatta (l 588) which runs चिरोधे धनवृद्धीना वैरससक्तचेताः। मध्यदखानकादौना चकर्प नयनानि स । i.e., he pulled out the eyes of Muhammad Khān and others who were determined to fight with him, and whose hearts were filled with enmity towards him.

⁴ The name of the *parganah* looks like سالور and تلادر in the MSS, and as بیالپور in the lith ed. In the lith ed of Firishtah it is Zampūr. In the list of *parganahs* in *Aīn-i-Albarī* (Jarratt, vol II, pp 368-371) there is none that at all resembles any of the names in the MSS or the lith ed of the *Tabaqāt*. There is, however, a *pargana* called Zinapur among those to the SE of Srinagar. I have, therefore, substituted the name of Zaipūr, and this is followed in the text edition.

should give him a share of the treasure Husain Khan was much pained in his heart One day he went to the house of Mubariz Khan He saw many horses in his stables The pain in his mind became more acute and he ordered Mubariz Khan to be imprisoned All affairs were now entrusted to Malik Luli But in a short time he also was imprisoned on the ground that he had embezzled ¹ forty thousand donkey loads of paddy belonging to the government and Ali Kokah was appointed in his place

In the year 976 A.H. Qadi Habib who was of the *Hanafi* faith coming out of the *Jama* Mosque on a Friday - had gone to the foot of Miran null on a pilgrimage to the tomb when a ² *Rasdi* of the name of Yusuf Andaz drew his sword and struck the *Qadi*. The latter was wounded on the head Yusuf again struck him with the sword The *Qadi* shielded his head with his hand and his fingers were cut off Except the bigotry that was due to the difference of their religions there was nothing else between them Maulana Kamal ud din the son in law of the *Qadi* ³ who occupied himself with teaching in Sialkot was with him at the time Yusuf fled after wounding the *Qadi*. When Husain Khan heard this news he appointed some men who found Yusuf out and brought him Husain Khan then assembled lawyers like Mulla Yusuf Mulla Firuz and others like them and ordered them that they should state whatever might be in accordance with the law (*Shara*) They replied that the execution of such a person by way of punishment was legal The *Qadi* said It would

¹ Col Briggs (vol IV p 17) incorrectly translates *حہل هزار حرباڑ سالی* as forty thousand bales of shawls and Rodgers (*JASB* vol I IV p 131) also incorrectly has 40 000 ass loads of shawls

² Rodgers (*JASB* vol LIV p 131) translates *در باری کوہ ماران بر بارب* *در رعیت میرن* came to the *zirat* in the graveyard of *Miran*

³ A man belonging to a section of the *Shia* sect who renounced their allegiance to *Zaid* the son of *Ali* the son of *Husain* Firishtah calls Yusuf a *Shia*

⁴ That is the name in both the MSS In the lith ed it is Yusuf Tandoz Firishtah lith ed has only Yusuf Neither Col Briggs nor Rodgers has any name In the text edition M Hidayat Hosain has adopted *وسف اندر*

⁵ It is invidious to go on pointing out Rodgers's mistakes but he translates (*JASB* vol LIV p 131) the clause *اسدھال داسپ* *در سالکوب ندرس* *اسدھال داسپ* *در عمران فاصی نود* in the words was also with him engaged in reading

not be right to execute this man, so long as I am alive " In the end, they stoned him to death Members of the sect, who were united with Yūsuf in religion and faith, said to Husain Khān, "There has been too much haste in executing him " Husain Khān said, "I acted in accordance with the verdict of the Mullās "

About this time Mīrzā Muqīm, and Ya'qūb, son of Bābā 'Ali came to Kashmīr as ambassadors from the threshold of the servants of the asylum of the *Khilāfat* When they arrived at Hīnahpūr, Husain Khān sent men to welcome them, and he himself came to the plain of ¹Sālah, and erected a pavilion and awnings and all the furniture of an assembly When he heard that the ambassadors had come near, he came out of the pavilion and greeted them Then they all came into the pavilion, and sat down in one place After that the ambassadors got into a boat, and Ibrāhīm Khān, the son of Husain Khān, also went with them Husain Khān did not go in the boat, but went to Kashmīr (Sīnagār) on horseback He allotted the house of Husain Mākī to the ambassadors

After some days Mīrzā Muqīm said, "Send the *Qādī* and the *Muftīs*, according to whose decision Yūsuf was executed, to me " Husain Khān sent the *Muftīs* to him *Qādī* Zāī who was of the same religion as Yūsuf said, "The *Muftīs* made a mistake in their verdict " The *Muftīs* said, "We did not give a decisive verdict for his execution We said that the execution of such a person by way of punishment was lawful " Mīrzā Muqīm insulted the *Muftīs* in the assembly, and made them over to Fath Khān Rāsfī and tortured them Husain Khān embarked in a boat and went away to Kamīāj Fath Khān had the *Muftīs* put to death, by order of Mīrzā Muhammad Muqīm, and had their bodies dragged round the lanes and bazārs by ropes tied to their feet Husain Khān sent his daughter with fine gifts and presents with the ambassador for the service of the asylum of the *Khilāfat* The ambassadors taking his daughter and the ²tribute with them went back to Āgra

¹ That is the name in both MSS The 11th ed has in the plain of Shāhzāda Firishtah does not mention the name of the place

² One MS inserts بادیا و مسکن and both have بادیو instead of رفتند I think بادیو is better and I have retained it It is بادیو in the text edition

AN ACCOUNT OF ALI SHAH BROTHER OF HUSAIN

In the year 977 A H news came that His Majesty the Khahfa ¹ Ilahi had ordered Mirza Muqim to be executed in retribution of the unjust executions which he had perpetrated in Kashmir and he had also rejected Husain Khan's daughter On hearing this news Husain Khan had an attack of dysentery or bloody flux and he continued to be ill for three or four months

At this time - Muhammad Bhat incited Yusuf son of Ali Khan to rebel against Husain Khan When this news reached Husain Khan he said to Yusuf to go to his father i.e. Ali Khan who was at ² Suyyapur and to remain there When Yusuf went to Ali Khan other men also fled one after another and went to Ali Khan When the going of the people and also of his son to Ali Khan became a certainty Husain Khan sent men to Ali Khan with this message

What offence has been committed by me? I sent your son to you without any objection or censure Ali Khan said I also am not guilty in any way People come to me fleeing from you and although I advise them it has no effect

¹ The heading is as I have it in the text in both MSS and the lith ed The account of Husain's reign ends abruptly but some account of it is continued in that of the next reign Prayablatta does not mention the incident of Qadi Habib or of the arrival of Albar's ambassadors He describes some spring and Sri Pancharati festivities of Husain Khan (lines 580-594) and then in lines 595-6 he says that he had अपराधः(आ)रदोष and दोषिनां गैतांगी पस्तेप्रधारराज्या। दुष्विचाराभक्तिरेम्यो जनो भौत्याकुलोभवत। i.e. the Husain Shah Moon having been swallowed up by the Rakhu of epilepsy the people became frightened of the darkness of injustice The next line describes in somewhat curious language that bestowing the kingdom on his brother the king Husain went to paradise which he had acquired by his bounty as if incited by his curiosity The next line says he was always happy in his reign which extended to seven years

Firishtah lith ed has incorrectly حاں و بہب دوسروں ولہ علی حاں حک را بین داس س Col Briggs makes no mention of Muhammad Bhat or Yusuf he calls (vol IV p 50) the place where Ali Khan was Shewpur Rodgers (JASB vol LIV p 132) translates Firishtah correctly but Bihut Yusuf is curious The place of Ali Khan's residence is called Sonpur

² One MS has Suyyapur the other has Rasulpur The lith ed is defective and omits a part of the sentence Firishtah lith ed has Sonpur

In the end, 'Alī Khān advanced towards Srinagar, and encamped at a distance of seven *laiōhs* from there. Malik Lūlī Laund now fled, and went to 'Alī Khān. Husain Khān came out of the city, and went to ¹ Jahlah Hājam, which was one *laiōh* from it. Ahmad and Muhammad and Ankī, who were his door-keepers and *amīns*, fled that night and went to 'Alī Khān. ² Daulat, who was one of his near relations said to Husain Khān, "As all men are running away from you, it would be better that you should send the emblems of royalty, about which there is always dispute, to 'Alī Khān. He is your brother, and is not a stranger." Husain Khān then sent the royal umbrella and the yāk-tales, and all other insignias of royalty to 'Alī Khān by the hand of his own son Yūsuf, and said, "My only offence was this that I became ill." After that 'Alī Khān came to Husain Khān's house, and enquired about his health, and they wept together.

³ Then Husain Khān made over the city to 'Alī Khān, and he came to Zainpūr, and took up his residence there. 'Alī Khān assumed the title of 'Alī Shāh, and the duties of royalty devolved upon him, and ⁴ Dūkha, who was the *vakīl* of Husain Khān was put in charge of the public affairs. After three months Husain Khān departed from the world. 'Alī Khān went to meet his bier, and he was buried in the vicinity of Harrān Bazār.

¹ The name in one MS is حاجم al- without any dots, in the other it is حاجم al- which is probably Hāladjājam. The lith ed has حاجم al-. Firishtah lith ed has حاجم al-. Col Briggs does not mention the place Rodgers calls it Jalahājam.

² There is no affix to the name in the MSS or in the lith ed. Firishtah lith ed has Daulat Chak.

³ Prājyabhatta is silent over all that happened prior to the transfer of the sovereignty, but line 600 reads आलेखानात्रिते राज्ये तुत्पु सकला प्रजाः। अद्यादिनते द्वये प्रात कमलनी यथा। i.e., the kingdom having devolved on 'Alī Khān, all the people were happy as in the morning the lotus (blooms) when the sun goes to the mountain of the dawn.

⁴ The name appears to be Dūkha, though there are slight variations. Col Briggs (vol IV, p 522) calls it Dookna. Rodgers does not mention the name. Dūkha meaning "sorry", "poor" is quite a humble name, and the man was apparently of humble origin.

At this time Shah Ārif *Darvish* coming from Husain¹ Quli Khan at Lahore arrived in Kashmir Ali Khan gave him his daughter in marriage and believed him to be the *Mahdi* of the end of the world Ali Chak son of Naurōz Chak and İbrahim Khan son of Ghazi Khan placing great faith in him bowed in worship before him and considering him to be fit (for such honour) decided to place him on the throne When this news reached Ali Khan's ears he became annoyed with him and wanted to injure him Shah Ārif coming to know of this gave out that he would not remain there and that he would go to Lahore or some other country in the course of one day and hid himself so that people might believe that he had disappeared (by some occult power) After two or three days it became known that he had paid two *ashrafis* to some boatmen and embarking in their boat had arrived at Baramula and from there had got into the mountains Some men were sent and he was brought from there and was placed in the custody of guards When he fled a second time he was brought back from the mountain of Mehtar Sulaiman This time Ali Khan took from him a thousand *ashrafis* in exchange for the *mihr* of his daughter and obtained *talaq* (divorce) for her from him and he was permitted to go away to Tibet and the two eunuchs that he had with him were separated from him and kept under surveillance

In the year 979 A H Ali Chak son of Nauroz Chak came before Ali Khan and said Dukha has come into my *jagir* and has created disturbance there If you will not forbid him I shall cut open the stomachs of my horses Ali Khan understood that these words were a hint that he would cut open Ali Shah's stomach He became angry and had him seized and sent to Kamraj He fled from there and went to Husain Quli Khan the governor of Lahore but as at the interview he did not perform the ceremonies which were customary his going there was of no avail and he fled from Lahore and returned to Kashmir

¹ The name is Husain Quli Khan in one MS and in the 11th ed of Firshatā In the other MS it is Hussain Khan by mistake while it is Husain Quli Khan in the 11th ed of the Tabaqat Firshatā says he described himself as a descendant of Shah Tahmasp Šafvi and was a *Shī'a*

He was seized and brought to Sīmagai, and was kept in prison. After some time he escaped, and fled to Nān Shāhī. ‘Alī Khān sent some troops against him, and he was again seized and brought before ‘Alī Khān.

In the year 980, ‘Alī Khān sent an army to invade Kahtwārah (Kishtwār), and, taking the daughter of the ruler of the country, made peace with the latter, and returned.

During this time Mulla Ishqī and Qādī Sadī-ud-dīn came as ambassadors from the threshold of His Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī. ‘Alī Khān sent the daughter of his nephew for the service of the fortunate prince Sultān Salīm, with Mulla Ishqī and Qādī Sadī-ud-dīn, with other fine presents and tribute, and the public prayers and the coins of Kashmīr were adorned and embellished with the renowned name of His Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī. These events happened in the year 980 A.H.

At this time Yūsuf Shāh, son of ‘Alī Khān, had Ibrāhīm Khān, son of Ghāzī Khān, executed on the accusation of Muhammad Bhat, without obtaining the consent of his father, and for fear of the latter he and Muhammad Bhat fled, and went to Bāiāmūla. ‘Alī Khān, on hearing this, was much pained in his mind. But men prayed for the pardon of Yūsuf’s offence, and he was summoned, and Muhammad Bhat, who was the cause of this disturbance, was imprisoned.

In the year 982 A.H., ‘Alī Shāh sent an army to invade the country of Kahtwārah, which is also called Kishtwār, and taking the daughter of the ruler of that country (in marriage) for his grandson Ya‘qūb made peace with him, and returned to the city.

In the year 983 A.H., ‘Alī Khān went with his family and dependants to see Jamalnagarī Hāidar Khān, son of Muhammad Shāh, one of the descendants of Sultān Zain-ul-‘ābidīn, who had been in Gujrāt, and when the servants of His Majesty went there, had waited upon him and had come to Hindūstān at his stirrups. From Hindūstān he had come to Nau Shahr. There was a cousin of his, Salīm Khān, there. A large body of men joined him (*i.e.*, Hāidar Khān). ‘Alī Khān sent a large body of troops with Lōhar Chak to remain at Rājaurī. Muhammad Khān Chak, who was at Rājaurī, was jealous of Lōhar Chak having been made the commander, he seized him and taking all the troops with him, went to Hāidar Khān at Nau Shahr, and said to

him Send ¹ Islam Khan who is a brave man with me so that I may go and conquer Kashmir for you Haidar Khan being deceived by his words sent Islam Khan with him When they arrived in the village - of Jaukas Muhammad Khan in the morning treacherously slew Islam Khan and returning from there came to Kashmir and going to Ah Shah became the recipient of favours from him ² Ah and Ankri and Daud Kadar and others who had intended to help Haidar Khan were imprisoned

In the year 984 A.H. there was ³ a great famine in Kashmir and many people died of the great hunger

In the year 986 A.H. (the Sultan) climbed to the top (platform in front ⁴) of the mosque and joined in an assembly of learned and

¹ Apparently the man who was described as the cousin of Salim Khan a few lines before Rodgers (*J 1 S B* vol II p 134) wrongly describes him as his (i.e. Haidar Khan's) cousin Salim Khan

The name is so written in both MSS In the lith ed it is Jaukash In the lith ed of Firishtah it is موضع حکم Col Briggs does not mention it Rodgers (*J 4 S B* vol LIV p 130) calls it the town of Jakun Rodgers translates اسلام حاں را بعدر کسندہ Leaving Islam Khan with an excuse In the text edition the name of the village is موضع حاں

² The names are as I have them in both the MSS and in the lith ed In the lith ed of Firishtah they are علی مکری و داوود کدار علی داکری و داوود کدار In the text edition M Hidayat Hosam has adopted داکری و داوود کدار

⁴ Prajyabhatā mentions the accession of Ali Khan in line 600 (see note 3 p 748) and then describes in the next five lines his impartial justice and the happiness of the people and then says in line 606 अकमादवौभूत घुणाथ दिग्मा सुख । भावितुभित्त्वारौद्रकालानलापम । i.e suddenly the face of the quarters became red like the fire of the terrible times indicating the destruction to be caused by the coming famine The horrors of the famine are described in lines 607 to 614 All family ties were broken asunder the people clamoured for the flesh of an elephant which had died at the king's gate and even a boy was killed and his flesh was sold for human consumption Then there was a great storm and a great conflagration (lines 615-616) Then in line 620 it is said नववधितान भागान भूका स धरणीपति । दुभित्पोडाविज्ञप्ति कचमिव यथो देव । i.e the Lord of the world having enjoyed all pleasures for nine years went to heaven as if to give information of the hardships caused by the famine

⁵ The year is 985 in Firishtah 1st ed

pious men Then bringing a book called the ¹ *Mishluāt* to that assembly, he in accordance with a tradition which had come down in respect of the excellences of repentance, repented of his sins, and after making ablutions occupied himself with offering his prayers and reading the *Qurān*. After he had finished these, he mounted with the intention of playing *Chaugān* (polo), and going to the field of 'Idqāh engaged in the game. Accidentally he was hit on the stomach by a wooden bow of his saddle, and died of that injury.

AN ACCOUNT OF YŪSUF KHĀN, SON OF 'ALI SHĀH

When 'Alī Shāh passed away, his brother ² Abdāl Khān did not, for fear of his nephew Yūsuf Khān accompany the funeral procession. Yūsuf sent ³ Sayyid Mubārak Khān, and Bābā Khalil to him with the message, "Come and bury your brother. If you accept me as the Sultan then it is all right, otherwise you be the ruler and I shall be ⁴ your subject." When they took Yūsuf Khān's message to Abdāl

¹ The word is مسکات in the MSS., and مسکوٰت in the lith ed. both of the Tabaqāt and of Firishtah. The correct name is مسکوٰت. It is a very popular collection of the Traditions by *Al-Khutib-At Tabrizi*, who was an eminent Traditionist, and who flourished in the first half of the 8th century Hijra. The work is an enlarged recension of an older book by *Al-Baghavi*, who died A.H. 516, A.D. 1142, entitled *Masābih-As Sunna*. The full title is مسکوٰۃ المصاہیج, *Mishluāt al-Masābih* (Niches for the lamps).

² According to Piājyabhatta, Abdāl Khān was enraged at Yūsuf's succeeding his father 'Alī Shāh. He claimed that the succession should pass to the brother. Lines 623-24 say, 'तस्मिन् प्रथाते विद्व नरन्द्रे राज्य गृहीते च तदौयपुच्चे। अन्तालखानोऽपि चकार कोप पिण्ड्य एतस्य भवीमृतोऽपि। यदापि खिथते भ्राता खाना गृहाति तत्पद। इत्य कुलक्रमोऽस्माक कथ राज्य स इच्छति।' Then line 625 says there was a fight between Abdāl and Yūsuf, who is called योसीभग्नाह, at Sekandarapura, about which place I cannot find anything, and the former उत्तारिसेनिक। कुतूर्जलेनेव दिव यथौ भ्रातृदिवरया। (l. 626), i.e., after slaying the troops went to heaven as if with curiosity to see his brother.

Yūsuf Khān is said to have given away much treasure to blot out the memory of Karna, Māndhātā (line 627).

³ Firishtah also has Sayyid Mubārak Khān and Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 525) Syud Moobarik Khan, but Rodgers (*JASB*, vol. LIV, p. 135) has Sayyid Mubāriz Khān.

⁴ One MS. omits the word تابع. The other has تابع instead of Firishtah lith ed. is more explicit, and has واهم بود من تابع.

Khan the latter said I am comin_g, relying on your words and I am girding up my loins in your service If I receive any injury that will be on your shoulders (*i.e.* you will be responsible for it) Saiyid Mubarak who was on bad terms with Abdal said We have also to go to Yusuf and take promises and engagements from him With this agreement the meeting broke up When (Saiyid Muharak) went to Yusuf he said to him Ahdal Khan did not come in com phance with your words Abdal Bhat said We should go very quickly and attack him and then we could bury Ali Shah Yūsuf Khan mounted at once and marched and attacked him (Abdal Khan) The latter came and met him and was slain Hasan Khan son of Saiyid Mubarak Khan was also slain in the skirmish The next day he buried Ali Shah and Yusuf became the ruler in the place of his father

After two months ¹ Saiyid Mubarak Khan and Ali Khan and others crossed the river with the intention of creating a revolt Yūsuf Khan advanced against them in concert with ² Muhammad Khan the murderer of Salm Khan and Muhammad Khan who was the commander of the vanguard taking time by the forelock came and confronted the enemy with sixty men but was slain ³ Yusuf asked

¹ See line 628 of Prajyabbatta which says میہار خان مسحور پر بھی کی پیدا
² *i.e.* Mubarak Khan went away to a distance wishing to fight (with Yusuf) and line 6 9 says Muhammad Khan Yusuf's servant fought with Mubarak Khan in the neighbourhood of Didda Matha which according to Stein's *Rajatarangini* vol II page 448 is now the large quarter of Didamar which forms the western end of the city of Srinagar on the right river bank The Matha was built by queen Didda for the accommodation of travellers from various parts of India The fact of Muhammad Khan being slain is mentioned in line 631

² See page 750 where he was described as Muhammad Khan Chak Firishtah litb ed has a different reading It says توسف سے شاہ تباہی محدث دہلی مکری کے ہر اول او بود The correctness of the Tabaqat is proved by Prajyabhatta (l 6-3) See the preceding note

³ Prajyabhatta (l 633) says Yusuf after enjoying the pleasures of rule for two and half months जग्नाम ६७ लाकाना माग पवनदुमस *i.e.* he went to the inaccessible mountains the country of the Khafas These it may be said parenthetically belonged to a tribe which is mentioned in the *Brahmanamhita* of Varaham h ra (ca 500 A.D.) and they have been identified with the

for quarter, and came to Hūahpū, and ¹ Saiyid Mubārak Khān sat on the seat of authority

After some time Muhammad Yūsuf Khān, acting on letters sent to him by (some) Kashmīris, made an attempt on Kashmīr. Saiyid Mubārak Khān on hearing this news arrayed his troops and started to fight with him. Yūsuf Khān was again unable to withstand him, and went to the village of ² Barsāl, which is situated in the jungle. Saiyid Mubārak Khān hastened in pursuit of him, and a battle took place. Yūsuf Khān fled to the mountains round about, and Saiyid Mubārak Khān came to Kashmīr with victory and triumph. He deceitfully summoned 'Alī Khān, son of Naurōz, and imprisoned him. The other Chaks, such as Lōhai Chak, Haidai Chak and Hastī Chak did not come to him through fear. (Saiyid Mubārak Khān) sent Bābā Khalil and Saiyid Baikhūrdāī to them, and summoned them after making conditions and engagements. They all came to him, and having obtained his permission, went away to their respective places.

On the way ³ they settled among themselves, that Yūsuf should be sent for, and placed on the throne. They sent a messenger to Yūsuf Khān from the place where they were. Saiyid Mubārak Khān on hearing this was dismayed, and sent ⁴ Muhammad Khān Māksī to Yūsuf, so that he might tell the latter, that he (Saiyid Mubārak

present Khaka tribe, to which most of the petty chiefs in the Vitastā valley below Kashmīr and in the neighbouring hills belong.

¹ The usurpation of Saiyid Mubārak Khān does not appear to be mentioned in so many words by Fīrishtah, but it is mentioned by Prājyabhatta, line 634, and by the Cambridge History of India, page 292.

² The name is Barsāl in the MS., and Baimāl in the lith ed. of the Tabaqāt, and Parthāl in that of Fīrishtah. Col Briggs (vol IV, p 325) has Hurunpal Nursak, and Rodgers (*J A S B*, vol LIV, p 136) has Paithāl. Prājyabhatta does not mention the place, but proceeds at once to mention Yūsuf's going to Akbar, who is called समस्तशिवीपालन्यकालदीनभूपति । (I 635)

³ Prājyabhatta in lines 636, 637 says that gradually the people became hostile to Mubārak Khān, and he died (जवास देवतागारे) after having enjoyed happiness for one and a quarter month (सपादस्यैव मासस्य उख कला)

⁴ The name is as I have it in the text in one MS and in the lith ed. In the other MS it looks like Muhammad Khān Kasi, and this has been followed in the text edition. The name is not mentioned in Fīrishtah or elsewhere.

Khan) would accept him as the Sultan and was repentant of what he had done. Muhammad Khan on leaving him joined his enemies. Sayyid Mubarak Khan became still more distressed and determined that he would go with his sons and slaves to Yusuf Khan and with this determination left the city and went to the Idgah. He took Ali Khan the son of Nauroz Bhat whom he had imprisoned with him. Danlat Khan who was one of his amirs fled from him. He in greater confusion released Ali Khan from confinement and went alone to the Khanqah of Baba Khalil¹. Haidar Chak said to Ali Khan. All our exertions and endeavours were for your release. Yusuf son of Ali Khan said to his father. Haidar Chak wants to act treacherously towards you but Ali Khan refused to believe him and started in company with Haidar Chak Lohar Chak and others like him had assembled together. When Ali Khan came they seized and imprisoned him and decided among themselves that they would place Lohar Chak on the throne.

At this time Yusuf Khan arrived at² Kakpur and he then learned that the Kashmiris had decided to place Lohar on the throne. He came from there to the village of³ Dhal and taking all his men

¹ Prajyabhatta (I 638) says that Haidar Chak and his companions defeated Mubarak Khan and installed Lohar Chak as the ruler of the country. शोमार्खान निजित्य चक्रहैरकाद्य । राज्ये निवेष्यामासु योमकरभृष्टक । It goes on to say that during Lohar Chak's reign there was great loss of life caused by lions. I mention this as a curious fact for what it is worth but I cannot find any mention of lions in Kashmir anywhere else. पश्चिमकरभृष्टपाले भूमि ग्रासति सव्यत । बभूबोपद्रवा नित्य चिह्नेष्यो पामवासिना । राज्ये यो य प्रतिपाम अद्वद्वाराद्विनिगत । निवत स स चिह्नेन पिग्नाचेनेव भवता । (lines 639-640)

One MS omits by mistake the words from موار دادا to لور را to لور حکم instead of لور حکم as in the translation.

² The name is کاکپور in one MS. In the other the clause in which the name occurs is omitted in the preceding note. The lith. ed. has کاکپور while the lith. ed. of Firishtah has کالپور and this name is used by Rodgers (JASB vol LIV p 136). I cannot find anything about Kakpur or Kalpur but there is a village of the name of Kakapor which forms as it were a riverside station or port of Supiyan on the Jhelum (see Stein's Rajatarangini vol I p 183 footnote 695 and vol II p 474).

³ The name is دھل and دھل in the MS and دھل in the lith. ed. of the Tabaqat and دھل in that of Firishtah. Col Briggs does not give the name

with him, went to Saīyid Yūsuf Khān Lāhōrī by way of Jammū He then went to Fathpūr with Saīyid Yūsuf Khān, and Rāja Mān Singh, and was honoured by being allowed to wait upon His Majesty the ¹ Khalifa-i-Ilāhī From there ² he sent his Ya'qūb to Kashmīr The government of Kashmīr was confirmed on Lōhar

In the year 987 A.D., Muhammad Yūsuf Khān started with Saīyid Yūsuf Khān and Rāja Mān Singh from Fathpur to conquer Kashmīr When they arrived at Siālkōt, he ³ without taking their help went to Rājaurī, and took possession of it, and he then arrived at the station of ⁴ Thatha At this time Lōhar sent Yūsuf Kashmīrī to fight with Yūsuf Khān, and Yūsuf Kashmīrī, after leaving Lōhar's presence went to Yūsuf Khān and joined him Yūsuf Khān then went by way of ⁵ Jhavaīl, which was the most difficult route, and

but Rodgers (*J A S B*, vol LIV, p 136) calls it Zāhil I cannot find anything about any of these places ملاد in the text edition

¹ Both MSS have نندگان خلاف پنهانی، but the lith ed has حضرت ملیعہ الہی I have retained the reading in the lith ed Firishtah lith ed has ملکومت اہل الدین محمد اکبر نادشاد

² Firishtah explains that Ya'qūb was sent ahead, so that he might gain the people over to his father's side, and create disturbances in Lōhar Chak's government

³ One MS and the lith eds of the Tabaqat and of Firishtah have سید ایں مقتدی شدہ، but the other MS has by mistake سید مقتدی شدہ

⁴ One MS has سیمول تھے، the other has دیورل تھے The lith ed has دیورل تھے، and that of Firishtah has دیورل تھے Col Briggs (vol IV, p 526) has Lassa, and Rodgers (*J A S B*, vol LIV, p 137) has Thatta, but neither of them explains why or how he went to these distant places Prājyabhatta (I 642) says श्रीभृत्यपुरग्राम वितस्ताजलदुर्गम । खित्रिये स महोपाल उद्यादिभिनाश्चमान् । This is definite he took shelter in Svayyapura, which was inaccessible on account of being surrounded by the waters of the Vitastā If Svayyapura be identical with Suyyapūr, the modern Sōpūr, it was situated a short distance below the point where the Vitastā leaves the Volur It is, however, very difficult to identify *Svayyapura* with Thatha or any other name like it

⁵ The name is حبوبیل in both MSS and حبوبیل in the lith ed In Firishtah lith ed it looks like حبوبیل or حبوبیل I cannot find anything about this place, but the correct name appears to be Jhavaīl Col Briggs (vol IV, p 526) has Jeebul, and Rodgers (*J A S B*, vol LIV, p 137) has Jhūpul

marched rapidly and entered the fort of ¹Suyyapur Lohar came in concert with Haidar Chak ²Shams Chak and Hasti Chak and confronted Yusuf Khan. The armies encamped on the bank of the river Bihat (*i.e.* the Jhelum). After some days ³there was a great battle. From the auspiciousness of the attention of His Majesty the Khalifa ¹Ilahi the victory fell to Yusuf Khan.

After the victory (Yusuf Khan) marched to Sunagar and entered it. Lohar came through the intervention of Qadi Musâ and Muhammad Bhat and saw ⁴Yusuf Khan. In the first meeting the interview was satisfactory but in the end Lohar was put into prison. A large number of the rebels were also cast into prison. When Yusuf Khan's mind was set at rest in respect of his enemies he divided the country of Kashmir. He separated good *jugirs* for ⁵Shams Chak son of Daulat Chak and Ya qub Chak and Yusuf Kashmiri and made all the rest his own *khalqa*. On the accusation of some Kashmiris he had the blinding needle drawn across Lohar's eyes.

In the year 988 A.H. Yusuf imprisoned ⁶Shams Chak and Ali Shor and Muhammad Khan on the suspicion that they were about to

¹ The name is سویپور in one MS. In the other it is سوپور and in the lith ed. it is سوپور. Firishtah lith ed has سوپور Bonpur. Col Briggs (vol IV p 56) has Showpoor and Rodg. in (J A S B v 1 11 V p 137) Bonjur. I think Suyyapur is the correct name. See note 4 pag. 766.

² The name is Shams Chak in en. MS and in the lith. 1 of Firishtah it is Shamsi Chak in the other MS and in the lith. 4 of lith. 1 of Firishtah.

³ The battle is mentioned by Ir. jayal hatta (in 615 (16)) who says अला यानोमध्याच्छत्रुविवेदितः। विजयाच्छत्रुपूर्वुः युद्धं भक्षणं पृष्ठाय तस्मै युद्धं सव्यप्राप्तिम् गावः। मन्त्रो लक्ष्यानाम् भव्याराचाप्तरकः।

⁴ This is also mentioned by Ir. jayal hatta (1 616) अश्वामेण शोष्यमानं पादभिमित्राण्। सद्भात्सम्युक्तापि विनवक्षत्रीय गणान्।

⁵ There are some differences in the names. In one MS Ya qub Chak is written as Ya qub Beg. In the other Shams Chak son of Daulat Chak is converted to Shams Chak and Daulat Chak. Ya qub Chak appears as a spelling of Firishtah to be Yusuf's son.

⁶ The names are as I have them in the text in the MSS as well as in the lith. ed. of the Tabaqat Firishtah lith. 1 shows a suffix of Chak to the name of Ali Shor and all the third name Muhammad Shahdat Bhat. Col Briggs (vol IV p 27) has the second man Ally Chak and the third Muhammad Khan while Ir. Jayal (J A S B v 1 11 V p 137) transforms the third name to Muhammad Shahdat Bhat.

rebel against him Habib Khān fled for safety and went to the village of ¹Kasi Yūsuf, son of 'Alī Khān, who had been imprisoned by Yūsuf Khān, effected his release, and with his four brothers joined Habib Khān in the above-named village From there they all went to ²Ran Mal the Rāja of Tibet, and came back after obtaining reinforcements from him When they arrived near the frontier of Kashmīr, they, owing to the differences which developed among them, were unable to do anything, and parted from one another without doing anything Yūsuf and Muhammad Khān were seized, and brought before Yūsuf Khān, and their ears and noses were cut off Habib Khān concealed himself in the city

In the year 989 A H, His Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī, returning from the conquest of Kābul, made his grand encampment in Jalālābād He sent ³Mīzā Tāhū, a relation of Mirzā Yūsuf Khān, and Muhammad Sālih 'Āqil as ambassadors to Kashmīr When they arrived at Bāīāmūla, Yūsuf Khān hastened to welcome them, and taking the (imperial) *fāimān* in his hand showed reverence for it He came into Srinagar with the ambassadors and sent his son Haider Khān, with many rich presents to wait on His Majesty Haider Khān remained in attendance for a period of one year, and then he, and Shaikh Ya'qūb Kashmīri obtained leave to return to Kashmīr

In the year 989 A H, Yūsuf Khān went on a visit to Lār and Shams Chak fled from the prison and went to ⁴Kahwār, and joined ⁵

¹ The name looks like ^ج ⁵ Kasr in both MSS It is Kashūr in the lith ed of the Tabaqāt, while Firishtah lith ed has كھر The text-edition following Firishtah has جیر Col Briggs (vol IV, p 527) has Gaheer and Rodgers (*J A S B*, vol LIV, p 137) has to the town of Khū I cannot find any place in Kashmīr which resembles any of these names

² The name is دو سل in both MSS, and دل in the lith ed of the Tabaqāt The name is not quite distinct in the lith ed of Firishtah, and both Col Briggs and Rodgers omit it I think Ran Mal (Sanskrit Ranamalla) is better and I have adopted it In the text-edition it is دل

³ According to Firishtah Mīza Tāhū was a relation of Mirzā Sayyid Khān Shahīdī

⁴ The name is written as کتوار and کتوار, but it is the same as Kishtwār or Khatwārah See note 3, page 758

⁵ This is apparently referred to by Prājyabhatta (lines 649, 650) where, however, it is said that Haider Chak took shelter in بارش دخ and there was a battle between him and Yūsuf

Haidar Chak who was there Yusuf receiving information of this event sent an army to attack them They separated and fled and Yusuf Khan returned victorious and triumphant towards Srinagar

In the year 990 A.H. Haidar Chak and Shams Chak advanced towards Kashmir from Kahwar in order to fight with Yusuf Khan The latter advanced to meet them and made his son Ya quh the commander of the vanguard He was victorious in the battle and returned to Srinagar He at the intervention of the Ray of Kahwar pardoned Shams Chak's offence and granted him a jagir ¹ Haidar Chak came out of the place where he was and went to Raja Man Singh

In the year 992 A.H. Ya quh son of Yusuf Chak was exalted by having the honour of kissing the threshold of His Majesty the Khalifa-i Ilahi When the latter arrived in Lahore with grandeur and good fortune Ya quh wrote to Yusuf that His Majesty intended to go to Kashmir Yusuf Khan determined that he should advance to welcome him At this time information reached him that Hakim Ali and ² Baha ud din having come as ambassadors from the servants of His Majesty had arrived at ³ Thatha Yusuf Khan advanced to welcome them and putting on the robes conferred on him by the emperor made repeated obeisances and with a firm determination wished to present himself at the threshold ⁴ Baha Khahl

¹ This is referred to in line 651 which says अकालदीनभूपत्य यदो देवर
पक्क । एकाम बहुमिहीनो मास्त्रयेष च दमा ।

² Compare Prajyabhatto (I 659) असालदीनभूपालयेवनाथ कतोदम ।
याकोमराज्युतोपि प्रविष्टेण मूरमता ।

³ One MS has Baha ud din Kambu but the other MS and the lith ed do not have Kambu after Baha ud din Firishtah lith ed omits the name of Baha ud din altogether and mentions Hakim Ali Gilani as the only ambassador

⁴ See note 4 page 706 यथा is the name of the place in the text edition

⁵ Prajyobhatta (line 608 and the following lines) gives a different reason for the final breach of the friendly relations between Akbar and Yusuf It says that the prince Yaquib was sent by Yusuf to render service to Akbar अकालदीनभूपालयेवनाथ Akbar on seeing the rich presents placed before him by Ya quib became anxious to conquer Ka hmr कामीरविजयोतकाम सम्भव सद्विभृत । He accordingly gave orders to Bhagwan Das and other commanders (कलाज्ञाम विद्वासप्रसुखाना सज्जीभृता) Coming to know of this Ya quib left Akbar's

and Bābā Mahdī and ¹ Shams Dūbī ² being perplexed about him kept him back from carrying out his determination, and resolved that if Yūsuf Khān went towards the threshold, they would put him to death, and would raise his son Ya'qūb in his place. For fear of this, (Yūsuf) postponed the carrying out of his intention, and gave leave to the imperial ambassadors to return.

The servants of His Majesty then appointed Muzā Shāh Rukh and Shāh Qalī Khān and Rāja Bhagwān Dās to invade Kashmir. Yūsuf Khān came out of Kashmir (Srinagar), and encamped with his army at Bārāmūla. When news came that the victorious army had arrived at ³ Bhimbar ⁴ Yūsuf Khān (separating himself) from the

service, and came secretly to Kashmir, यहाँ भ्रातृसेवन। प्रत्याधयो लक्ष्मी-देव मार्गदर्शित। He came and informed his father, and pointed out that the greatness of the great who are weak is of no avail (महतोऽप्यचमर्थस्य महत्वं याति निपत्ति। पर्वतमध्याकारं कुञ्जर इनि किररी) Then they all set out for war, but after this there was a long controversy between Yūsuf Khān, who argued that it was not within their capacity to withstand Akbar's power, and his ministers who advised war. They even said, भवन्त सन्तु दूरभ्या कुर्मस्वत्कार्यनिर्णय। जाहल देशमाचित्य योत्स्थास प्रत्यक्ष वय (I 677), i.e., you remain at a distance, we will decide your work, we will take shelter in the forest, and carry on daily skirmishes, but their arguments were of no avail, and he went to Rājā Bhagwān Dās, इति निचित्य भ्रातृसो ज्यवान्दीनभृपते। चरण गरणीकां भगवदासमावयत्। (I 691) Then Ya'qūb ascended the throne, and he pleased the people by distributing the treasures collected by his father, but as usual, in the later history of Kashmir, there were mutual jealousy and quarrels. After that Akbar sent Qāsim Khān to conquer Kashmir कासिमखाननामान खक्कैदरसेवित। प्रेरयामास भ्रातृ कर्मसीरविजयेच्छया। (I 705)

¹ The name is Shams Dūbī in the lith. eds of the Tabaqāt and of Firishtah, but the suffix is doubtful in the MSS, it is Dūnī in one and Dūlī in the other. Col. Briggs omits the name, but Rodgers (*J A S B*, vol. LIV, p. 138) calls the man Shams Dadli دویں دوی

² The word is موسوس in both MSS and the lith. ed. and موسوس in the text-edition.

³ There are differences in the readings. The MSS have درم دم and بدر دم, and the lith. ed. has بدر دم. Firishtah lith. ed. has سرحد کہ سرحد کشمیر اس۔ The text edition following the MSS has adopted درم دم.

⁴ The sentence appears to me to be confused and incomplete. I have thought it necessary to insert the words ادا دا to complete the sentence.

army took up his station in the village of Nagar with the intention of loyally serving His Majesty the Khalifa-i-Halil in concert with Mirza Qasim son of Khwaja Haji and Mahdi Kokah and Ustad Latif Madho Singh came to the above mentioned village in order to receive Yusuf Khan and took him with himself to Raja Bhagwan Das. The latter sent him a horse and a¹ Siropa after the meeting and marching from there advanced towards Kashmir (Srinagar). The Kashmiris received him peacefully and agreed that they would send every year a fixed sum for the imperial treasury. - Raja Bhagwan Das returned from there after concluding the peace and obtained the honour of kissing the dust of the threshold at Atak. Yusuf Khan also came with him and obtained the distinction of kissing the threshold which is the semblance of paradise.

SECTION X *THE SECTION ABOUT THE RULERS OF SIND

It is narrated in the history of *Minhaj ul Masahil* which is known as the *Chach nama* that when the turk of the Khalafat came to Walid the son of Abd ul Malik the son of Marwan² Hajjaj the son of Yusuf sent Muhammad Harun towards India and he advanced into the country of³ Mekran in the early part of the year 86 A.H. and commenced collecting revenue there. At this time news became

¹ See note ~ page 722

² The history of Kashmir after the treaty concluded by Raja Bhagwan Das and which Akbar refused to ratify will be found in the history of Akbar's reign in this volume. The Cambridge History of India page 293 gives a summary.

³ The heading in both MSS is as I have it in the text. The 1st ed has مکران سے آمد کی تاریخ

⁴ He is described in Muri's *Annals of the Early Caliphate* (1883 p 445) as At this period (A.D. 71) the right arm of the Umayyad Caliph... and who afterwards for twenty years was Walid a Viceroy in the eastern provinces of the Caliphate.

⁵ The ancient Gedrosia that torrid region extending in land from the northern shore of the sea of Oman (Cambridge History of India p 1) I think it would have been much simpler and more intelligible to call it by its modern name of Baluchistan.

current, in the capital city of Baghdād that Malik¹ Sarandip (who I suppose was the governor of Ceylon, but who is also called the king of Ceylon) had sent by sea a ship filled with rich and beautiful articles and male and female *Habshī* slaves for the servants of the capital When the Shaikh arrived in the neighbourhood of² Dēbul,

¹ Sarandip is usually identified with Ceylon, but Raverty (*J A S B*, vol LXI, pt 1, p 325) calls it Saran-Dip and identifies it with Kachchh Bhuj

² Col Briggs (vol IV, p 403) says that Deebul is identical with "Modern Tutta on the Indus" The Cambridge History of India (p 2) has Debul "Dāhir's principal seaport," and says further on that it was "about twenty-four miles to the south-west of the modern town of Tatta" دیوبول in the text-edition

The exact position of Dēbul (though the correct transliteration of دیوبول which appears to be the form of the name in Persian would be Dabil) is as doubtful as the correct pronunciation of the name There is a very long note, No 316, in Major Raverty's paper in "*The Mahrān of Sind and its Tributaries*" (*J A S B*, vol LXI, pt 1, 1893) which extends from page 317 to page 331, in which he says all that could be said about Debal, and perhaps a good deal more, if I may say so, and in the course of which he says (p 324), "Having clearly shown that Debal or Dewal was not Tnathah, nor 'Bambura', nor Lāhri Bandar, nor Karāchi, and stated that the latter was not founded for centuries after the 'Arab conquest, I will now show, as near as possible, where it was" The note goes on for pages, and although Debul is occasionally mentioned, as on page 326, where Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Din Muhammad-i-Sām is said to have marched against it in 578 A H (1182-83 A D), and again on the same page where Sīnān-ud-Dīn Chanisar of Debal is mentioned as one of the seven petty *Rānās* in Sind, when Malik Nāsir-ud-Dīn Kabā-jah declared his independence and assumed the title of Sultān, I cannot find any indication of the exact situation of the place

Earlier in the note (pp 319-321), however, Raverty gives some information about Debal from the accounts of the early English travellers One of the earliest of these, Walter Paynton, who accompanied Captain Christopher Newport in 1612 says (p 320) that, "Boats were sent from Diul (Dewal) for conveying the Ambassadors goods and people Tata a great Citie one dayes journey from Diul, *both cities* standing in the Great Mogolls Dominions" Subsequent to this W Paynton, then Captain Paynton (p 321) mentions "Diul near the mouth of the river *Indus*" He then mentions the account of Diul in the narrative of Sir Thomas Roe's embassy in 1615 and of Thevenot in 1665-66, and comes to the conclusion that "Debal or Dewal is said to have been in 1666, southernmost town of Sind, and its position is plainly stated in the account of Captain Newport's landing The distance given as fifteen miles from

the turbulent people of that place looted that ship and seven other ships and took possession of all the property in them. They also seized with the object of making them slaves a number of Musalman women who had embarked in the ship with the object of circumambulating the *Ka'ba*. When these things were happening a number of men fled and going to Hajjaj complained to him. Hajjaj the son of Yusuf wrote a letter to ¹ Ray Dahir who was the ruler of Hind and Sind and sent it to Muhammad Harun so that he might send it by the hand of some of his trusted servants to Ray Dahir. When Muhammad Harun sent the letter to him he wrote in reply that the act had been committed by robbbers (pirates) and their power and pomp were so great that they could not be destroyed by his exertions and endeavours.

When this reply reached Hajjaj he solicited permission for the invasion of Sind and Hind from Walid the son of Ahd ul Malik.

Thathah by the river would bring us very near to the Shrine of Pir Patho at the foot of the Makkhi hills and near the Bhagar branch of the Indus (p 322). Debel he therefore concludes lay in the vicinity of that Shrine but a little further the south westward perhaps.

There are three maps in this paper one without a date has Debal a little to the north of what is marked as P r Patho and about twenty four miles to the west and a little to the south of Tatta a second which is said to be from Purchas about 1615 A D which places Diul some distance almost due south but a little to the west on the same bank of what appears to be the main estuary of the Indus and a third which is described as an old map published about the year 1700 which places Dobil or Dioul on the coast some distance to the south west of Theta.

¹ Ray Dahir according to the old Arab historians was the son of Chach the Brahman minister of the Ray dynasty founded by the white Huns who settled in Sind whose throne he then usurped and became the ruler of the country. He had his capital at Alor. The *Chach nama* extracts from the translation of which are given in H. M. Elliot's *History of India* (vol I pp 140-12) contains a long account of Chach the father of Dahir. It is said in the preface to the translation of the extracts from the *Chach nama* (p 137) that Nizam ud din Ahmed Nurul Hakk Firishta and Mir Ma sum and others have drawn their account of the conquest of Sind from it.

² One MS has 哈吉 سند after it and the other has 哈吉 سند و مدد. I have adopted the reading of the second MS. In the text edit on it is only 哈吉 سند as in the first MS.

the ¹ son of Marwān, and sent ² Badil with three hundred warriors to Muhammad Hāiūn, and wrote to him, that he should send three thousand great warriors (*mard jangjūi khūnrez*) with him for the capture of Dēbul. When Badil arrived in the neighbourhood of Dēbul, he after making great exertions, attained the good fortune of martyrdom. The heart of Hajjāj was distressed on hearing of this defeat and became very sad and sorrowful. Although ‘Āmir, son of ‘Abd-ul-lah, had intended to take the command of the army for the invasion of Sind, Hajjāj in consultation with astrologers, who knew the niceties of their science, prevented ³ ‘Imād-ud-dīn Muḥammad Qāsim, son of ‘Aqīl Thaqfī, who was the son of his uncle and also his son-in-law, and was in his seventeenth year, and sent him with ⁴six thousand men chosen from the chief men of Syria for the conquest of Sind by way of Shīrāz.

¹ One MS omits مروان، while the other has مروان but omits بن. In the text-edition, however, as in the translation, the words بْن مروان or the son of Marwān have been included.

² He is called Badil in the MSS of the Tabaqāt and the lith eds of the Tabaqāt and of Firishtah. Col Briggs (vol IV, p 403) calls him Budmeen. Al Bilādūrī (*vide* Elliot, vol I, p 119) says there were two expeditions, one under ‘Ubaidu-l-lah and the second under Budail son of Tahfa, both of which were unsuccessful and both the commanders were slain.

³ The Cambridge History of India, page 2, insists on calling him Muḥammad, and says that he should not be called Qāsim or Muḥammad Qāsim, as he is sometimes called by European historians and directs that “this vulgar error, arising from a Persian idiom in which the word ‘son’ is understood, but not expressed, should be avoided.” It appears, however, that this error is shared by Musalmān historians. Both Nizām-ud-dīn and Firishtah call him Muḥammad Qāsim, and as to the word ‘son’ being understood, it would appear that he was the son *not* of Qāsim but of ‘Aqīl Thaqfī. It must be noted, however, that Raverty (*J A S B*, vol LXI, pt 1, p 324) also calls him “Muḥammad, son of Kāsim.” According to Al Bilādūrī (Elliot, vol I, p 119) his full name was Muḥammad, son of Kāsim, son of Muḥammad, son of Hakīm, son of Abū ‘Ukail.

⁴ Al Bilādūrī (Elliot, vol I, p 119) says, “Hajjaj ordered six thousand Syrian warriors to attend Muḥammad, and others besides. He was provided with all he could require, without omitting even thread and needle.” According to the Cambridge History of India (p 2), there were besides the six thousand Syrian horses, a camel corps of equal strength, and a baggage train of three thousand camels.

After traversing the stages and reaching the end of their journey they laid siego to the fort of Debul and after a few days captured it and an immense quantity of plunder fell into their hands. Among those there were four hundred slave girls of matchless beauty Muhammad Qasim divided the booty among his soldiers and sent the daughter of the Ray of Debul with a fifth part of the booty to Hajjaj. The ¹daughter of the Raja of Debul fled and went to Jay Sinha son of Ray Dahir who was the governor of the fort of Nirun. Muhammad Qasim advanced with a stont heart against him Rayzada ²Jay Sinha having placed the bridlo of bravery and manbness in the hand of shamelessness and making over the defences of the fort of Nirun to some trusted men crossed the ³Mehran river and went to the ancient fort of ⁴Brahman abud. When Muhammad

¹ Firishtah doe not agree with the Tibaqat in saying that the princess was sent to Hajjaj. He says that seventy five slave girls with the fifth part of the booty were sent to Hajjaj.

² according to Ibn Haukal quoted by Roerty (JASB vol LXI pt 1 1893 p 215) Nirun is a city situated between Debul and Manuriyah on the road thither and is situated on the west side of the Mehran. According to Al Biliduri (Elliot vol I p 11) the inhabitants of Nirun had already before the arrival of Muhammad sent two *Samanis* or priests to Hajjaj to treat for peace and on Muhammad's arrival they furnished him with supplies and admitted him into the town and they were allowed to capitulate. The Cambridge History of India (p 3) says that Nirun was about seventy five miles to the north east of Debul and near the modern Hordarabad (Hyderabad). میرن in the text-edition is apparently a misprint for نیرن

³ The name looks like ⁴ جیسناہ in one MS and ⁵ حابشہ in the other and ⁶ حاسنیہ in the lith ed. Firishtah calls him son of Dahir Faizi. The Cambridge History of India (p 3) calls him Jai Singh. Roerty (JASB vol LXI pt 1 p 232) has Jai Sinha.

⁴ The Sindhu Nahr : Sind Ab : Sind or Indus from the time that we possess any authentic records respecting it was a tributary along with the other rivers now forming the Long Nahr or the Ianj Ab of the Hakra or Wahundah which having all united into one great river at the Dosh : Ab (literally meeting of water or waters meet) as related by the old Arab and Sind writers formed the Mehran of Sind or Sind Sagar (Roerty JASB vol LXI pt 1 p 316)

⁵ The name is written بھار بھانل نار بھانل in the MSS and بھانل in the lith ed. Firishtah lith ed has بھانل بھانل. The correct name of the place however was Bahman abad or Bahman nih the Bahman no of the Sindis. It was founded centuries before by Bahman son of Isfandiyar

Qāsim arrived in the neighbourhood of the fort of Nirūn, the residents of the city, being in the first instance frightened by the onsets of the arrival of the army shut themselves up in the fort, and later having arranged and provided for the necessities of the army (i.e., I suppose Muhammad Qāsim's army) joined it, shouting the word *Al-amān* (quarter or safety). Muhammad Qāsim granted them quarter, took the heads of the different groups of people with him, and leaving his own superintendent or commander in the fort of Nirūn, advanced to conquer Sīwistān, which is now known as Sīhwān.

¹ A number of the inhabitants of Sīwistān went to Bachhrā, who was the ruler of the place, and was the son of the uncle of Rāy Dāhir, and said, "Our religion is safety, and to pardon is our faith, and according to our tenets, slaying and being slain are not allowed. It is advisable that we should petition for protection from the commanders of the army." Rāyzāda Bachhrā relying on his strength and power uttered harsh and unfitting words (towards them), but in the end after enduring the siege for a week took the path of flight and

in the reign of Gushtāsb sovereign of I-rān-Zamīn, who made conquests in valley of the Indus and western Hind, which were retained up to within a few years of the fall of the I-rānī empire" (*vide note 102, p 196 of Raverty's paper, J A S B, vol LXI, pt 1*) In another note, No 105, page 196, Raverty says "This place Bahmanābād or Bahman-nih, notwithstanding that more than one old author distinctly states by whom it was founded, European writers (and Nizam-ud-din and Firishtah also) insist in calling 'Brahmanābād', because it is incorrect, seemingly."

¹ There are differences in the readings here. One MS has صردم الولایت بود و جمعی ارسکنہ سیستان میں کہ حاکم ابھا و اس عم رائی داہر بود و جمعی سحر اگر دید کہ حاکم ابھا و اس عم رائی داہر بود ارسکنہ سوستان برد ستر کہ حاکم ابھا و اس عم رائی داہر بود Firishtah lith ed has صردم سوستان کہ دوہمی دود دید بود حاکم بود کچرای کہ اس داہر بود It appears from comparing these that the inhabitants, who, according to Firishtah, were all Brahmans went to the ruler of the place, who according to one MS of the Tabaqāt was called, apparently incorrectly, Muhammad but according to the other and the lith ed Bachehra and according to Firishtah Kachrai, and said that they did not want to fight the invaders Col Briggs (vol IV, p 405) calls the governor of Sehwan Kucha Ray, the Cambridge History of India (p 3) calls him "Bajhrā, son of Chandra and cousin of Dāhir", and Raverty also (J A S B, vol LXI, pt 1, p 233) has Bajhrā.

prayed for shelter to the Ray of the fort of ¹Sisam. The next morning Muhammad Qasim in concert with the leaders of the different sections of his army entered the fortress the Siwistan and granted quarter to those who had not accepted the advice of or shown goodwill to Rayzada Bachhra. He divided the booty and the fruits of the conquest of Siwistan among the troops after setting apart a fifth part (to be sent to Hajjaj) and then turned his face towards the fort of Sisam. After the conquest of that fort he advanced to engage Ray Dahir who was the head of the disturbance and the chief of the disturbers.

While this was going on there was a "dearth of commodities" in the army of Muhammad Qasim and most of the horses of burden became lame (and unfit for work) and owing to this anxiety and distress regarding the condition of the troops became apparent. Hajjaj son of Yusuf becoming acquainted with the true state of things after making necessary preparations sent to Muhammad Qasim two thousand horses from his own stables and the soldiers having gained fresh strength advanced to attack Ray Dahir. After the parties met a series of battles took place one after another. They say that while these things were going on Ray Dahir sent for the astrologers to attend on him in his private chamber and asked that the circumstances and the aim of the Arab army to be explained to him. The astrologers who knew the stars said "We have read in ancient books that in the lunar year 86 the Arab army would take possession of the country."

¹ The name is written as سیام in both MSS and in the lith ed. of the *Tilaqat*. The lith ed has سیام and Col. Beving (vol. IV p. 406) has سیام. The Cambridge History of India (p. 4) has سیام. Raverty calls it سیام ساہل and سیام of others (*J. S. B.* vol. I no. 1 p. 33). In the text-edition it is سیام.

This dearth is also mentioned by Arabib al-torini (cited Raverty *J. S. B.* vol. I no. 1 p. 37). Muhammad had to build a bridge of boats to take his army over to the Bahmanal side of the Mohen. The bridge was constructed and the army crossed without much opposition on the part of Dahir. Major Raverty also says that the writers don't mention the difficulties he had to encounter such as the delay in obtaining boats, the want of food and forage and the consequent loss of men and horses from disease and months that elapsed in the meantime. It is not clear where he got the information about the delay and the difficulties.

round Dēbul, and that in the year 93 they would gain possession of the whole country of Sind." As he had repeatedly examined the astrologers, he knew that in forecasting the influence of the stars, they were sure and protected against all errors and mistakes, he grappled (with the difficulties of his position), and as the cup of his life had begun to overflow, he, on Thursday the 10th of the auspicious month of Ramadān in the year 993 A.D., turned the face of his spirit with the greatest vigour to the ¹ battle-field, and with the help of the greatest endeavour and exertion, shot every arrow, which he had in the quiver of his devices, at the enemy, and struck by the arrow of fate died. A summary of the circumstances attending the death of Dāhir Rāy is as follows that on the day of battle he, riding on a white elephant, took his place in the centre of the line of warriors and exerted himself with great gallantry and showed himself to be an expert archer. While the brave men of the two sides and the warriors of the two armies were mingled with each other, a thrower of *naphtha* (or an archer) shooting arrows tipped with *naphtha* struck a flame of fire at the *howdah* of the white elephant on which Rāy Dāhir was seated. The elephant was frightened and began to run away, and although the driver struck it with the hooked goad ² it had not even the power of a whip with which one strikes an 'Arab horse. The elephant fled and got into the river. The warriors of Muhammad Qāsim's army pursued it from behind, and sent the message of death by the tongues of their arrows from different directions. After he had received many

¹ The account of the battle in the *Tabaqāt*, which appears to be copied from the *Chach-nāma* (Elliot, vol I, p 170), is encumbered in the earlier part with Dāhir's consultation with the astrologers and much figurative language. The actual circumstances attending the death of Dāhir, due to the elephant on which he was riding being frightened are, however, described here clearly. Firishtah's account is somewhat different and more matter of fact. The account given in Raverty (*J A S B*, vol LXI, pt 1, p 239) is rather brief, and gives no details. The Cambridge History of India (p 5) gives a circumstantial account, which agrees mainly with that given by Firishtah and may have been taken from it.

² The words are in one MS حکم تاریخ داداشت که در ایں پر عربی نہیں درج. In the other MS and in the lith ed are the same, with the difference that the word is داداشت in one MS and داداشت in the other and in the lith ed. In the text-edition داداشت has been adopted.

wounds ¹ be returned to the bank of the river. The elephant came out in its own way and made the horsemen run away in all directions. At this time acting with great gallantry Ray Dahir wounded as he was descended from the elephant by such device as he could think of and confronted one of the brave Arab warriors. The latter with one blow carried to its end that half finished life. The Rays and Rajputs on seeing this threw the dust of misery on their heads and took the way of flight and the brave Arab warriors mingling with the Rajputs pursued the latter as far as the gates of the fortress. They cast down many of the infidel warriors after aspersing them of cowardice by the thrusts of their spears. So much plunder and booty fell into the hands of the soldiers that these were beyond one's ideas and estimates.

² Rayzada Jay Sinha after making the fortress strong by putting into it a garrison of brave warriors wanted to come out and again engage in a drawn battle but the representatives and ministers of his father did not permit that he should again fight a battle and they carried him away to the old fort of Brahmanabad (Brahmanabad) Ray Dahir's widow however disagreeing with her son strengthened

¹ The readings here are also different. The MSS have درای کار دار while the lith ed has دری کار دار و دری و دری. Irishtah has no passage which is exactly similar to this. I cannot find any meaning of دری or دری which will at all fit in with the context. The Caml ridge History of India (p. 5) has the driver arrested his flight in midstream and induced him once more to face the enemy. This seems to be the meaning but I cannot get the word to fit in. The account of the battle in the *Chach nama* (vide Elliot vol I p. 170) is Dahir and the driver were carried into the rolling waves.

² On the other hand Irishtah and the Cambridge History of India (p. 5) say that he was struck by an arrow and fell from the elephant. For accounts of the events just before the battle see note No 187 in Revert's paper (*JASB* vol LVI pt 1 p. 30) but it does not give any detailed account of the final battle. It only says the Arabs made a general attack on Dahir and his forces and he was finally killed near the fort of Riwari between the Mithan river and the canals of Dadahak while in endeavouring to reach the fortress and his troops were overthrown with great slaughter and pursued to the gates of that place. These details do not agree with the accounts of the battle as given by Nizam ud din or Irishtah or the Cambridge History of India.

³ The following account agrees with that in Revert's paper (*JASB* vol LVI pt 1 p. 230). The maid was named Ranji Bai and she is stated to have been a sister of Dahir.

the gates of the fortress, and making fifteen thousand Rājpūts join her prepared to defend it 'Imād-ud-dīn Muhammad Qāsim,¹ considering the conquest of the fortress of² Rāwar to be easy, and thinking that this should be done before the destruction of Jay Sīnhā, turned his būndī from the battle-field for the capture of the fortress of Rāwar, and surrounded it After some days, when the people of the fortress were reduced to straits, they lighted a³ great fire and threw their women and children into it, and opening the gates of the city prepared for battle and slaughter The Syriac warriors, drawing their blood-drinking swords from the scabbards, entered the fortress and slew six thousand Rājpūts, and thirty thousand were seized as slaves The daughters of Rāy Dāhūr, who fell into the hands of the conquerors among the prisoners, were sent as a present for the service of the *Khalīfa* When they came before the latter's eyes, he made them over to the servants of the harem, so that they might attend to their wants for some days, and then had them brought to his presence He wanted that he would have⁴ one of them to share his bed. She

¹ The readings are different and none of them appears to be quite correct
 One MS has تـسـعـير حـسـار وـا كـرـدـه ~ حـسـار مـدـكـور رـا دـرـمـيـان گـرـفـتـنـد The other has
 سـعـير حـسـار رـا دـرـ رـاه اـسـان دـاـسـتـه شـعـل اـنـرا بـرـ دـعـ ـه مـقـدـم دـاـسـت وـ اـرـ
 سـعـير حـنـگ گـاه عـنـان بـصـوـب تـسـعـير دـرـ وـا گـرـدـاـيـدـه ~ حـسـار مـدـكـور رـا دـرـمـيـان گـرـفـتـنـد The lth ed
 تـسـعـير حـسـار دـرـ رـاه اـسـان دـاـسـتـه شـعـل اـنـرا بـرـ دـعـ حـسـنـه مـقـدـم دـاـشـه وـ اـرـدـاه has
 حـنـگ گـاه عـنـان بـصـوـب تـسـعـير دـرـ گـرـدـاـيـدـه ~ حـسـار مـدـكـور رـا دـرـمـيـان گـرـفـتـنـد. It would
 be seen that the 2nd MS and the lth ed agree very much If the reading حـسـار دـرـ is a mistake for حـسـار رـاـورـ، the reading in the lth ed may be accepted, after substituting رـاـورـ for دـرـ، and I have made my translation accordingly

² The name of the fortress is not mentioned in the text-edition.

³ The *Jauhar* could not have been very complete.

^۴ The words are يکی را، لک ال، میں تصرف نہاید The circumstances of the accusation made by Dāhir's daughter, which she afterwards declared to be false, and which she said she had made to avenge the killing of her father are mentioned by Fīrishtah, but not by Al Bilādūī, who says (*vide* Elliot, vol I, p 124) that after Walīd's death his brother Sulaimān became the Caliph He appointed Sāhh to collect a tribute of 'Irāk Yazid was made governor of Sind, and Muhammad was sent back a prisoner, and was kept in prison at Wāsit, where he was put to torture with other members of the family of Abū 'Ukāl, until they

submitted I do not possess the status of being honoured with the association of the *Khalifa*'s bed for Imad ud din Muhammad Qasim had kept me for three nights in his own harem The *Khalifa* being overpowered by an access of rage wrote an order with his own hand that Muhammad Qasim wherever he might have arrived at the time (the order should reach him) should put himself (sew himself up) in raw hide and should start for the capital The helpless man had himself sewn up in a raw hide and ordered that he should be placed in a box and should be sent to the capital He died in the course of two or three days They carried him in the way described¹

In short when the country of Sind came without dispute and hostility into the possession of the agents of the government of Imad ud din Muhammad Qasim he appointed his own officers and agents in each town and city

Historical works are wanting and destitute of accounts of the events which happened in Sind (after this date) and in no history are the circumstances connected with the events and the people of the country narrated either as a whole or in detail But the writer of the history called the *Tibaqat-i-Bahadur Shahi* has given the name of some of those who were engaged in the government of the country in certain years and has written only thus much in reference to each of them that he was occupied with the work of government for some years I Nizam ud din Ahmad the compiler of this history relying on the history of the *Tibaqat-i-Bahadur Shahi* follow in his service by

expired for Hajjaj (Muhammad's cousin) had put Adam Salih's brother who professed the creed of the *Ikharijis* to death The *Imperial Gazetteer* (vol. LII p. 395 1908) repeats the story of Dahir's daughters The Cambridge History of India page 7 says that the story of Muhammad's death is related by some Chroniclers and has been repeated by European Historians but is without any foundation

¹ The lith ed. inserts here میں را بین عساں نامہ کرد و تاں اے and the remaining booty might be estimated in accordance with this but as these words do not appear in either of the MSS I have not inserted them in the text

² The meanings of the words اکبر نامہ میں مذکور are not very clear It is not possible to be definite as to who is intended to by the pronomial یہ unless it is Akbar

narrating the names of some of them, and ¹ some of the circumstances which were included in the things known to the slave of the threshold of his Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī Akbār Shāh. And all help and all defence is from God!

The compiler of the history called the Tabaqāt-i-Bahādur Shāhī says, that in the earlier times the government and the rule of the country of Sind were vested in the children of ² Tamīm Ansārī. Afterwards as among the *zamīndārs* (land-holders or chiefs) of that country, the ³ Sūmrās were distinguished by great power and numbers of followers, they, in the course of time, having gained great power, became invested with the work of government. For ⁴ five hundred years the government of the country remained with the house of Sūmrās. But as it is incidental with the revolution of the skies, or rather as it is incidental with all governments, that they are transferred from one tribe to another, after five hundred years the chieftainship of the country of Sind was transferred from the Sūmrās to the

¹ The word *عَوْنَى* in the MSS and in the lith ed is meaningless in reference to the context. I have ventured to change it to *عَوْنَى*, while in the text edition *عَوْنَى*

² Tamīm, the son of Dhaid-ul-'Utbā, succeeded Junair in Sind, when the latter was promoted to the Viceroyalty of the eastern provinces of the Caliphate.

³ For an account of the *Sumras* see the translation of the extract from the *Tārīkh-u-s Sind* or *Tārīkh-i-Ma'sūmī* (Elliot, vol I, pp 215-223). It is described as an account of the *Samma* dynasty but is really an account of the *Sumras*. The account of the *Sammas* does not begin till page 223. It is said on that page that "some men of the tribe of *Samma* had previously come from Kachh and had settled in Sind." M Hidayat Hosain has رعیداران آن سادھے سو مرکز in the text-edition.

⁴ Firishtah lith ed has one hundred years, but Col Briggs (vol IV, p 411) agrees with the Tabaqāt and makes the period of domination of the Soomura five hundred years. The Cambridge History of India only mentions the Sūmrās, on page 54, where it mentions Malik Sīnān-ud dīn Chatīsar, eleventh of the Sūmra line, a Rājput dynasty the latter members of which accepted Islām, submitted and was permitted to retain his territory as a vassal of Iltutmish (commonly called Altamsh). Wunār, another chief of the Sūmrās, is mentioned on page 147 in connection with the account of Moorish traveller in his *Tuhfat-un-Nazzār fi Gharāib-il-Amsār*, who visited India in the reign of Muhammad Tughluq.

dynasty of ¹Semmas Of this dynasty fifteen persons were engaged in the government (of Sind)

AN ACCOUNT OF THE GOVERNMENT OF ²JAM ĀNAR

He was the man in the tribe of Semmas who was vested with the office of government and rule. The tribe of the Semmas considered themselves to be descended from Jamshid and traced their genealogy to him. This word Jam which they give to their leaders and chiefs preserves the memory of that connection. The period of the rule of this Jam was three years and six months.

³JAM JUNĀN

When Jam Ānar drank a draught from the full cup of death his brother Jam Junan in ⁴virtue of a mandato or testament became

¹ They appear to be mentioned for the first time in the *Claudius* (III. i. vol I p 191) as coming to receive Muhammad Kusam ringing bells and beating drums and dancing. Khairim the son of Umar pointed out to Muhammad Kusam they were submissive and obedient to the Aral. Muhammad Kusam laughed at the words and told Khairim You shall be made their chief and made them dance and play before him. They are called Sammas in the Cambridge History of India (p 300) and are described there as a Rajput tribe of Cutch and lower Sind and who ousted the Sumras. On page 18 it is said that the Samma Rajputs of Sind fleeing from that country before the Sumras who had superseded them as its rulers found an asylum with the Chavada Rajputs who ruled Cutch. M Hidayat Khan has حکومت سامس in the text edition.

Firishtah gives an account of Mir ud din Qubsha before giving an account of the Semmas. Col Briggs (vol IV p 413 4 1) also devotes some nine pages to the reign of Nasir ood Deen Kubbacha.

² He is called Unar in the *Tarikh-i-Sind* (Llhot vol I p 24) and in the *Imperial Gazetteer* (vol XXII p 390) and is described as a Muhammadan with a Hindu name a fact which seems argue recent conversion. The *Tarikh-i-Sind* gives an account of the conquest of Sivitan or Silwan by him. He is called جام افراء in the fifth ed of Firishtah and Col Briggs (vol IV p 43) calls him Jam Afra حام افراء Jam Ānar in the text edition.

³ The *Tarikh-i-Sind* and the *Imperial Gazetteer* and Firishtah call him Jam Junān. In his reign Binkkar was reduced from the Turks or Arabs. Col Briggs (vol IV p 43) calls him Jun Choban. In the text edition the heading is دکر حکومت حام حوان

⁴ There are differences in the readings here. One MS has حکومت و معاشر the other has حکم و معاشر while the fifth ed has حکم و معاشر

vested with the rule and chieftainship of the country of Sind. In the time of his greatness the buds of the desire and hopes of the people blossomed. The period of his rule was fourteen years.

AN ACCOUNT OF ¹JĀM MALITHA, SON OF JĀM ĀNAR

When Jām Jñnān passed away Jām Malitha ² rose to demand the inheritance of his father's dominions and made the people combine with him. And Sultān Fīrūz Shāh came repeatedly to the country of Sind with his army, and the above-named Jām arranging his troops in the field of battle attempted to withstand him. But at last, on the third occasion, the country passed into the possession of his servants. Sultān Fīrūz Shāh took the Jām with him to Dehli, and as the latter performed praiseworthy services, the Sultān conferred many favours on him, gave him the (royal) umbrella, and again entrusted the government of the country of Sind to him, and granted him permission to return there. ³ The particulars of these transactions have been written in the section about (the Sultāns of) Dehli.

The total period of his rule was fifteen years.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE GOVERNMENT OF ⁴JĀM TĀMĀCHI

After the death of his brother he sat on the bed (*Chahār bālish*, i.e., a raised bed with four bolsters round it) of rule and carried out

بوارن I think the last is the best reading, and this is followed in the text-edition

¹ The name is مالی تہنہ in one MS and مالی تھنہ in the other, and مالی تھنہ in the lith ed. Firishtah calls him حام باری Col Briggs (vol IV, p 423) has Jam Banv. Neither *Tārikhu's Sind* nor the *Imperial Gazetteer* includes him in the list of the Jāms. Both make Jām Tamāchī succeed Jām Junā. In the text edition it is حکومت حام نان ہتھیہ بن حام ابری

² One MS substitutes ساتھی امراء عصدا حکومت گردید in place of ورانت ملک ندر بر حواسٹہ صورم را بخود موافق ساخت which is in the other and in the lith ed.

³ See page 247 of vol I of the English translation

⁴ The name is Jām Tamāchī in one MS and in the lith ed. It is Jām Tamājī in the other MS and in the lith ed of Firishtah. Col Briggs (vol IV, p 424) has Jam Timmajy. The *Tārikhu's Sind* and the *Imperial Gazetteer* make him the successor of Jām Junā. The former (Elliot, vol I, p 225) says that the troops of 'Alāu-d din took him prisoner and carried him with his family to Dehli.

the work of government for some time. He passed away after ruling for thirteen years and some months.

¹ JĀM SALĀH UD DÍN

He was vested with the duties of government after the death of Jām Tamachi and passed away after eleven years and some months.

² JĀM NIZĀM UD DÍN SON OF SALĀH UD DÍN

After the death of his father he became the successor of the latter and the great men and nobles of the country of Sind were pleased with his rule and chieftainship. He enjoyed the pleasures and delights of this great position for two years and some months.

³ JĀM ALI SHER

After the death of Jam Nizam ud din Ali Sher¹ claiming the dominion of his father Jam Tamachi rose up and made the great men of the kingdom and the chiefs of his tribe join and unite with him.

After his death his son Makhī Khair ud din who had been taken to Delhi returned to Sind and assumed the government. The *Imperial Gazetteer* (p. 390) says it was I'troz Tughlaq who retook Bhakhar and carried Tamachi and his son Khair ud din as prisoners to Delhi. After Tamachi's death Khair ud din was released and was allowed to assume the government of Sind.

According to the *Tarikh-i-Sind* Jam Khair ud din was succeeded by Jam Babaniya. He was defeated by Sultan I'troz (Shih-i-Tughlaq) and was taken captive to Delhi but was afterwards reinstated to the government of Sind. The *Imperial Gazetteer* does not give a list of the Jams after Khair ud din but only mentions Jam Nizam ud din better known as Jam Nanda who was the most powerful ruler of the dynasty. حام ناندی جام Tamaji in the text edition.

¹ The MSS have only Jam Salāh ud din. But the lith. ed has An account of the government of Salāh ud din.

The MSS have only Jam Nizam ud din but the lith. ed has An account of the government of Nizam ud din son of Salāh ud din and this has been followed in the text edition.

² Both MSS have the heading I have in the text. The lith. ed however has An account of the rule of Jam Ali Sher. According to *Tarikh-i-Sind* (Elliot vol. I p. 28) he was murdered by men headed by Sikandar Karan and Fatah Khan sons of Tamachi. In the text edition the title is دکر حکومت حام علی سر

⁴ One MS inserts امراء راسخون بار و موافق مساعدة before ملک بدر خود.

Owing to this union the different sections of the people enjoyed the peace in (seats of) safety, during the time of his rule He passed away after ruling for six years and some months

¹ JĀM KARN, SON OF JĀM TAMĀCHI

When Jām 'Alī Shēr drank what was left at the bottom of the brimming goblet of death, Jām Karn, imagining that when a man's father was the king and ruler of a country he should, also, even without the help and favour of providence, attain to that greatness, sat with audacity on the seat of the great But as time does not tolerate such acts, after a day and a half it pouied a draught of failure and death into his throat

² JĀM FATH KHĀN, SON OF SIKANDAR KHĀN

As the country remained vacant and unoccupied by the person of a ruler, the great men of the tribe and the nobles of the kingdom made Jām Fath Khān, son of Sikandar Khān, who possessed the necessary skill for that high office, the ruler of the country He died of natural death after having occupied this noble position for fifteen years and some months

¹ The heading in the MSS is as I have it in the text But one MS has Karān instead of Karn The lith ed prefixes حکومت ذکر before حام کرن According to the *Tārīkh-s-Sind* (Elliot, vol I, pp 228, 229) he was displeased with the nobles and the great men of the city, to slay some, and confine the rest On the day that he ascended the throne, or the day after, he held a public court, and summoned all men great and small to attend He addressed them in conciliatory terms Dinner was served, and after its conclusion he arose to retire to his chamber, when a party of men who had been employed for the purpose, met him at the door of his room and cut him to pieces In the text-edition دکر حکومت is added before the heading as given above

² The heading in the MSS is what I have it in the text, but one MS omits the word Khān after Sikandar The lith ed prefixes *Dhili* before Jām and also omits Khān after Sikandar The *Tārīkh-s-Sind* (Elliot, vol I, p 229) says that it was in Jām Fath Khān's time that Mirzā Pir Muhammad, grandson of Timūr, seized the towns of Multān and Uch It also relates that one Sayyid Abū-l Lāis interceded with Mirzā Pir Muhammad for the people Here again دکر حکومت is added before the heading in the text-edition

1 JĀM TUGHLAQ SON OF SIKANDAR KHĀN

When Jam Fath Khan passed away Jam Tughlaq his brother was invested with the duties of government and after twenty eight years accepted (the summons of) death

JĀM MUBĀRAK

When Jam Tughlaq was overtaken by that which is unavoidable Jam Mubarak who was one of his relations and to whom the office of his ³ usher or chamberlain appertained considering himself to be fit and deserving of that noble office sat on the seat of the great but he was not allowed to hold it for more than three years

4 JĀM ISKANDAR SON OF JĀM FATH KHĀN SON OF SIKANDAR KHĀN

When the field of the minds (of men) was purified of the dust of the rule of Jam Mubarak the great men of the country of Sind raised

¹ According to the *Tarikh-i-Sind* (Elliot vol I p 230) Jam Sikandar succeeded Jam Tughlik but he was young in years and his uncles whom his father had appointed to be the rulers of Sivistin and Bhakkar refused to obey him and quarrelled. Sikandar left Thatta and proceeded towards Bhakkar when Mubarak who had been chamberlain in the time of Tughlaq suddenly came into Thatta and seized the throne but his rule lasted only for three days and Sikandar was sent for and reinstated on the throne. As in the case of the last reign ^{ڈکر حکومت} is again added in the heading in the text edition.

² The heading in the text edition is ^{ڈکر حکومت حام معارک} and not only ^{حام معارک}

³ One MS has ^{سردیاری} while the other has ^{سردیاری} and the lith ed has ^{ہرچہ داری}. Firishtah in the corresponding passage has ^{سردیاری} I have adopted ^{سردیاری}

⁴ According to the *Tarikh-i-Sind* (Elliot vol I p 230) Iskandar or Sikandar was succeeded by a man of the name of Rai Dan who had lived in Kachh and had a considerable body of tried men to whom he paid great attention. After Sikandar's death he came with his followers to Thatta and although he disclaimed all desire for the throne he was selected. In the course of a year and a half he conquered much territory. After he had reigned for eight years and a half Sanjar one of his attendants gave him poison in his drink and on his death after three days Sanjar became Jam (p 231). The latter was a handsome youngman and he was on friendly terms with an excellent dervesh through whose prayers he became Jam. The country was very

Jām Iskandar, who in addition to the rights of inheritance possessed the qualifications for the government of the empire, to be the ruler (of the country). He passed away after performing the duties of the government for one year and six months.

JĀM SANJAR

When Jām Iskandar after partaking of worldly pleasures passed away to his appointed place (*i.e.*, died), the chief men of Sind selected Jām Sanjar, who at that time was occupied in the performance of the duties of the government, to be their chief. He accepted the summons of death, after having been engaged with the performance of the work of government for eight years and some months.

JĀM NIZĀM-UD-DĪN, WHO IS KNOWN AS JĀM NANDĀ

After Jām Sanjar, Jām Nizām-ud-dīn who is known as Jām Nandā, occupied himself with the performance of the duties of the government. In his reign the country of Sind acquired new grandeur. He was contemporaneous with Sultān Husain Lankāh ruler of Multān.
¹ In his time also in the year 899 A.H., Shāh Bēg came from Qandahār, and having conquered the fort of Sēwī, which was in the charge of Bahādur Khān the Jām's agent, returned to Qandahār, leaving his younger brother Sultān Muhammad there. Jām Nandā sent Mubārak Khān to attack Sultān Muhammad, and the latter being killed in the battle which ensued, Sēwī again came into the Jām's possession. On hearing this news, Shāh Bēg sent Mīrzā 'Isa Tarkhān to avenge the death of his brother. Mīrzā 'Isa fought with the Jām's army, and defeated it. After that Shāh Bēg also arrived there and took possession of the fort of² Bhakkār, by the capitulation of³ Qādī Qādan, the agent

prosperous in his time. He improved the judicial administration by increasing the pay of the Kāzīs, who had before been badly paid, and used to take money from both plaintiffs and defendants of suits they tried (p. 232). In the text edition there is موت کر before the heading of this Jām also.

¹ The account of Shāh Bēg's invasion given in the *Tārikhu-s-Sind* (Elliot, vol. I, p. 234) differs materially from that in the *Tabaqāt*, according to the former it was altogether unsuccessful, but Frishtah agrees with the *Tabaqāt*.

² The name of the Bhakkar fort in the text edition is given as کر.

³ The name is Qādī Qādan in the 11th ed. of the *Tabaqāt* and of Frishtah, but it is Qādī Dādan in both MSS. of the *Tabaqāt*. A Kāzī Kāzim is mentioned

of the Jam and left it in charge of Tadil Beg Kokaltash. At that time the fort of Bhakkar was not so strong as it is now. He also seized the fort of Sibwan and making it over to Khwajah Baqi Beg returned to Qandahar. Jam Nanda repeatedly sent armies to recover possession of Sowai but it was of no avail.

Jam Nanda who had ruled for sixty two years now passed away.

¹ AN ACCOUNT OF THE GOVERNMENT OF JAM FIRUZ

Jam Firuz the son of Nizam ud din succeeded his father and the duties of the *mawlat* became vested in Darva Khan who was one of his near relations and he acquired all power. Jam Silah ud din who was a relation of Jam Firuz and considered himself to be the

on page 310 of Elliot vol I as a mātā di tingui hed schi lar by who strenuous exertions the outrages which were being committed by ordār of Shah Beg's soldiers on their entry into Thatta were put an end to. If this be the correct name it would be written according to the rule of transcription now followed as Qādi Qazīm.

¹ Neither of the MSS has the heading giving the name of Jam Firuz but after کمس goes on as میر او حام سور و دکر حکومت حام سورور. The lith ed has usual heading of دکر حکومت حام سورور. I have followed the heading in the lith ed according to the *Tarikh-i-Sind* (Elliot vol I pp. 24-25). Jam Firuz was of tender years and Silahud din who was the son of Jam Sipar khan later had pretensions to the throne but Darva Khan and Sirang Khan who were powerful slaves of Jam Nizam ud din placed Jam Firuz on the throne with the consent of the nobles and the lead men of Thatta. At first Salihud din led as to Guzerat. Jam Firuz gave him 15 up to low pleasures and Darva Khan retired in disgust to his *jazir*. Tho nobles being on the verge of ruin owing to Jam Firuz's dissipation sent a messenger to summon Salihud din. He came and Jam Firuz's followers left the latter out of the city on one side while Jam Silahud din entered it on the other. Then Jam Firuz's mother took the latter to Darva Khan and he was induced to collect troops and to advance to attack Salihud din. The latter wanted to go out and meet the enemy but his adviser Haji told him not to do so and himself went up. He informed Darva Khan's troops and sent a messenger to inform Salihud din of the victory. The messenger was intercepted by Darva Khan who substituted a letter which purported to come from the *qadar* and in which Salihud din was informed that his army had been defeated and he must leave Thatta at once with his family. He did so and Darva Khan took Jam Firuz to Thatta where he reigned securely for some years until the end of 916 A.H. (1511 A.D.) when Shah Beg Arghun invaded Sind. A foot note says that 916 A.H. is a mistake and 917 A.H. (1510 A.D.) is the correct year.

heir to the kingdom, commenced hostilities and warfare, but as he could not effect anything, he fled to Gujāt, and prayed Sultān Muzaffar Gujātī for help. As the wife of Sultān Muzaffar was the daughter of the uncle of Jām Salāh-ud-dīn, he extended the hand of his support, and spread the wing of his affection over his head, and sending a considerable army with him, gave him leave to go to Thatha. As Daryā Khān, who was all-powerful and on whom everything depended, had now combined with Jām Salāh-ud-dīn, the country of Sind came into the latter's possession without any dispute or fighting. Jām Firūz betook himself to a corner, hoping for the blowing of the breeze of prosperity, and waiting for the rising of the star of good fortune. In the end Daryā Khān, who had the reins of power of the kingdom in his hands, summoned Jām Firūz, and raised him to the chieftainship.

Jām Salāh-ud-dīn, scratching the back of his head, went again to Gujāt. Sultān Muzaffar again made preparations to help him, and ¹ in the year 920 A.H., sent him to Sind, and he turned Jām Firūz ² *Khwajahdār* out of Sind and himself took possession of the country. Jām Firūz had necessarily then to seek for help from ³ Shāhī Bēg Arghūn. The latter sent his slave, who had the name of Sanbal Khān, to help him. He brought Shāhī Bēg's army with him and had a drawn battle with Jām Salāh-ud-dīn in the neighbourhood of Sihwān, and Jām Salāh-ud-dīn and his son Haibat Khān were slain in this battle, and the country of Sind again, as at an earlier time, came to the possession of Jām Firūz.

At this time, which was the time of interregnum, Shāh Bēg into whose mind a desire for the conquest of Sind had found its way, and who was watching for an opportunity, marched out from Qandahār, and in the year 927 A.H., took possession of Thatha. The date of the capture of Thatha has been found in the words *Kharābī-i-Sind* (the ruin of Sind). Daryā Khān, who was in charge of Jām Firūz's

¹ Both MSS have 928 A.H., but the lith ed has 920 A.H. As Shāh Bēg Arghūn invaded Sind in 926 A.H. (see the last part of the preceding note) I think 920 A.H., is the correct year.

² This word has occurred twice previously, but it has not been possible to find its exact meaning.

³ One MS and the lith ed have Shāhī Bēg, but the other MS has Shāh Bēg.

government was put to death Jam Firuz being completely helpless abandoned Sind and sought the protection of Sultan Muzaffar Gujrati As at this time Sultan Muzaffar died a natural death Jam Firuz again came to Sind but as he saw that he was unable to effect anything he returned to Gujrat He gave his daughter in marriage to Sultan Bahadur Gujrati and became enlisted among the latter's amirs The power of the dynasty of the Semmas having been cut off the duties of government now devolved on Shah Beg

¹ AN ACCOUNT OF SHĀH BEG ARGHŪN

This Shah Beg was the son of Mir Dhualnun Beg who was the *Amir ul umara* (chief nobleman) and *sipahsalar* (commander in chief) of Sultan Mirza and *ataliq* (guardian) of the son Badruzzaman Mirza From before (the time of) Sultan Husain Mirza he held the government of Qandahar ² Amir Dhualnun Beg was slain in the battle with ³ Shah Beg Uzbak who was at war with the sons of Sultan Husain Mirza ⁴ The government of Qandahar descended to his son

¹ The heading is as I have it in the text in one MS In the other the word Argūn is omitted In the lith ed it is سکھر حکومت میں سے دکر

For a detailed history of Shah Beg and his father Amir Zunnun see the *Tarkhan nama* (Elliot vol I pp 303-312) The Cambridge History of India (p 501) only gives the years of Shah Beg's invasion of Sind and of his death

² The name is دوالنون بگ in this passage in both MSS but the prefix *Mir* is omitted in the lith ed As he is generally called Amir Zunnun Beg in the *Tarkhan nama* and other histories I have changed the *Mir* to *Amir* In the text edition however *میر* is retained

⁴ The name is incorrectly written as Shah Beg Ubak in both the MSS and in the lith ed Firishtah lith ed has somewhat more correctly سکھر حکومت اور بک The name in the *Tarkhan nama* (Elliot vol I p 304) is Muhammad Khan Shaibani Uzhek

⁵ As a matter of fact according to the *Tarkhan nama* (Elliot vol I pp 306-309) Shah Beg who succeeded his father in 913 A H found his position in Kandahar precarious in 915 A H owing to his being threatened on one side by Shah Ima'il the second who had conquered Khurasan and on the other by Babar who had seized Kabul and had determined to seize the Sibi territory as a future asylum Accordingly in 917 A H he defeated Sultan Purdil Birlas who ruled there and took possession of Sibi and left a garrison there under

Shāh Bēg, who became his successor, and having conquered the greater part of the country of Sind, gained great power

¹ He had great literary accomplishment also, and he wrote a commentary on the ‘*Aqā’id-i-Nasafī*, and a commentary on the *Kāfiā* and a *Hāshīa* (super-commentary) on the *Matāli‘-i-Mantiq*, and was also a man of pure morals In the lines (of battle), he always advanced in front of every one, and although people forbade him from doing so and said, “This kind of reckless bravery is not right for a leader,” it had no effect He always said, “At such a time I lose all control over myself, and it comes into my mind that no one should stand in front of me” ³ He died in the year 930 A H, and his son Shāh Husain took his place

Mirzā ’Isā Tarkhān In 919 A H, Bābar again invaded Kandahār, but went back to Kābul without conquering it Shāh Beg did not, however, consider his position to be safe there, and resolved to conquer Sind Bābar invaded Kandahār again in 921 and 922 A H, and Shāh Beg, wearied by these repeated invasions, made over Kandahār to Bābar by an amicable settlement After that he passed two years in Shāl and Siwī in great penury and distress, but in 924 A H, he invaded Sind, and after defeating Daryā Khān in a great battle occupied Thatta

¹ There is nothing about Shāh Beg Arghūn’s literary works in the extract from the *Tarkhān-nāma* as given in Elliot

² The *Sharh bar Aqā’id Nasafī* is a commentary on scholastic theology called *Al-Āqā’id an Nasafīya* The full name of *Nasafī* was Najm-ud-din Abū Hafs ‘Umar bñ Muhammad an Nasafī, he was born in 460 A H, and died in 537 A H, 1142 A D (vide Brocklemann *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, vol I, p 427, 1898) *مسیحی دلیل* in the text-edition

The *Hāshīa bar Matāli‘ Mantiq* is a super-commentary on the commentary of *Matāli‘-al-Anwār* The first part of the work deals with logic The author of the *Matāli‘* was Mahmūd bñ Abī Bakr-Al-‘Urmavī, who died in 682 A H, 1283 A D (vide Brocklemann, vol I, p 467)

The *Sharh bar Kāfiā* is a commentary on Ibn Hajib’s well-known work on syntax called *Kāfiā* The full name of Ibn Hājī was ‘Uthmān bñ ‘Umar, who died in 646 A H, 1248 A D (vide Brocklemann, vol I, p 303)

³ The year is 930 in both MSS and in the lith ed of the *Tabaqāt* and of *Frishtah* The Cambridge History of India (p 501) agrees with this date and gives 1524 A D, as the year of Shāh Beg’s death The *Tarkhān-nāma* (Elliot, vol I, p 312) however, says that he died in Sha'bān 928 A H (June, 1522) *Sharh Sha'bān* is given in it as the chronogram of his death The *Imperial Gazetteer* (vol XXII, p 397) has 1522 as the year of Shāh Beg’s death, and agrees with the *Tarkhān-nāma*

1 AN ACCOUNT OF SHAH HUSAIN

When Shah Husain succeeded his father (he) acquired many followers and much power he went and attacked Sultan Mahmud the ruler of Multan and took possession of that territory from him and having now gained complete and undoubted possession of the

¹ There are slight differences in the heading One MS has the heading as I have it in the text The other prefixes Mirza before Sh h Husain The lith ed a usual inserts the word *Halumat* before Sh h Husain

² The *Tarkhan nama* (Lilhot vol I pp 313-3 3) gives a much longer account of the rule of Sh h Husain Arghun In the first place he marched against Thatta where Sh h Beg had appointed Jam Firoz to be the governor The latter on hearing of Shah Beg's death assumed a hostile attitude but on Sh h Husain marching against him he fled to Karachi whence he returned with a large following This force however was destroyed with great slaughter In 931 A H he advanced against Uch and on arriving near it he defeated the Sultan army which met him there and seized Uch Sultan Muhammad Lang h (he is however called Sultan Mahmud further on) collected a large army Sh h Husain remained on the bank of the Ghura awaiting an attack At this time the Sultan was poisoned by his son in law Sharif Shujah Bukhari who was detected in an intrigue in the royal harem The Langahis placed Sultan Mahmud's son on the vacant throne and sent a holy man to negotiate for a peace and a peace was effected But one Langar Khan came and asked Sh h Husain to capture the city and the latter then laid close siege to the fort At length a great scarcity took place in the city and after some time it was captured Mirza Shah Husain then passed sixteen years in peace and tranquillity Then Humayun came to Sind in 949 A H fleeing before Shir Khan Arghun He wrote to Sh h Husain reminding him of the ties of amity and friendship between him and the emperor Babar Sh h Husain wrote to him that if he wanted to conquer Guzerat he would accompany him with his whole army in the expedition Sh h Husain wanted to present himself before Humayun but the Arghun nobles dissuaded him and Humayun unsuccessfully besieged Siwistan or Shiwain for even months after which he went away towards Jodpur on the invitation of Raja Mihdo After the birth of Akbar he had again to return to Sind and took up his residence in the neighbourhood of the town of Jun Then after some fighting with Sh h Husain's army he determined to march to Kandahar

Towards the end of his life Shah Husain appears to have been attacked by a fatal sickness The Arghuns and Tarkhans then combined against him and chose Mirza Isa Tarkhan governor of Jath Bagh as their leader A sort of civil war followed in the midst of which Mirza Shah Husain became very ill After further negotiations Shah Husain made Mirza Salih the second

whole of Sind, he became very powerful. He also rebuilt the fort of Bhakkari, and also built a fort of Sihwān, and having occupied himself with the work of government for thirty-two years passed away in the ¹ year 962 A.H.

² AN ACCOUNT OF MIRZĀ 'ĪSĀ TARKHĀN

³ Sultān Mahmūd and Mirzā 'Īsā Tarkhān ruled at Bhakkari and Thatta respectively, independently of each other. There was sometimes peace and sometimes war between them. Mirzā 'Īsā ruled for a period of thirteen years, and passed away in the year 975 A.H.

son of Mirzā 'Īsā, the governor of Thatta, and returned towards Bhakkar and died on the way on the 12th Rabī'u-l-Awwal A.H. 961

¹ The year is 962 A.H., in both the MSS. and in the lith. ed. of the *Tabaqāt*, Firishtah lith. ed. also has 962 A.H., but as will be seen from the preceding note, the *Tarkhān-nāma* has 961 A.H., 1564 A.D. The Cambridge History of India (p. 502) gives 1556 as the year of Shāh Husam's death.

² The heading is as I have it in the text in both MSS. The lith. ed. has *Hukūmat* before 'Īsā, and omits *Tarkhān* after it.

³ Firishtah's account agrees with that in the text, and he very candidly admits that he does not know how the government was transferred from the Arghūns to the *Tarkhāns*.

The *Tarkhān-nāma* (Elliot, vol. I, pp. 323-336) says, that Mirzā 'Īsā Tarkhān appointed Mirzā Sālīh his second son to be his successor, and made the government over to him, and only retained the name of king. Mirzā Sālīh soon after marched against Sīwistān, and wrested it from Mahmūd Khān Bhakkari. After that Mirzā 'Īsā Tarkhān led a large force to conquer Bhakkar, but peace was affected, Bhakkar being left to Mahmūd Khān, while he surrendered Sīwistān to Mirzā 'Īsā. After that Mirzā Muhammad Bākī, 'Īsā Tarkhān's eldest son, rebelled against him. He was defeated, but afterwards a reconciliation was effected and Mirzā Muhammad Bākī was sent to Bhakkar. In 970 Mirzā Sālīh was assassinated by a Bulūch named Murid. Mirzā 'Īsā then nominated Mirzā Jān Bābā, his third son, as the heir apparent. People interested themselves in favour of Mirzā Muhammad Bākī, who was then granted Sīwistān as a *yagīr*. Some of the Arghūns then rebelled against Mirzā 'Īsā, but they were defeated, and fled to Bhakkar for succour. They were helped by Mahmūd Khān, and besieged Sīwistān. Mirzā 'Īsā advanced from Thatta, and defeated the rebels, and their allies, Mahmūd Khān's men, and at last a peace was affected. Mirzā 'Īsā died in 974, after reigning for fourteen years, and Mirzā Bākī succeeded him, through the help of Māh Begam, although Mirzā 'Īsā had nominated Mirzā Jān Bābā as his heir.

1 AN ACCOUNT OF MIRZA MUHAMMAD BAQI SON OF MIRZA
ISA TARKHAN

His (Mirza Isa Tarkhan's) eldest son Muhammad Baqi Khan by virtue of his rectitude and of the number of his followers defeated his younger brother Jam Baba and took the place of his father.³ In the manner of the latter he sometimes had peace and

¹ The heading is as I have it in the text in one MS. In the other the word Mirza is left out before the name of Muhammad Baqi. In the lith. ed. the word *Hukumat* is inserted after *Dhikr* and the word *Khan* after Mirza. Muhammad Baqi and the words میرزا عسی بر حان are omitted. The extracts from the *Tarkhan nama* (Elliot vol I p 3-6) ends with the account of Mirza Isha Tarkhan and there is no account of the succeeding Tarkhans in that volume. The *Tarikh-i-Tahiri* (Elliot vol I pp 28-81) contains an account of Mirza Muhammad Baqi Tarkhan sending his daughter Sindhi Begam to Akbar and the latter's returning her.

² Firishtah's account is somewhat similar but he omits the word *مسد*. For the circumstances under which Mirza Baqi succeeded Mirza Isha Tarkhan as told in the *Tarkhan nama* see the latter part of note 1 above. The name of Jam Baba is written as Khan Baba in one MS and in the lith. ed. and as Han Baba in the other MS. The Cambridge History of India (p. 50) says that Mirza Muhammad Baqi crushed the revolt of his younger brother.

³ One MS inserts here

حراس حمع ساخته در وسیع کشیدن سیلان اکثر سر ارال از عومن که ناودم اسقیمال
مردند عادل ساخته بسعی بدرازد و فلکه اران بهله سار دموده بودند
مانعین سده سر در سیلان گذاشتند عصی بر مسح و حل به پهکر دند و حمی
گزینده بگزرا بر راهه کجده توکر سده و اسامت حون ناح در اخر عمر
ما حولنا به مرساند و هریان منکب و حدما عده سرکار خود را نبردم ارال و کم
اصل سرد - و هر را برگ و اکابر بود همه را بنداد و مکر عدل به مرساند حتاینه
مرک عدد الرحمان را بعلی رسانید و سمع عدد الوفات را بیمع سداد کسب - صلاد
و دخوی بدرجه داس که همچکن حرف را سب نار نمی گفت - حل نانا برادر
خود را قسم کلام معتقد طلبده می سد علی را که ا احله اکابر اند نار بود در میان
اورده سب و زور او را نبرد - ایک ساحب آخر حیط او بلند خود را نبر درستی نکسب *

i.e. having much treasure he made most of the Arghun sardars who effected to be his rivals and equals careless at a banquet slew them with a merciless sword and the few who escaped from the fatal meeting dispersed and betook themselves to the jungles. Some of them went to Mahmud Khan at Bhakkar and a number of them fled and entered the service of the Raja of Kachch in Gujarat

was sometimes at war with Sultān Mahmūd. He ruled for a period of eighteen years, and then passed away from the world in the ¹ year 993 A H, and the duties of the government devolved on Mīrzā Jānī Bēg.

AN ACCOUNT OF MIRZĀ JĀNĪ BĒG

² After Muhammād Bāqī, the government became vested in Mīrzā Jānī Bēg, and in the year 1001 A H he became enlisted among the servants of the threshold, and the country of Sind was added to the countries occupied (by Akbar).

3 AN ACCOUNT OF SULTĀN MAHMŪD

Sultān Mahmūd, the ruler of Bhakkā, sat on the *masnad* of rule for twenty years. He was insane and a shedder of blood. Whenever

Owing to the bad luck, which follows the shedding of unrighteous blood, he, in the latter part of his life, suffered from melancholia, and (often) talked nonsense, and entrusted great appointments in his government to base men and men of low origin. Wherever there were noble and great men, he had them all put to death by deceit and treachery. For instance, he had Mīrak 'Abd-ur-Rahmān executed, and slew Shaikh 'Abd-ul-waliāb with the unrighteous sword. He had such rigour and evil nature that no one spoke (or dared to speak) the truth to him. He summoned his brother Jām Bābā, under an oath on the sacred word (the *Qurān*), and bringing Mīr Sayyid 'Alī, who was one of the nobles and great men of the country, between them, kept him in fear of death for nights and days. At last his insanity becoming very severe he one night killed himself.

There are some slight verbal mistakes in the above passage, but it appears to contain some facts about Mīrzā Bāqī, which are correct and which do not appear in the other MS or in the lith ed of the *Tabaqāt* or in *Firishtah*. I have, accordingly, thought it fit to transcribe it in a note, though I have not inserted it in the text.

¹ *Firishtah* also gives 993 A H, and Col Briggs (vol IV, p 440) 993 A H, 1584 A D as the year of his death. The Cambridge History of India (p 502) says, he committed suicide in 1585 A D, in a fit of insanity. His son Mīrzā Pāyanda Muhammād Tarkhān was also insane, and so the succession passed to his son Mīrzā Jānī Bēg Tarkhān.

² He was the grandson of Mīrzā Muhammād Bāqī Tarkhān. The final conquest of Sind by Khān Khānān 'Abd-ur-Rahim Khān, and its inclusion in Akbar's dominion have been described in the history of Akbar's reign.

³ One MS has no heading. The other MS has only the word Sultān Mahmūd. I have adopted the heading in the lith ed but have omitted the word *Hukūmat*. In the text edition the account of Sultān Mahmūd forms a part of the description of the reign of Mīrzā Jānī Bēg.

he had the least suspicion of anybody he at once put him to death
He kept the roads of Sind¹ closed from all sides

SECTION VI AN ACCOUNT OF THE DYNASTY OF THE SULTANS OF MULTĀN

Let it not remain concealed that the affairs of the country of Multan have not been written in any history from the date of the introduction of Islam which resulted from the exertions of Muhammad Qasim in the time of Hajjaj son of Yusuf. When Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavi took it out of the possession of the Mulukids (heretics) it remained for a long time in the possession of his descendants. When the power of the Ghaznavis became enfeebled the country of Multan again fell into the possession of the Qaramitah sect. Then from the time when it came into the possession of Sultan Muizz ud din Muhammad Sarai till the year 847 A.D. it remained in the custody and possession of the Sultans of Dehli. From that year when there were rulers of different tribes in various parts of India the rulers of Multan also began to set up independent rulers and Multan went out of the possession of the Sultans of Dehli and a number of these rulers ruled in succession.

Shaikh Yusuf about two years

Sultan 4 Quṭb ud dīn sixteen years

¹ Firishtah relates as in fact is mentioned in the history of the reign of Akbar that Muhibb Ali Khan conquered the whole territory except the fort of Phakkar. After that Sultan Mahmud sent a petition to Akbar that he would surrender the fort to anyone except Muhibb Ali Khan in whom he might send Akbar accordingly sent Gisu Khan but before he arrived Sultan Mahmud died and Gisu Khan took possession of the fort without any opposition in the year 1572 A.D.

² The heading in the MSS is حکام ملک and ملکاء سلطان The lith ed has also سلطان کر سلطان I have kept the heading in the lith ed as the rulers are called Sultans in the MSS also In the text edition the heading is دکر سلطان ملک

³ I have adopted the reading of the MSS but the 11th ed has ارسنیه اول، ملک احمدی و سعید و اب

⁴ One MS has Lankali after the name of Qutb ud din but neither the other MS nor the lith. ed. has it.

¹ Sultān Husain, according to one statement thirty-four years, and according to another statement thirty-six years

² Sultān Firūz, the period of his rule is not known

³ Sultān Mahmūd *bin* Sultān Firūz *bin* Sultān Husain, twenty-seven years

⁴ Sultān Husain, the period of his rule is not known According to one statement it was one year and some months

AN ACCOUNT OF SHAIKH YŪSUR

When in the year 847 A.H., the turn of the rule of the empire of Dehlī came to Sultān ‘Alā-ud-dīn, son of Muhammad Shāh, son of ⁵ Farīd Shāh, son of Mubārak Shāh, son of Khidr Khān, the work of government and the affairs of the empire fell into disorder, and in the country of India the chiefs of (different) tribes or bands came into existence. The country of Multān remained without a ruler owing to a succession of onsets of the wrath of the Mughals. As the greatness of the noble family of the Shaikh-ut-Tariqa (the Shaikh of the path of truth) Shaikh Bahā’-ud-dīn Zakariyā Multānī, may the Great God sanctify his soul! had made such an impression on the hearts of the residents of Multān and of the *zamīndārs* (petty chiefs), that nothing greater than it can be imagined, all the people high and low, and all

¹ One MS has سی و چهار سال 34 years, but the other MS and the lith ed have what I have in the text

² This name occurs in one MS only but not in the other or in the lith ed

³ The heading I have in the text is in one MS. In the other MS it is Sultān Mahmūd 27 years, while the lith ed has Sultān Mahmūd 27 years and some months. Probably there was only one Sultān Mahmūd. There is considerable divergence in the lists of the Sultans of Multān given in the MSS and in the lith ed. One MS has Shaikh Yūsuf, Sultān Qutb-ud-dīn, Sultān Husam, Sultān Mahmūd and Sultān Firūz. The other MS has the first four names, but has Sultān Husam II, instead of Sultān Firūz. The list in the lith ed only consists of the first four names. Fishtah has after the first four Firūz Shah, and then Mahmūd Shāh, then Shāh Husam II. The correct names and the sequence of the rulers will appear in the course of their history.

⁴ This name occurs in one MS only

⁵ The MSS have Farīd Shāh, and the lith ed has Firūz Shāh. Both these are incorrect. Muhammad Shāh was really the son of Shāhzāda Farīd, son of Khidr Khān, and he was adopted by Mubārak Shāh as his son. See page 322, vol I, of the English translation of this work.

the residents and the inhabitants of that neighbourhood elected Shaikh Yusuf Zakariya Qurani to whom the superintendence of the Khanqah and the supervision of the surroundings of the sacred tomb of Shaikh Baha ud din Zakariya appertained as the ruler of the country and had public prayers read in his name from the pulpits of Multan and Uchi and some other towns. He then engaged himself in the administration of the government and made a beginning by increasing the number of his retainers and by enlarging his army. He made the hearts of the zamindars or petty chieftains attached to him and gave increased currency and splendour to the government of the country.

It so happened however that one day Ray Sahib who was the chief of the tribe of Lankahs and to whom the town of Sewi and that part of the country appertained sent a message to Shaikh Yusuf that As from the time of my ancestors the relationship of discipleship and belief to your family has remained on a sound basis and the empire of Delhi is not free from disturbances and disorder and they say that Malik Bahlul Ludhi has taken possession of Delhi and has had public prayers read in his name if His Holiness the Shaikh would with the utmost promptitude turn his attention to the tribe of the Lankahs and consider me among his soldiers I shall not in any service and expedition which may take place consider myself excused from rendering loyal and devoted service even to the extent of sacrificing my life. Also at present in order to strengthen the relationship of being disciple and of devotion and loyalty I shall give my daughter to you (in marriage) and will accept you as my son in law. The Shaikh on hearing these words was delighted in his heart and took the daughter of Ray Sahib in marriage. He (i.e. Ray Sahib) sometimes¹ came from Sewi to Multan to see his daughter and brought fitting presents for the service of the Shaikh. The latter as a matter of caution did not allow that Ray Sahib should have a mansion in the town of Multan and therefore he took up his residence outside the town and he went alone to see his daughter.

On one occasion he collected all his men and started for Multan and wanted that with deceit and the ² power of trickery and fraud

¹ One MS has می اورے instead of می اورے

² One MS has می کوچاری سمع می اورے instead of می کوچاری سمع می اورے

³ One MS omits the word کوچاری

he would seize Shaikh Yūsuf and himself become the ruler of Multān. When he arrived in the neighbourhood of the city he sent the following message to Shaikh Yūsuf, "I have this time brought all the *Lankāhs* with me, so that after inspecting them, you might allot various services to them, according to their qualifications." The simple-minded Shaikh Yūsuf had become careless of the stand of the age and the deceit of the time, and met him with affection and kindness. Rāy Sahrah after displaying his grandeur and retinue, came one night to see his daughter attended by only a single servant. He had directed that servant to cut the throat of a kid with his knife in some corner of the house and to bring the blood after heating it, and pouring it into a cup. When the servant carried out the order Rāy Salmāh drank off the cup of blood. After a time he, acting with deceit and trickery, cried out that he had a severe pain in his stomach, and from time to time his groans and lamentations became louder. At about midnight he summoned the *vakīls* (representatives) of Shaikh Yūsuf to attend, so that he might give his last directions to them, and in their presence he vomited blood. In the meantime, in the course of giving his directions, which were mixed with groans and lamentations, he sent for his retainers and adherents, in order to bid them farewell. As the representative of the Shaikh found the condition of Rāy Sahrah so bad (*lit.* of another kind), they did not at all object to the coming of the Rāy's relatives and adherents. When most of his men had entered the fort, he raised his head from the bed of illness with the intention of seizing the kingdom. He sent his trusted servants, and others who had his confidence to watch and guard all the four gates so that they would not permit the servants of the Shaikh to come from the outer fort into the city. Then he went to the private apartments of the Shaikh and seized him.

The rule of Shaikh Yūsuf lasted for about two years.

AN ACCOUNT OF SULTĀN QUTB-UD-DĪN LANKĀH

When Rāy Sahrah seized the Shaikh, he had the public prayers (read), and the coins (struck) in his own name, and assumed the title of Sultān Qutb-ud-dīn. As the people of Multān were satisfied with his government, and rendered allegiance to him, he sent the Shaikh by the gate which was in the north, and near the tomb, which was the

recipient of rays of fulgence of the Shaikh ul Islam Shaikh Bahā ud din Zakariya and gave him leave to go to Dehli and gave orders that the gate should be blocked up with burnt bricks. They also say that to this day which is the year 1002 Hijri that gate has been kept blocked up. He then raised the standard of sovereignty and occupied himself with the work of government. When Shaikh Yusuf arrived at Dehli Sultan Bahlul received him with great courtesy and honour and united his daughter in the bond of marriage with the son of the Shaikh who bore the name of Shaikh Ahd ul lah and was better known under the name of Shah Abd ul lah. With his promises¹ he always kept the Shaikh strengthened in his heart and pleased and hopeful. Sultan Quth ud din ruled independently in the country of Multān till after a long time in the year² 865 A.H. he accepted (the summons of) the just God.

The period of the rule of Sultan Qutb ud din was prolonged to sixteen years.

AN ACCOUNT OF SULTAN HUSAIN SON OF SULTAN⁴ QUTB UD DIN

When Sultan Quth ud din surrendered his borrowed life to the true owner of it (i.e. God) the amirs and the pillars of the state of Sultan Qutb ud din after the ceremonies of mourning gave the title of Sultan Husain to his eldest son and had the public prayers read in his name in Multan and the territories surrounding it. And he was

¹ The word is *وَسْعَ* in one MS and in the lith ed of Firshatāh *وَسْعَ* in the other MS and *وَسْعَ* in the lith ed of the Tabaqat. I have adopted the first.

In other words with promises of helping him to regain the possession of Multan. The Cambridge History of India (p 504) says that Bahlul twice set out for Multan with the object of restoring Shaikh Yusuf's power once in 1402 A.D. and again after 1408 A.D. but he was compelled to return on the first occasion by the advance of Mahmud Shah of Jaunpur and on the second by the menacing attitude of Husain Shah also of Jaunpur.

² The year is *وَسْعَ وَلِي* in one MS. In the other the space for the year is left blank. In the lith ed of the Tabaqat it is 860 A.H. and in the lith ed of Firshatāh it is 874 A.H. Col Briggs (vol IV p 384) has 874 A.H. 1169 A.D. The Cambridge History of India (p 503) has 861 A.H. 146 A.D.

⁴ *وَسْعَ الدُّنْيَا* in the text edition.

extremely able, and always ready (for all emergencies) and ¹ worthy of the descent of divine favour. In the days of his rule the status of learning and wisdom became exalted, and learned and wise men found support from him.

In the beginning of his reign he advanced to the fort of ² Shōr. They say, that at that time the fort of Shōi was in the possession of Ghāzī Sayyid Khān. When the latter heard that Sultān Husain was coming to attack that country, he made his men ready, sallied out of the fort, and advancing ten *lāvōhs* engaged Sultān Husain in battle, and after doing justice to his courage and bravery, left the field of battle and turned his face in flight and without reaching Shōi went towards the town of ³ Behrah. The family and the retainers of Ghāzī who were in Shōr occupied themselves in guarding and strengthening it, and were helping for the arrival of reinforcement from the direction of Behrah and ⁴ Khānāwāl and Khūshāb, which were in the possession of the Sayyid Khānī amīrs. When the siege had lasted for some days, and they became hopeless about the coming of the reinforcements,

¹ The text appears to me to be incorrect and imperfect here. One MS has رود الطاف خداوندی بود, the other has ورود الطاف خداوندی بود. The lith. ed. has ورود الطاف ~ وارده بود. Firishtah lith. ed. has in the corresponding passage و سراوارد ورود الطاف خداوندی بود. I think the insertion of the words سراوارد is necessary to complete the meaning, and this has been adopted in the text edition.

² The name is شور in the MS, but in one place it looks like شیوں Shīvūn, though later even in that MS it is Shōi, and in the lith. eds. of the Tabaqāt and of Firishtah Col Briggs (vol IV, p 385) calls it Sheevur. The Cambridge History of India (p 504) calls it Shorkot. The Imperial Gazetteer also calls the tehsil and the modern town (which are situated in the Jhang district of the Punjāb) Shērkōt, but I doubt whether at the time of Husain Lankāh it was called Shōrkōt. The name was evidently شور Shōi or Shūr.

³ The name is written as شہر in both MSS and in the lith. ed. of Firishtah, and بھوڑ in the lith. ed. of the Tabaqāt. Col Briggs (vol IV, p 385) has Bheemra. It is شہر in the text-edition.

⁴ The name is written as خانوڑ and حنوت in the MSS, and حوت in the lith. ed. of the Tabaqāt. The lith. ed. of Firishtah has ندوٹ. Col Briggs does not mention the place. I have adopted Khānāwāl which is the name of a place which on the maps is situated ten or eleven miles to the N E of Multān. In the text edition خانوڑ is adopted throughout.

they prived for quarter and surrendered the fort and went away to Behrah

Sultan Husain remained for some days in Shor in order to attend to matters connected with the country and then advanced towards Khanwal and Malik Mughl Khokhar who from before Syvid Khan was the Superintendent (*darogha*) of that place as a matter of honour endured the hardships of a siego for some days and then asked for quarter and surrendering the fort of Khanwal retired to Behrah Sultan Husain after regulating the affairs of the country returned to Multan and after resting there for some days marched towards the fort of Kot Karor and brought the country near it as far as the boundary of the fort of Dhankot into his possession

As Shaikh Yusuf had on many occasions complained to Sultan Bahul of the injuries he had suffered (from Sultan Qutb ud din) and had prayed for justice at this time when Sultan Husain had gone away to the fort of Dhankot Sultan Bahul taking advantage of such an opportunity sent his son Barbak Shah the circumstances connected with whom have been narrated in the section about Dehh and Jaunpur to conquer Multan and he also directed Tatar Khan Ludi to reinforce Barbil Shah with the army of the Punjab. Barbak Shah and Tatar Khan marched by successive stages in the direction of Multan. It so happened that at this time the brother of Sultan Husain who was the governor of the fort Kot Karor rebelled against him and assumed the title of Sultan Shihab ud din. Sultan Husain considered the suppression of the disturbance in the fort of Kot Karor as of primary importance and betook himself there on wings of speed. He seized Sultan Shihab ud din alive and placing iron shackles on his feet returned towards Multan. At this time his scouts brought him the news that Barbak Shah and Tatar Khan had encamped in the neighbourhood of Multan near the mosque or prayer ground of the Id which was situated to the north of the city and were occupied with preparations of materials for seizing the fort and capturing the citadel. Sultan Husain crossed the river Sind in the course of a night and towards morning entered the fort of Multan.

¹ The name is کوکارور in the MSS and کوکرور in the lith ed. Firshat 1st ed has کوکرور Col Briggs (vol IV p 386) has Hoot and the Cambridge History of Ind a (p 504) has Karor

He collected all his soldiers that very night, and told them, "I cannot hope that you will all be able to strike with your sword (*i.e.*, fight boldly), there are some of you the large number of the members of whose family and their other dependants would interfere with fighting. These men, although they might not be of any use in the matter of actual fighting, yet in other matters such as the guarding of the fort, and increasing the number of the troops, etc. they would be of use." After emphasizing on this matter he said, "Everyone of you, who would strike with his sword should, without any hesitation, go in the morning out of the city, and the remainder of the troops should occupy themselves with guarding the fort." Accordingly ten¹ thousand cavalry and infantry decided to go out (of the fort) to fight.

When the standard of the dawn rose in the east of the horizon, they beat the drum of battle, and, going out of the city,² stationed themselves so that they might have the Delhi army in front of them. Sultan Husain then ordered all the horsemen to dismount. In the first instance he himself dismounted. Then he ordered that each one of the soldiers should in common concert shoot their arrows at the enemy. When in the first instance twelve thousand arrows leaped at once from the bow strings, great confusion and distress appeared in the enemy's ranks. On the second shot, they separated themselves from one another, and on the third they turned their faces to the desert of flight,³ and (the fear of the enemy) had in such a way taken possession of their hearts, that when in the course of their flight, they arrived near the fort of Shōr, they did not at all turn towards it, and they did not draw the bridles of their horses, till

¹ That is the number in both MSS., but the 11th ed. and Firishtah 11th ed. have twelve thousand, and this number is correct, as will appear a few lines further down.

² The MSS. are incorrect here. One has سپاہ اُبی نس س روی حود دادی and the other has سپاہ اُبی را در بیش روی ~ ود داده. The 11th ed. of Firishtah has سپاہ دھلی را دش روی ~ ود کردا. In the text edition M. Hidayat Hosain has adopted و سپاہ آئی را در نس س روی ~ ود کرد.

³ Here also the MSS. appear to be defective. They have و بوری هول در دل اشان Firishtah 11th ed. has دل دشمن حای گرفته بود and not هول seems to be the correct word, but otherwise Firishtah's reading conveys the correct meaning.

they arrived near the town of Khanawal. From this defeat (or rather victory) the army of Multan acquired much armaments of war and power and prestige.

When Birbik Shah and Tatar Khan arrived at the fort of Khanawal they induced the *thanadars* of Sultan Husam with three hundred other men to come out of the fort by making promises and engagement but they afterwards treacherously made them food for their swords. Sultan Husam considering this defeat (of his enemies) a great boon did not allow the intention of recovering Khanawal to enter his mind.

At this time Malik Subrah Dadas who was the father of Ismail Khaa and Path Khan came from Kachhi and Mekran with their tribesmen and dependants and joined the service of Sultan Husam. The latter considering the arrival of Malik Subrah a matter of good omen for him conferred the whole of the country from the fort of Kot Karor to the fort of Dhankot on him and his tribesmen as their *jagirs*. After hearing this news many Baluchis (from Baluchistan) came to the service of Sultan Husam and the numbers of the latter's adherents increased from day to day. Sultan Husam then made over the remainder of the country situated on the bank of the river Sind which was well cultivated and populous to other Baluchis in lieu of their service. Crudially the whole country from Sipur to Dhankot was allotted to the Baluchis.

It was also at this time that Jam Bayazid and Jam Ibrahim who were the chiefs of the tribe of the ³ Thathwas (¹) being angry with Jam Nandi who was the ruler of the country of Sind entered the service of the Sultan. The particulars of this comprehensive statement are that the greater part of the country which is situated between Bhakkar and Thatta appertains to the tribe of Thathwa who consider themselves to be the descendants of Janishid and this tribe was distinguished above all the other tribes for bravery and

¹ The word لیل in the Tabaqat and if this word is retained the word لیل should be inserted after it. The lith ed has ایشان after لیل. In rishtah has لیل victory.

The name is لیل instead of لیل in the text-edition.

² The name looks like سید and سید in the MSS and سید in the lith ed of Rishtah. In the text edition ² سید has been adopted.

He collected all his soldiers that very night, and told them, "I cannot hope that you will all be able to strike with your sword (*i.e.*, fight boldly), there are some of you the large number of the members of whose family and their other dependants would interfere with fighting These men, although they might not be of any use in the matter of actual fighting, yet in other matters such as the guarding of the fort, and increasing the number of the troops, etc. they would be of use" After emphasizing on this matter he said, "Everyone of you, who would strike with his sword should, without any hesitation, go in the morning out of the city, and the remainder of the troops should occupy themselves with guarding the fort" Accordingly ten¹ thousand cavalry and infantry decided to go out (of the fort) to fight

When the standard of the dawn rose in the east of the horizon, they beat the drum of battle, and, going out of the city,² stationed themselves so that they might have the Dehlī army in front of them Sultān Husain then ordered all the horsemen to dismount In the first instance he himself dismounted Then he ordered that each one of the soldiers should in common concert shoot their arrows at the enemy When in the first instance twelve thousand arrows leaped at once from the bow strings, great confusion and distress appeared in the enemy's ranks On the second shot, they separated themselves from one another, and on the third they turned their faces to the desert of flight,³ and (the fear of the enemy) had in such a way taken possession of their hearts, that when in the course of their flight, they arrived near the fort of Shōr, they did not at all turn towards it, and they did not draw the bridles of their horses, till

¹ That is the number in both MSS., but the lith ed. and Firishtah lith ed. have twelve thousand, and this number is correct, as will appear a few lines further down

² The MSS. are incorrect here One has سپاہ ایسیں روی خود دادی and the other has را در پیش ایسیں روی خود داده The lith ed. of Firishtah has سپاہ دھلی را ایسیں روی خود کر دیا In the text edition M. Hidayat Hosain has adopted سپاہ آئی را در پیش روی خود کر دیا

³ Here also the MSS. appear to be defective They have دل دشمن حای گرفته بود and not حول ایس در دل ایسیان Firishtah lith ed. has around the camp seems to be the correct word, but otherwise Firishtah's reading conveys the correct meaning

they arrived near the town of Khānawal From this ¹ defeat (or rather victory) the army of Multan acquired much munitions of war and power and prestige

When Būrbik Shah and Tatar Khan arrived at the fort of Khānawal they induced the *thanadars* of Sultan Husain with three hundred other men to come out of the fort by making promises and engagements but they afterwards treacherously made them food for their swords Sultan Husain considering this defeat (of his enemies) a great boon did not allow the intention of recovering Khānawal to enter his mind

At this time Malik Suhrab Dudai who was the father of Isma'il Khan and Fath Khan came from Kach and Mekran with their tribesmen and dependants and joined the service of Sultan Husain The latter considering the arrival of Malik Suhrab a matter of good omen for him conferred the whole of the country from the fort of Kot Karor to the fort of Dhankot on him and his tribesmen as their *jagirs* After hearing this news many Baluchis (from Baluchistan) came to the service of Sultan Husain and the numbers of the latter's adherents increased from day to day Sultan Husain then made over the remainder of the country situated on the bank of the river Sind which was well cultivated and populous to other Baluchis in view of their service Gradually the whole country from Sipur to Dhankot was allotted to the Baluchis

It was also at this time that Jam Bazazid and Jam Ibrahim who were the chiefs of the tribe of the ³ Thathwas (?) being angry with Jam Nanda who was the ruler of the country of Sind entered the service of the Sultan The particulars of this comprehensive statement are that the greater part of the country which is situated between Bhakkar and Thatta appertain to the tribe of Thathwa who consider themselves to be the descendants of Jamshud and this tribe was distinguished above all the other tribes for bravery and

¹ The word is *لکھا* in the *Tabaqat* and if this word is retained the word *لکھا* should be inserted after it The lith ed has *لکھا* after Firishtah has *لکھا* victory

The name is *لکھا* instead of *لکھا* in the text edition

³ The name looks like *لکھا* and *لکھا* in the MSS and *لکھا* in the lith ed of Firishtah In the text edition *لکھا* has been adopted

management Jām Nandā, who was of the tribe of ¹ *Sēmmas*, also considered himself to be a descendant of Jamshīd, and was always hostile to the Thathwa tribe. It so happened that among the chieftains of the Thathwa tribe some differences and enmity took place. Jām Nandā, considering this to be a great blessing, took the side of those who were hostile to Jām Bāyazid and Jām Ibrāhīm who were brothers. The latter becoming aggrieved in their hearts with Jām Nandā turned towards Sultān Husain. As the mother of the latter was a sister of Jām Bāyazid, he welcomed his arrival with respect and honour, and allotted the county of Shōr to Jām Bāyazid, and that of Ūch to Jām Ibrāhīm, and gave them permission to go to their *jāgīs*.

As Jām Bāyazid was not wanting in the accomplishments of erudition, he always associated with men of learning and wisdom. Whenever he heard of any learned man in that neighbourhood, he offered so much kindness to him that the latter was obliged almost without any power over himself to come to the *majlis* of Jām Bāyazid ² and was never again separated from him. They say that the affection of Jām Bāyazid for wise and learned men was such that with great earnestness he conferred the appointment of his *rāzī* to Shaikh Jalāl-ud-dīn Quraishī, who was one of the sons of Shaikh Hākim Quraishī, and who had acquired various kinds of learning in Khurāsān although his eyesight had become destroyed, and making over his political affairs to him, passed his own valuable time in the society of learned and wise men. He carried out the divine commandments in such a way that on one occasion when he began to build a house in Shōr, it so happened that a treasure was found there. He withdrew his hands from the possession of it, and sent it whole and intact to Sultān Husain. The latter on account of this act of his had very great faith in him.

When Sultān Bahlūl was united with the Divine mercy, and the term of sovereignty came to Sultān Sikandar, Sultān Husain sent a letter of condolences and congratulations with elegant articles and presents by the hand of ambassadors, and began a policy of peace and

¹ سُمَّا instead of *Sēmma* in the text edition

² The reading in one MS is وارو ملکع سبیلت The other MS and the lith. ed. of Firishtah have سبیلت وارو ملکع و e, he profited by him, which is somewhat sordid, and does not appear to me to be so good

friendship As the desire to follow the law of the Prophet and the fear of God were strong in Sultan Silandar he agreed to a specific settlement and it was agreed that the two parties should follow the path of friendliness and attachment and should be the well wishers of each other that the armies of neither should transgress their own frontiers and whichever of them should be in need of help and assistance the other should not consider himself excused from granting it After the treaty had been written and had been adorned with the signatures of the nobles and the great men of the kingdom Sultan Silandar granted robes of honour to the ambassadors and gave them permission to return

They also say that Sultan Husain kept up a correspondence with Sultan Muzaffar Shah and the doors of letters and epistles were opened from both sides On one occasion Sultan Husain sent a man of the name of Qadi Muhammad who was adorned with wisdom and accomplishment as an ambassador to the court of Sultan Muzaffar Gujrati and he told him At the time of obtaining the Sultan's leave to return you should ask him to send a servant with you so that you might go and see the various palaces of the Sultan The object of Sultan Husain in saying this was that he might build a palace in Multan like one of the palaces of the Sultans of Gujerat When Qadi Muhammad arrived in Ahmadabad and presented the beautiful presents he at the time of his taking leave made the prayer which he had been ordered to make Sultan Muzaffar sent a servant with him so that he might show all the palaces to him in detail When Qadi Muhammad came back to Multan he after delivering the letter (he had brought from the Sultan of Gujerat) wanted to describe some of the beauties of the palaces of the Sultans of Gujerat He said that the tongue of description is dumb and the foot of its horse is lame and in a spirit of arrogance said that if the entire revenues of the kingdom of Multan be expended in building one palace it was not certain whether even that would be completed Sultan Husain became sorry and sad on hearing this ¹ Imad ul mulk Tawalik who was charged with the duties of the *ta arat* put forward the foot of daring and said May the kingdom last till the day of resurrection !

¹ It is عباد الملک توالیک in the text edition

I do not know the reason of your grief" The Sultān said, "The reason of it is thus, that people have attributed the name of *Bādshāh* to me, and I am destitute of the meaning of *Bādshāhī* And in spite of the fact that I shall rise up with the other *Bādshāhs* on the day of resurrection I shall not be their equal" 'Imād-ul-mulk said, "Let not the heart of the *Bādshāh* be pained and grieved on this account, for the great and holy God has distinguished each kingdom by some special excellence which is held in great respect and honour in other kingdoms Although the kingdoms of Gujrat, Deccan, Mālwa and Bengāl are very fertile, and the materials of enjoyments are found there in the best possible way, yet the kingdom of Multān produces *men*, for wherever the great men of Multān went, they were highly respected and honoured May there be praise and thanks to God ! that there are present in Multān some persons belonging to the noble family of the Shaikh-ul-Islām Shaikh Bahā'-ud-dīn Zakariyā, may the mercy of God be on him ! who are superior in all noble qualities to Shaikh Yūsuf Quraishi, to whose son Sultān Bahlīl has given his daughter in marriage, and whom he holds in great honour In the same way there are some persons in Īch and Multān, belonging to the Bukhārīa family, who in bodily and mental perfections are superior to His Holiness Hāji 'Abd-ul-wahāb, and among learned men Maulānā Fath-ul-lah and his pupil Maulānā 'Aziz-ul-lah have been produced out of the holy earth of Multān (And these great men are such) that if the entire country of Hindūstān were to pride itself on their account, it would not at all be doing what would be called absurd" When 'Imād-ul-mulk said words like this, the constriction of the heart of the Sultān was changed to expansion

AN ACCOUNT OF SULTĀN FIRŪZ

When Sultān Husain was overtaken by old age, he in his presence raised his eldest son, who had the name of Firūz Khān on the throne, and gave him the title of Firūz Shāh, and had the public prayers read in his name He then occupied himself with devotion and the worship of God The duties of the *vazārat* remained confirmed as before on 'Imād-ul-mulk Tawalak As Sultān Firūz Khān was inexperienced and the emotion of anger was strong in him and dominated over all his other emotions, and as liberality was also wanting in his nature, he

was always envious of ¹Balal son of Imad ul mulk who was adorned with wisdom and liberality and other accomplishments On one occasion he said to one of his slaves who was in his confidence Balal has been embezzling the *Badshahi* property and wants to create a disturbance and having got men to combine with him wants to usurp the throne It befits my state that before the disturbance begins I should take measures to crush it The misguided slave intending to murder Balal waited for an opportunity It so happened that one day Balal went out on a boating excursion and after the evening prayer was about to return to the city That slave jumped out of a biding place and shot an arrow in his breast it did not only lodge in the body but passed through it The innocent and helpless Balal surrendered his life to the Creator Imad ul mulk within a short time caused poison to be administered to Sultan Firuz and avenge the murder of his son in the best way When this calamity happened to the Sultan in his old age he surrendered his bridle of patience into the hands of groans and lamentations and wept with many sighs and exclamations of sorrow In order to guard his kingdom and avenge the murder of his son he had the public prayers again read in his own name and made Mahinud Khan the son of Sultan Firuz his heir and as before kept the affairs of the government in charge of Imad ul mulk and did not at all display any annoyance or pain After a few days he sent for Jam Bayazid into his private chamber and said You are my maternal uncle and you know the pain in my heart You should make such a plan that I should have my revenge of this faithless and ungrateful wretch Jam Bayazid accepted this work with much eagerness and obtained permission to leave At night he said to his erier or herald that he should proclaim in his ²army that his troops should appear in the morning fully armed and accoutred at the gate of the palace Early next morning

¹ The Cambridge History of India p 504 has Bil 1

Both MSS have حل بعثان سلم نمود but the lith ed and Firishah lith ed have حل بعثان اورن سلم نمود

² The readings in the MS and the lith ed of Firishah differ a little from each other and the meaning is somewhat doubtful but I think my translation conveys it fairly well In the text edition the clause کے سلطان اور ما سعائیں دعا مکد واحب طلبہ علی الصلاح is inserted between and

Jām Bāyazīd came to the gate of the palace with his men fully armed and ready (for any emergency) When the news reached the Sultān, he ordered 'Imād-ul-mulk to go and find out the exact facts of the preparations of Jām Bāyazīd's and his retainers When 'Imād-ul-mulk came before Jām Bāyazīd's troops they immediately seized him, and put him in chains Sultān Husain made over the duties of the *vazāiat* that very hour to Jām Bāyazīd, and added the duties of the guardianship of Maḥmūd Khān, son of Firūz Shāh, to those of the *vazāiat* After some days Sultān Husain passed away on account of bodily ailments His death took place on ¹Sunday, the 6th of the month of Safar in the year 980 A H, and according to another statement in 940 A H, and the period of his reign was thirty-four years, and according to another statement 30 years The writer of this history Nizām-ud-dīn Ahmad (may there be pardon for him!) submits, that in the accounts by the author of the *Tabaqāt-i-Bahādur Shāhī*, two or three errors have occurred in this matter One is that he has called Sultān Maḥmūd the son of Sultān Husain, and the other is that he has placed the accession of Sultān Firūz after that of Sultān Maḥmūd (As a matter of fact, Sultān Maḥmūd was the son of Sultān Firūz, and his accession took place after that of the latter) Another is that he has described Sultān Firūz as the brother of Sultān Maḥmūd, but in fact Sultān Maḥmūd was the son of Sultān Firūz, and his accession was after those of Sultān Firūz and Sultān Husain

AN ACCOUNT OF SULTĀN MAHMŪD, SON OF SULTĀN FIRŪZ

When Sultān Husain passed away on account of illness (*i.e.*, died a natural death), on the following day, which was ²Monday the 27th Safar, Jām Bāyazīd, in concert with the nobles and the great men and men of high birth, raised Maḥmūd Khān, in accordance with the directions of Sultān Husain, to the seat of authority, and arranged for his accession But as he was of immature years he associated

¹ One MS and the lith ed have Sunday the 26th Safar, 908 A H, the other has Saturday the 6th Safar 980 and, according to some, 904 This is incorrect Firishtah lith ed has Saturday the 26th Safar 908 Col Briggs (vol IV, p 391) follows Firishtah, but makes it Sunday instead of Saturday, and he gives 29th August, 1502, as the date according to the Christian era The Cambridge History of India (p 504) gives August 31st, 1502, as the date

² This is the date according to both MSS and the lith ed of Firishtah

himself with low people and collected common and vulgar people round him and his time was spent in jesting and buffoonery Owing to this great men and men of good lineage kept at a distance from him When people acquired an ascendancy over him they devoted all their energy to turn his mind against Jam Bayazid In order to gain their object they made ¹ wonderful plans Jam Bayazid on hearing of this did not come to Multan from the camp which he had established on the bank of the river Chanah at a distance of one *farsakh* from Multan and attended to the affairs of the State at that place and passed his time in pleasant amusements

While these things were happening one day he sent for the head men of some town in order to collect revenue from them and for other matters As some of the headmen showed some turbulence Jam Bayazid said Let the hair on the heads of these men be shaved off and let them be paraded round the city The slanderers went to Sultan Mahmud and told him that Jam Bayazid had commenced to punish and to insult even some of the servants of the Sultan that he does not present himself in the *Dewan* (or the royal court) and sends his son *Ālam Khan* It is advisable on the score of the Sultan's greatness that *Ālam Khan* should be insulted in the Sultan's *majlis* so that there might be a stain on the condition and dignity of the Jam and he be disgraced and degraded in the eyes of men

Ālam Khan was a young man of ability and was distinguished above the men of his rank for the elegance of his person and of his nature It so happened that he came one day to offer his respects to Sultan Mahmud He was totally unaware that the men who were envious of him had made a plan for humiliating him When he arrived in the presence of the Sultan one of the courtiers asked him

What fault had been committed by such and such headmen that Jam Bayazid should have had the hair of their heads shaved off and should otherwise have disgraced them It would be just that in return for that the hair of your head should be shaved off As such words had never before been used to *Ālam Khan* he protested and

¹ The words look like *لَعْنَة* in one MS in the other the adjective is omitted but the other word looks like *لَعْنَة* For *shtah* lith ed has the very simple word *لَعْنَة* In the text edition it is *لَعْنَة*

said, "What has come to you, man, that you use such language to me in the *majlis* of the Sultān ?" He had not yet finished his words when twelve men fell upon him from all sides, and the first thing they did to him was to take off the turban from his head, and then cuffed and kicked him with great violence. At this time 'Ālam Khān with great difficulty drew his dagger from the scabbard and lifted up his hand. By accident the point of the dagger struck the forehead of Sultān Mahmūd, who, standing at the head of the men who were wrestling together, was amusing himself, and he fell down on the ground groaning and lamenting and bleeding profusely from the wound. The men who had fallen upon 'Ālam Khān now kept their hands off him and turned to the Sultān. 'Ālam Khān, who had received many blows, fled bare-headed for fear of his life. When he reached the gate he found that it was locked, but exerting all his strength he broke the boards of the door and went out and taking a sash from one of his servants, bound it round his head, and proceeded on his way.

When he arrived in the presence of the Jām Bāyazīd and explained what had happened, the Jām said, "Oh my son, what you have done has become the cause of (our) shame in both the worlds, but as it is not possible to remedy it now, go to Shōr with all quickness, and send the whole of the army with all despatch, so that before Sultān Mahmūd should have collected all his troops, I may send all my men to Shōr." He sent 'Ālam Khān immediately to Shōr, and when his army arrived from there, he struck the drum for the march, and started for Shōr.

Sultān Mahmūd on hearing this news nominated some of the *amīrs* to pursue him. When the two armies approached each other, Jām Bāyazīd turned round, and took up a position and the war-like men belonging to the two armies went forward and fought bravely with each other. In the end, Jām Bāyazīd defeated the Sultān's army, and proceeded towards Shōr. When he arrived there, he had the public prayers read, and the coins struck, in the name of Sultān Sikandar, son of Bahlūl, and explaining all that had happened in a petition, sent it to him. The latter sent a *farmān* of encouragement, and a robe of honour to Jām Bāyazīd, and wrote another *farmān* to Daulat Khān Lūdī, who was the governor of the Punjāb to the effect, that "As Jām Bāyazīd has appealed to me for protection, and has read the public prayers in my name, it behoves you that you

should make yourself acquainted with all the circumstances and should not hold yourself excused from helping and assisting him and whenever he should be in need of any reinforcement you should go yourself to give it to him

After some days Sultan Mahmud collected all his army and advanced towards Shor Jam Bayazid and Alam Khan in concert with their men came out of Shor and met them at a distance of ten *karsahs* from that place and encamped with the river Ravi in front of him Jam Bayazid also sent a letter to Daulat Khan Lodi and notified him with what had happened No battle had yet taken place between the armies of Sultan Mahmud and Jam Bayazid when Daulat Khan came with the army of the Punjab to reinforce Jam Bayazid and sending men in whom he had confidence to wait on Sultan Mahmud began negotiations for an amicable settlement and in the end through his exertions a settlement was effected on the basis of the river Ravi being recognized as the boundary between the territories of the two parties and neither party transgressing it Daulat Khan Lodi then sent Sultan Mahmud to Multan and escorted Jam Bayazid to Shor and from there he went back to Lahore But in spite of the fact that a man like Daulat Khan Lodi had intervened to effect the peace it did not have any stability

About this time ¹ Mir Jakar Zand came to Multan from the direction of Sewi with his two sons Mir ² Ali Shahdad and Mir Shahdad Mir ³ Shahdad was the first man who promulgated the Shi'a religion in Multan As Malik Suhrab Dudai was held in great honour by the

¹ The name looks like میر جاکر زند Mir ? Jakar Zand or Zand in one MS and بزرگ دو ریز Bar Jakar Duzid in the other In the 1st ed of Iritshah the name looks like میر عمامہ کروبری Mir Imād Kurbārī Col Briggs (vol IV p 396) has Mir Jakur Zand and he says in a footnote that the name Jakur occurs among the early Sufi & Poets It is میر جاکر زند in the text edition

The name is سعی in both MSS It is سولی in the 1st ed of Iritshah and Solypoer in Col Briggs (vol IV p 396)

² The names are میر علی and میر علی دار میر سعید او میر سعید او in the two MSS Iritshah 1st ed has what looks like میر سعید او and میر سعید او Col Briggs (vol IV p 396) calls them Meer Sheheed and Meer Shahida

⁴ Iritshah takes exception to this statement of Nizam ud din and says that the latter does not say who Mir Imad was and whence he came etc

Lankāhs, Mīn Jākar Zand could not remain there, and sought an asylum with Jām Bāyazīd. As he was the head of a clan, Jām Bāyazīd received him with much honour, and bestowed on him and his sons a part of the territory which was in the *Khālsā* or crown land.

Jām Bāyazīd was a man of high moral character and of a generous disposition, and showed much kindness to learned men and was generous to the men of piety. They say that at the time of the hostility (between Sultān Māhmūd and himself), he sent gifts and arms to learned and pious men by boats from Shōr to Multān, and one after another many favours were shown by him to the great men of Multān. Many wise men leaving their birthplace took up their residence in Shōr, and he summoned a number of them with much eagerness. Among them he prayed His Holiness Maulānā ‘Azīz-ul-lah, who was a disciple of Maulānā Fath-ul-lah, with great solicitude to come to Shōr. When the latter arrived near Shōr, he met him with great respect, and bringing him with great honour into the city, took him with great courtesy to his own harem, and ordered his own servants that they should pour water over his hands, and he also directed that they should pour that water at the four corners of the house, for the sake of the good fortune which it would bring to it.

A wonderful story has been told of Shaikh Jalāl-ud-dīn Quraishī who was the *valīl* (minister) of Jām Bāyazīd, which, though it has no bearing on the subject matter (of this history), but, on account of its miraculous nature and to guard it from the evil of neglect, is being written down here with the pen of musk-like fragrant writing. They narrate that when His Holiness Maulānā ‘Azīz-ul-lah came to Shōr and was received with great respect and honour, greater than what the men of the age had expected, from Jām Bāyazīd and the latter took him into his own harem, and ordered the maid-servants to wait on him. Shaikh Jalāl-ud-dīn Quraishī sent a man to wait on the Maulānā with the message that the Jām Bāyazīd sends his prayers (for the Maulānā's well-being), and his object in ordering the maids to attend before him was this that as he had come unattended by any one, if he would notify whichever of them finds favour in his eyes, she would be sent to serve him. The Maulānā sent a verbal reply to the effect that "God forbid! that any man should cast an evil eye on the maids in the service of his friend, and besides the age and years of this *faqīr* do not agree with such an insinuation." When the servant

of Maulana Aziz ul lah went and gave the message to Jam Bayazid the latter said I have no knowledge whatever of such a message The Maulana was ashamed and said May the neck of the man who has done this thing be broken and without going to see the Jam he took his way to his own house and before the news could reach the Jam he had passed beyond the boundary of the latter's territory In the end it came to pass as had been said by the Maulana for when Shaikh Jalal ud din returned from the service of Sultan Sikandar and came to Shor one night his foot slipped when he was on the terrace (of his house) he fell on his head and his neck was broken

When His Majesty Firdus Makani Zahir ud din Bahar Badshah Ghazi took possession of the Punjab in the year 930 A H and marched towards Dehli he sent a *farmān* to Mirza Shah Husain Arghun the ruler of Thatta that he had bestowed Multan and the neighbouring territory on him Mirza Shah Husain Arghun crossed the river near the fort of Bhakkar and the blast of the wrath of the God began to blow and inundation of arrogance began to flow Sultan Mahmud on hearing this news trembled for fear and collected his troops and coming two stages out of the city of Multan sent Shaikh Baha ud din Quraishi who was the successor of the Shaikh ul Islam Shukh Baha ud din Zakariya may his soul be sanctified! as his ambassador to Mirza Shah Husain and he made Maulana Bahlul who in the beauty of his diction and in the expression of his meaning was far in advance of the age to be the assistant of Shaikh Baha ud din When the latter arrived in the camp of Mirza Shah Husain the latter treated them with courtesy and respect and after the former had performed his duties as ambassador Mirza Shah Husain said in reply My object in coming was to look after the training of Sultan Mahmud and for making a pilgrimage to the tomb of Shaikh Baha ud din Maulana Bahlul said What would happen if the training of Sultan Mahmud should he left to His Holiness the asylum of the Prophethood may the benediction of God be on him and on his descendants! for he has given him the necessary spiritual training and as to the second matter Shaikh Baha ud din has himself come to attend on you and what necessity is there for your taking further trouble in the matter When Shaikh Baha ud din came back to Sultan Mahmud the latter died the next night of an attack of colic The surmise of some men was that Langar Khan who was a slave of the dynasty had

administered poison to him His death took place in 931 A.H., and the period of his rule was twenty-seven years

AN ACCOUNT OF SULTĀN HUSAIN, SON OF SULTĀN MAHMŪD

When Sultān Mahmūd had passed away, Qawām Khān Lankāh and Langāi Khān, who were the commanders of Sultān Mahmūd's army, took the path of flight and joined Mīrzā Shāh Husain They received such favours as then hearts wished for, and brought the towns (appertaining) to Multān under the rule of the Mīrzā The rest of the *amīns* of the Lankāh tribe, being discomfited, returned to Multān There they gave Sultān Husain, son of Sultān Mahmūd, who had not yet passed the age of infancy, the title of Sultān Husain, and read the public prayers in his name Although they gave the name of Sultān to him, yet Shaikh Shujā'-ul-mulk Bukhārī, who was the son-in-law of Sultān Mahmūd, assumed the name of *vazir*, and took upon himself the administration of all matters of State He was, however, without any experience, and although they did not have provisions sufficient for even one month in the fort of Multān he decided on defending it Mīrzā Shāh Husain considering the death of Sultān Mahmūd the means of his conquering Multān gave the people of the city no time for preparation for defence, and galloped in, and laid siege to the fort When the siege had lasted for some days, the soldiers distressed by hunger, came to Shaikh Shujā'-ul-mulk,¹ who was the minister responsible for the ruin of the country of Multān, and said to him, "Our horses are yet fresh, and we find the strength of fighting in ourselves It is better, that having divided the troops, we should advance to the field of battle It may be that the breeze of victory and triumph would blow on us The other alternative is to guard the fort in the hope of reinforcement and help, but there is

¹ The readings are different One MS has که عمدہ دراے ولایت ارو بود, while the other has که عمدہ ولایت ملتان ار بیس او بود Firishtah in the corresponding passage has که عمدہ حراۓ ملک ار بیس او بود None of the readings is quite clear The word عمدہ, one of the meanings of which is a minister, is the stumbling block The reading of the first MS and of Firishtah may mean who was the minister who was responsible for the ruin of the country, and I have adopted this reading In the text edition the passage reads که عمدۂ حراۓ ولایت ملتان از بیس او بود

no such hope from any side Shaikh Shuja ul mulk gave them no reply at the interview but he summoned some of the trusted leaders to a private conference and said The rule of Sultan Husun has not yet acquired any strength or stability If we go out of the city with the determination to fight there is a very strong likelihood that most of the men would in the hope of obtaining favour from Mirza Shah Husun go to him and render him homage and the few who are bound by a sense of honour would stand firmly in that field of battle and would be slain

¹ It is related that Maulana Sa d ul lah Lihori who was one of the wise men of the age said I was at that time in the citadel of Multan When the siege had gone on for some months the troops of Mirza Husun shut up all the entrances and exits in such a way that no one could send any help to the garrison from outside and nobody going out of the fort could betake himself to a nook or corner of safety Gradually the subsistence and the life of the men in the garrison were reduced to such straits that if by accident a cat or a dog fell into their hands they devoured its flesh like that of a kid or lamb Shaikh Shuja ul mulk appointed a ² pugz of the name of Jada to be a commander of three thousand infantry men of the town and nominated him to be the defender of the fort That misguided man went to the house of any poor man who he imagined had any grain in his possession and without any enquiry plundered it Owing to these improper acts of his men raised their hands in prayer and according

¹ The MSS say here مولانا سعد اللہ لاہوری کے ارجامیں وہ بود صنگھری and then go on to say what he said had happened during the siege This cannot be correct as the siege was yet going on and the incidents mentioned by the Maulana had not yet happened I have accordingly substituted what is written in the lith ed of Firishtah in which what the Maulana had said has been recorded as a matter of tradition The name of the Maulana is Sa d ud din in the lith ed of Firishtah I have however retained the name of Sa d ul lah as that is also the name given by Col Briggs The text edition has followed the MSS

² There are some differences in the readings One MS calls the man حادہ نام باغی while the other has حادہ نام باغی instead of سرداری سرکار نادہ فضائی as in the other MS and in the lith ed of both the Tabaqat and the Firishtah

In the text edition it is حادہ نام باغی instead of سرداری سرکار نادہ فضائی

to the purport of the saying that any change is for the better though it may involve our loss, prayed for the ruin of Shujā'-ul-mulk. In the end ¹ men having considered them being slain easier, threw themselves from the ramparts into the ditch below, and Mīrzā Shāh Husain having become aware of the terrible distress of the men in the fort, stopped his men from slaying them. After this when the siege had been prolonged for a year and some months, one night towards morning the servants of the Mīrzā entered the fort, and stretching out the hand of rapine from the sleeve of oppression began to slay and devastate. The residents of the city from the age of seven to that of seventy years, who escaped the sword, were taken into slavery, and every one against whom there was a suspicion of his having any gold, suffered much insult and torture. This calamity occurred about the end of the year 932 A.D."

Maulānā Sa'd-ul-lah has narrated the following about himself, "When the citadel was taken by the Arghūns, a number of men entered our house, and at first a man seized my father, who bore the name of Maulānā Ibrāhīm Jāma', and who seated on the *masnad* or carpet of teaching had for five and sixty years given lessons in various branches of learning, and had towards the end of his life become blind, and began to treat him with insult and contumely. Others came in, and suspecting from the cleanliness of the house, and the elegance of the buildings that the inmates were wealthy people, one of them seized me as a captive. It so happened that that man took me as a present to the *vazīr* of the Mīrzā, and it also so happened, that the *vazīr* was seated at that time in the courtyard of a house on a wooden seat. He gave orders, in compliance with which the man put a chain on my feet and tied the end of it strongly to a leg of the *vazīr*'s seat. The tears were flowing freely from my eyes, and I was weeping chiefly on account of the condition of my father. After a little while the *vazīr* sent for a ² receptacle for pens, etc., and after mending his pen

¹ Firishtah explains that as everyone who attempted to go out by the gate was killed by the besiegers, the men in the garrison threw themselves from the ramparts.

² The word looks like *سچو* in one MS and in the lith. eds. of the Tabaqāt and Firishtah, but it is *نادلی* in the other MS. In the text-edition M. Hidayat Hosain has used the right word *سچو*, which is a synonym for *نادلی*.

wanted to write something. ¹ At that time it entered his mind that he should again perform his ablutions and then begin to write. He got up and went to a place for easing nature. As there was no one in the house I drew myself close to the seat and wrote down this couplet from the *Qasida Burda*. What has happened to your eyes that when I ask them to stop weeping they start weeping more vehemently than before? What is wrong with your heart that when I order it to be calm it gets more excited? on a piece of paper which the *ta'ir* had brought out for writing on. Then I dragged myself back ² to my own place and tears went on flowing from my eyes. After a little time when the *ta'ir* again sat down in his place and wanted to write something on the paper he saw that a couplet was written on it. He looked round on all sides of the place. As he saw no one there he turned to me and said Did you write this? I said Yes. Then he asked me about my circumstances. When I told him my father's name he got up and removed the chain from my feet and put his own dress on me and immediately mounting his horse went to the audience hall of the Mirza and placed me before the latter's eyes and spoke to him about my father. The Mirza gave orders and his men made a search for my father and brought him. It so happened that at the time when my father was brought into the Mirza's *majlis* in a wretched condition they were talking there about the *Hidayat-i-Fiqh* (a treatise on law). The Mirza ordered that a robe of honour should be bestowed on my father and another on me. My father in spite of the distress of his mind began an address and he stated the different heads of it in such a way that the people who were present became charmed and fascinated. The Mirza in that very *majlis* asked my father to undergo

¹ There are some differences in the readings. One MS has حضری نویسندہ دران حال سعاترس رسند کہ بعد د وصوع نمودہ نویسن بردارہ سعاترس رسند کہ بعد د وصوع نمودہ حضری نویسندہ while the 11th ed. of *Firzah* is slightly different from either of these I have adopted the reading in the first MS.

² The couplet is from the *Qasida* called *Al Burda* by Bu'ur

³ One MS has مقام حود نگوسمه while the other and the 11th ed. have حود مقام

the trouble of accompanying him, and he ordered his officers that whatever the Maulānā should have lost should be restored to him, and if the whole of it could not be found the price of that portion should be paid to him My father said to him in reply, 'The days of life have come to an end It is now time for my undertaking the journey to the other world and not of accompanying you', and ¹ in the end what my father had said, came to pass, for after two months he was united with the proximity of the mercy of God "

In short, when the citadel of Multān was captured, Mīrzā Shāh Husain made over Sultān Husain to the guards, and treated Shaikh Shujā'-ul-mulk Bukhārī with much contumacy, and extorted large sums of money from him, ² till he came to an end in this matter When the ruin and desolation of Multān reached a point, that no one could even think that it would again become populous and flourishing, the Mīrzā, considering the further administration of the affairs of Multān an easy matter, left a man of the name of Khwājah Shams-ud-dīn to guard it, and making Langar Khān his assistant returned towards Thathā Langar Khān having encouraged men from all places again restored Multān He combined with the people of the place and removed Khwājah Shams-ud-dīn ³ bodily and took independent possession of the place

When His Majesty Firdūs Makānī departed from the world, and the position of the Sultān of the great country of Hindūstān devolved on his Majesty Jinnat Āshīānī, the latter made over the country of the Punjāb to Mīrzā Kamrān as his *jāgīr* The latter sent some of his men and summoned Langar Khān to wait upon him When the latter arrived at Lāhōrē, and was honoured by being allowed to wait on Mīrzā Kamrān, the latter bestowed the territory of Bābal ⁴

¹ There are some differences in the readings One MS and the lith ed have احر اپچان شد کہ ندر گئنے دود و میلات کا اپچان شد The other MS has دود کے میلات کا اپچان شد I consider the latter the better reading and have adopted it, and this has been followed in the text edition

² The words are کار رفت تا در سر ایں, the meaning of which is not very clear

³ Here again as in several previous passages the word is حوا دار, the meaning of which I cannot find out

⁴ بایل خاں in the text-edition,

on him in exchange for Multan. He also appointed a place at the extreme end of the inhabited part of Lahore for the residence of Langar Khan. This place is now known as the *Dai rah* of Langar Khan and has become one of the residential areas of the city of Lahore. From this time Multan again came into the possession of the Sultans at Delhi. After the death of Mirza Kamran it descended to Sher Khan and from him to Salim Khan and from them to the agents and servants of His Majesty the Khalifa-i Ilahi as each of the e has been mentioned in its proper place.

A final statement — In a description of the countries ruled over by the servants of His Majesty let it not remain concealed that the length of the country which is to day in the possession of this powerful State from Hindu Koh on the borders of Badakhshan to the country of Orissa which on the further side of Bengal from the west to the east is ¹ one thousand and two hundred Akbar Shahi *karohs* by the *Ilahi* yard measure which is equal to one thousand six hundred and eighty *karohs Shara* and its breadth from Kashmir to the ² hills of Bardah which are at the extreme limit of the country of Sorath and Gujrat is eight hundred *karohs Ilahi* another breadth from the Kumayun hills to the boundary of the country of Deccan is one thousand *karohs Ilahi*. The whole of this land is fit for cultivation. In each *karoh* there is a certain number of inhabited and cultivated villages. At present there are three thousand and two hundred towns and one or two or ³ five hundred or a thousand villages appertaining to each of these towns. The produce of this country is to day ⁴ six hundred and forty *krons* of *muradi tankas*. Out of these there are one hundred and twenty great cities which are now well populated and flourishing. As the particulars of the towns cannot be

¹ One MS omits the length by the Akbar Shahi *karoh* and gives it only by the *Shara* *karoh*.

One MS has کوڑہ بیڑہ the other has کوڑہ بیڑہ while the lith ed has کوڑہ بیڑہ. The text edit on has adopted the reading کوڑہ بیڑہ

³ The lith ed ends abruptly at *نادھد* five hundred only.

⁴ One MS gives the produce at سندھ ہزار و چھار اکب و چھل کروڑ دیگہ while the other has سندھ ہزار و چھار اکب و چھل کروڑ دیگہ I cannot make out what means

contained in this brief account the particulars of the city will be given and ¹ will be written in alphabetical order, if the Great God so wills

¹ The sentence as given in the text is what it is in one MS. In the other MS instead of it has حواهد شد instead of اکبر شاهی کتاب تواریخ, and then and after that ملک الوفا عز ام، which may be translated 'Finish Here is finished the history book Tabaqāt i-Akbār Shāhī, by the help of the Lord of all gifts, may His name be honoured!'

(END)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ABDUL HAKIIM—*The Riyaz-i-Salatin of Chulam-i-Husain Salim* Persian text (Calcutta 1890-1898)
- ABDUL WALI—*The Bahman Dynasty* *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Bengal (N.S.)* V p. 463 (1910)
- ABDUL WALI—*The Spelling of Babur's Name* *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Bengal (N.S.)* XLIV pp. 453-455, 1910
- ABDUS SALAM—*Risālah-i-Salafīn—A History of Bengal by Chulam-i-Husain Salim* English translation (Calcutta 1902-04)
- ABŪ TURĀB WALI (Mir)—*A History of Gujarat* Edited with introduction and notes by F. Dennison Ross (Calcutta 1909)
- AHMAD ALI and ABDU'R RABIM—*Alhamra* by Abu'l Fadl Allami Persian text (Calcutta 1873-86)
- BAYLEY E. C.—*History of Gujarat* (The Local Muhammadan Dynastic) (London 1880)
- BEALE THOS WILLIAM—*Oriental Biographical Dictionary* (Calcutta 1881)
- BEVERIDGE A. S.—*The Babur-nama in English (Memoirs of Babur)* Vols I and II (London 191-1)
- BHATTASALI N. K.—*Coinage and Chronology of the Early Independent Sultans of Bengal* pp. i-vii 1-184 (Dacca Cambridge 191-)
- BLOCHMAN H.—Contributions to the Geography and History of Bengal (Muhammadan Period) *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Bengal* XLII pt. 1 pp. 99-310 (1873)
- BROOKE J.—*History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India till the year A.D. 1619* Translated from the original Persian of Mahomed Kasun Ferishta Vols I-IV (London 1819)
- BROCKELMANN CARL—*Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur* Vol. 1 (Worms 1898)
- CODRINGTON O.—*Coinage of the Bahman Dynasty* *Numismatic Chronicle* 3rd Ser. Vol. XVIII
- DAMES MANSEL LONGWORTH—*The Book of Duarte Barbosa* Vols. 1 and 2 *Hist. Soc.* 1918 191
- DE B.—*Tabaqat-i-Akbari* by Khwajah Nizamuddin Ahmad Persian text Vols I-II (Calcutta 1913-7 1931) English translation Vols I-II (1927 1936)
- DE B. and M. HIDAYAT HOSAIN—*Tabaqat-i-Akbari* by Khwajah Nizamuddin Ahmad Persian text Vol III (Calcutta 1935)
- DUFF JAMES GRANT—*A History of the Mahrattas* (London 1873 Calcutta 191)
- ELPHINSTONE M.—*The History of India—The Hindu and Mahometan Periods* 7th edition with notes and additons by F. B. Covell (London 1889)
- ELIAS N. and ROSS E. D.—*The Tarikh-i-Rashidi—A History of the Moghuls of Central Asia* (London 1895)
- ELLIOT H. M.—*History of India as told by its historians* Edited by John Dowson 8 vols (London 1867-77)

- FORBES, A K—*Rās Mālā*, or Hindoo Annals of the Province of Gooerat in Western India, 2 vols (London, 1856)
- HAIG, T W—The Chronology and the Genealogy of the Muhammadian Kings of Kashmīr *Journ Roy Asiat Soc*, pp 451–468 and a tablo (1918)
- HAIG T W—Some Notes on the Bahmanī Dynasty *Journ Asiat Soc Bengal*, 1904, Part 1, Extra No., pp 1–15
- HAIG, T W—The Muntakhab al-Lubāb of Khāṣī Khān Persian text, Vol III (Calcutta, 1925)
- HAIG, WOLSTENHOLME (SIR)—*The Cambridge History of India*, Vol III, Turks and Afghans (Cambridge, 1928)
- ILĀHDĀD, M—Zafar-nāma by Sharafu'd-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī Persian text (Calcutta, 1885–88)
- The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol XII, Emīr to Gwahor (Oxford 1908)
- The Imperial Gazetteer of India* Vol XXII, Samadhuāla to Singhāna (Oxford, 1908)
- JARRETT, H S—*The Āīn-i-Albāī*, by Abul Fazal-Allāmī Translation, Vol III (Calcutta, 1891)
- KHWĀJAH NIZAMUDDIN AHMAD—*Tabaqāt-i-Albāī* Persian text Lithograph edition, Nowal Kishore Press (Lucknow, 1875)
- KING, MAJOR J S—History of the Bahmanī Dynasty *Ind Antiquary*, 1899
- LANE-POOLE, S—Tho Mohamadan Dynasties—Chronological and Genealogical tables with historical introductions (London, 1925)
- LEES, W N, KABIRU'D-DĪN AHMAD and AHMAD 'ALI—Muntakhab al-tawārīkh by 'Abdu'l-Qādir Badāunī Persian text (Calcutta, 1864–69)
- LEES, W N, S AHMAD KHĀN and KABIR AL DIN—Tūrīkh-i Feroz shāhī by Ziaa al-Dīn Barnī Persian text (Calcutta, 1860–62)
- MÄHLER, E—Wustenfeld-Mahler'scho Vergleichungs Tabellen der mohammedanischon und Christlichen Zeitrechnung (Leipzig, 1926)
- MULL, SIR WILLIAM—Annals of the Early Caliphate from original sources (London, 1883)
- The Rāja Tarangīni*, A History of Cashmīr, consisting of four separate compilations —
- (i) Tho Rāja Tarangīni, by Kalhana Pandita, 1148 A D ,
 - (ii) Rājāvali, by Jona Rāja (dōsoturo), to 1412 A D ,
 - (iii) Continuation of Same, by Srivara Pandita, 1477 A D ,
 - (iv) Tho Rājāvali Pātaka, by Prajya Bhatta, brought np to tho conquest of the valloy by the Emperor Akber (Calcutta, 1835)
- RAVERTY, H G—Tho Mīhrān of Sind and its tributarics, a Geographical and Historical Study *Journ Asiat Soc Bengal*, LXI, pt 1, pp 155–508, 9 plates (1892–93)
- RODGERS, C J—Tho square silver coins of tho Sultāns of Kashmīr *Journ Asiat Soc Bengal*, LIV, pt 1, pp 92–139, 3 pls (1885)
- SCOTT, J—*History of Deccan* (London, 1794)
- SEWELL, R—A Forgotten Empire (Vijayanagar) (London, 1900)
- SEWELL, ROBERT and DIKSIT, S B—Indian Calendar (London, 1896)
- STEIN, SIR AUREL—Kalhana's Rājatarangīni, Vols I, II (Westminster, 1900)
- STEWART, C—*The History of Bengal* (London 1813)

- Tarikh Firozshah* Persian text Lithograph edition Newal ki horo Press
Vols I II (Lucknow 1894)
- THOMAS G.—The chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi (London 1871)
- TODD J.—Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan of the Central and Western
Rajpoot States Vols I II Second edition (Calcutta 1871-1879)
- VILAYAT HUSSAIN—*Tarikh-i Firozshahi* by Shams-i Siraj Afif (Persian text)
(Calcutta 1888-91)

INDEX
TO THE
THIRD VOLUME
OF THE
TABAQĀT I AKBARI

[The numbers refer to the pages *n* or note means footnotes Names which occur more than once on a page are entered only once in the Index Sanskrit names are not separately indexed]

The index is divided into two parts

I PERSONS II GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES]

I PERSONS

A

Abdal Bhat his advice to Yusuf Khan p 753
Abdal Khan his promise to Husain Khan p 740 a message from Yusuf Khan p 75^o was attacked by Yusuf Khan and slain p 753
Abdal Mahri son of Ibrahim Makri p 693 his support of Iskandar Khan p 694 was honoured and reinforced by Babar p 696 his advance towards Kashmir and message to Malik Kaji p 697 became *tazir* of Nazuk Shah p 698 his share in the division of Kāhmir p 699 defeated Malik Kaji p 700 showed friendship towards Malik Kaji p 701 his defeat by the Kashgharis and flight p 702 his fight with the Kashgharis p 703 disagreement with Malik Kaji p 705 created disturbance in Kamraj p 706 sent a petition to Humayun p 707 joined Mirza Haidar and his death p 708

Abd ul haq Shaikh p 621
Abd ul lah Malik reported about the treachery of the conspirators to Mahmud Shah and was asked to bring elephants to the *darbar* pp 230 40
Abd ul lah Mulla Pakhi was given to him by Mirza Haidar p 712 he was slain by the rebels p 715
Abd ul lah Shah p 791
Abd ul lah Jangal Shaikhi his tomb visited by Muzaffar Shah he was called *Pandey Brij* in the time of Raja Bhoj p 299
Abd ul mulki Malik attained martyrdom p 296
Abd ul mulki Sayyid Khan brought the family of Haibat Khan to Islam Khan p 713
Abd ul qadir Khwajah teacher of Mulla Ud in music p 657
Abd ul qadir Shahzada see Nair ud din Sultan Sultan of Malwa
Abd ul wahab Haj p 798

'Abd-ur Rahmān, Mīrzā, joined Mīrzā Haidar, p 716, direction of Mīrzā Haidar about him, p 717, his release, p 722
 'Abd-ur-Rahmān Jāmī, Maulānā, 108
 'Abd Zīnā, wanted to take away Yūsuf Khān, p 683, released Muhammad Shāh, p 690
 Abū-ul Fath, Hakīm, p 628
 Abul Khair, Shāh, was left in Karnāl by Ahmad Shāh to collect tribute, p 196, was sent with Shāhzāda Muhammad Khān by Ahmad Shāh, p 213
 Abu-ul-ma'ālī, Shāh, his arrival and advance towards Kashmīr, p 734, his defeat by the Kashmīris, p 735
 Abū Sa'īd, Mīrzā, sent an ambassador to Mahmūd Khaljī, p 541
 Abū Sa'īd, Sultān, his presents to Sultān Zain-ul-'ābidīn, p 659
 Abū Tmāb, Mū, was enlisted in the band of the loyal servants of Khalifa-i-Ilāhī, p 413
 Ādam Kakhai, requested Mīrzā Haidar to pardon the offences of Danlat Chak, p 712
 Ādam Khān, son of Sultān Zain-ul-'ābidīn, his conquest, p 663, pursued Hājī Khān, p 664, his rule, p 665, his revolt, p 666, his attack and defeat, p 667, went to Nīlāb, p 668, saw his father, went to Qutb-ud-dīnpūr, p 670, came to pay a visit to his father and retired to Hindūstān, p 671, his fight, p 672, fought against Mughals and died, p 674
 Ādam Silāhdār, was killed by Bahā'-ul-mulk son of Alf Khān, p 247
 Add-ul-mulk, imprisoned Dāūd Khān, p 219, was sent by Mahmūd Shāh to meet Rāy Batāī, p 272, was sent to Mahrāsa to stop Bahādur Shāh, p 331, fled from Barōda, p 335, joined Latif Khān, p 337, fled from the battlefield, p 341.

Adham Khān, was sent to conquer Mālwa by Akbar, p 631
 'Ādil Khān, commanded an army to reinforce Kājī Chak, p 708
 'Ādil Khān, Governor of Asīr, nephew of Sultān Bahādur, sent a letter to Sultān Bahādur, p 344
 'Ādil Khān, ruler of Asīr and Burhānpūr, his name was Mahk Nasīr Rāja, his rebellion and return to his country on hearing the advance of Zufar Khān, p 178, on the arrival of Ahmad Shāh he fled to Asīr, p 197
 'Ādil Khān, son of 'Ādil Khān Sawāī, helped Mahk Barīd in acquiring the *Sultanat* from Sultān 'Āla ud-dīn, p 133
 'Ādil Khān, son of Hasan Khān, his request to Mahmūd Shāh which was accepted, p 282, was given the title of Ā'zam Humāyūn and entrusted the government of Asīr and Burhānpūr, p 284, summoned Hisām-ud-dīn, received Hisām-ud-dīn, honoured Hisām-ud-dīn with favour and permitted him to go to his camp, arranged for the murder of Hisām-ud-dīn, summoned Hisām-ud-dīn to fulfil his plan, p 286 possessed the country of his enemy sent a petition to Mahmūd Shāh with a description of the hostility of Shēr Khān and Saif Khān and the measures which were adopted to defeat the enemy, p 287, determined to invade Kālna, permitted the *amīrs* of Gujrāt to go back and returned to Burhānpūr, p 289
 'Ādil Khān, son of Mahk Nizām-ul-mulk Turk, slew the governor of the fort of Kehrīla, went with the dead body of his father to render homage to Muhammad Shāh, p 96, the fief of his father was confirmed on him by Muhammad Shāh, p 97,

besieged the fort of Birakar forgave Jay Singh Ray the territory of Jay Singh Ray was conferred on him by Muhammad Shah p 166 killed Farhad ul mulk and Malik Qiyum ul mulk shut up the Turki *amirs* in their houses and murdered them one by one p 112 informed Sultan Shahab ud din how he had dispersed the rebels p 112 defeated the rebels and requested Mahmud Shah to pardon the offences of Dastur ul mulk p 116 attacked Ram Raj of Bijanagar p 141

Adil Khan son of Hub rak Khan ruler of Agra and Burhanpur p 283 Adil Khan Karuqi ruler of Agra and Burhanpur hearing of the advance of Mahmud Shah paid him tribute and prayed to be excused p 81 joined Muzaffar Shah was sent by Muzaffar Shah to attack Rana Sankat p 304

Adil Khan's list of Sultans p 7 Adil Muhammad was sent by Akbar to conquer Malwa p 631 Idwan Raja his representative p 634 his order to the sons of Shah Mir p 635

Afzal Khan refused the offer of Burhan and was killed by him p 300 Afzal Khan Majlis Karim took a message to Mahmud Shah p 577 was given a title and sent to put down Mukhtaq Khan and Iqbal Khan p 586 joined Sabir Khan p 583 joined Mahmud Shah p 584 was slain by the order of Mahmud Shah p 587

Ahmad son of Ni'am ul mulk Bahri his ambition his hostilities p 136 his access on declared independence period of reign p 137

Ahmad Mahk son of Sharif Mahk revolted against Ahmad Shah p 194

Ahmad Sa'yd was summoned by Mahmud Khan p 50 Ahmad Sultan of Bengal p 433 succeeded his father died period of reign p 434 (and n 1 p 433) Alunad Sultan of Ceyrat p 391 his name was Ra'il ul mulk *amir* gave him the title of Ahmad Shah he was placed on the throne by Timad Khan who acted as Sultan and kept the (boy) Sultan under confinement went to Sayyid Mubarak Bushra fought with Timad Khan and was defeated p 290 wandered in the jungle saw Timad in his confinement attack of Imad ul mulk on Timad Khan which ended in peace was murdered period of his reign p 306

Ahmad Nawad placed Sulayman Hasan on the throne bestowed title of Sultan Hasan on him p 676 opposed his retirement towards India p 6 in the post of marr p 679 enmity of Mahi Zarif Bhat p 686 was imprisoned and died there p 681

Ahmad Ayaz Malik Muqarrab was summoned by Ahmad Shah and given the task of commanding the Tarapur battery p 268 asked permission of Ahmad Shah to attack the enemy p 267 asked Her Ray to pay tribute p 212 was sent with Shihzada Muhammad Khan by Alunad Shah for an enquiry p 213 fought with Qadr Khan and defeated him p 214

Ahmed Aziz Khan went to Badr Ala by the order of Ahmad Shah p 193

Ahmad Jauria was entrusted with the duty of capturing Bahram p 733 took Bahram to Srinagar received a title p 734

Ahmad Kanbū, Shaikh, Ahmad Shāh took advice of him, p 191

Ahmad Khān, was sent by Mahmūd Khaljī to crush Rāyzāda of Kehrla, p 540

Ahmad Khān, son of Ghazī Khān, was sent to conquer Tibet, p 738, his fight with the Tibetans, p 739, his promise to Husain Khān, p 740, defeated Sankar Chak, his plans against Husain Khān, p 741, his imprisonment, p 742, was blinded, p 744

Ahmad Khān, Shāhzāda, son of Hūshang Shāh, was pardoned by Mahmūd Khaljī, was confined in the fort of Islāmābād by Mahmūd Khaljī, his rebellion, confronted Tāj Khān, p 499, refused to act according to the precepts of Ā'zam Humāvūn, was poisoned and died, p 500

Ahmad Khattū, Shaikh, pp 242, 290, 292

Ahmad Sarkējī, Malik, revolted against Ahmad Shāh, p 194

Ahmad Shāh, son of Mahmūd Shāh, was placed on the throne by Malik Barīd, the name of bādshāh was nominally added to his name, the amīrs lived independently in his reign, p 132, period of his reign and death, p 133

Ahmad Shāh, son of Tātāi Khān, to Sultān Muhammad Shāh, Sultān of Gujrāt, sent the army which was summoned by Firuz Shāh, p 43, sent a *farmān* to Shāhzāda Zafar Khān to help the Musalmān Rāys of Mahāim, p 50, sent a message to Sultān Ahmad Bahmanī to leave the fort of Tanbūl, p 54, was sent to recover Mālwa by Muzaffar Shāh, made the country of Dhār over to Sultān Hūshang, p 187, was placed on the throne

by Muzaffar Shāh, and given the title of Nāṣir ud-dīn Ahmad Shāh, p 188, accession to the throne, favours for the people, Firuz Khān became envious of his greatness, conferred the post of *rāzīr* on Jīvan Dās Khattrī, rebellion of Firuz Khān, p 189, advanced towards Bahrōj, satisfied the rebels by sending a message to them, hearing the advance of Sultān Hūshang marched to the village of Wantaj, Bhikam Ādam Khān Afghān, p 190, met Ahmad Shāh, sent 'Imād-ul-mulk in advance to engage Sultān Hūshang, Hūshang went back in shame, taking the advice of Shaikh Ahmad Kanbū founded the city of Ahmadābād, various material foundations in Ahmadābād, p 191, second rebellion of Firuz Khān and Haibat Khān, arrived in the town of Wantaj to destroy the rebels, sent Fath Khān in advance, Fath Khān joined Sayyid Ibrāhīm Nizām the *Jagīrdāī* of the town of Mahāsa, advanced towards Mahrāsa, on arrival in the vicinity of Mahrāsa sent a message to Badr 'Alā and Rukn Khān which was not responded to, sent another message to Badr 'Alā and Rukn Khān p 192, Badr 'Alā and Rukn Khān replied to the message stating that they would withdraw the idea of enmity when Nizām-ul-mulk, Malik Ahmad 'Azīz, Malik Sa'īd-ul-mulk, and Saif Khwājah would come and give them assurance of safety, ordered the above-mentioned amīrs to proceed to the fort of Mahrāsa, Badr 'Alā and Rukn Khān had Malik Nizām-ul-mulk and Malik Sa'īd-ul-mulk seized and imprisoned in the fort, hearing the

treachery of the enemies attacked the fort defeated the rebels Firuz Khan and the Raja p 103 of Idar fled Ranmal seized the treasure of Firuz Khan and sent it to the Sultan returned victorious to Ahmadabad p 104 sent Laij Khan with Malik Nizam ul mulk to punish Malik Shahi Shahi advanced to crush Sultan Huhang sent Malik Imad ul mulk Samargandi to fight with Sultan Huhang from Bandhu on the retirement of Sultan Hushang Shahi Malik attacked Laij Khan Shahi Malik could not do at the Shahzada and fled to the Zaindar of Karnal thanked God and granted gifts to the people of Ahmadabad p 105 attacked and subjugated the Raja of Karnal appointed Shahi Alul Ghair and Sayyid Qasim as tribute collectors of Karnal returned to his capital marched towards Nadar to stop Adil Khan sent an army to capture the fort of Tambol p 106 flight of Adil Khan victory of the fort of Tambol arrived in the vicinity of Mahrasa after repreaching the Zaindars Sultan Hushang returned to his own country p 107 nominated Mahmud Khan p 108 to recover tribute from the Zamindars of Somth sent Malik Mahmud Barki and Mukhlis ul mulk to punish Nasir Nasir prayed for pardon of his offences forgave Nasir with favour advanced to conquer Malwa left Nizam ul mulk as the regent of the kingdom during his absence and to punish the Raja of Mandvi p 109 war betw the troops of Sultan Hushang and Ahmad Shah pp 109-201 besieged the hill of Champanir a petition of the Raja of Champanir p 01 to the Sultan

and its a ceptice conquered Sonkara start i towards Manlu puni he i the inhabitants of the hill of Kantu Maulan i Musa and Ali Hundi coming from Sultan Hushang p 02 prayed the Sultan not to oppress the Muslim of Malwa sent an affectionate letter to Sultan Hushang went back to Ahmadabad laid the foundation of a fort at Jinur built a line of fortification round the town of Dholmod p 03 exorted a tribute from Chittor and advanced toward Sonkara and laid there the foundations of Jami masjid p 04 hearing of the disappearance of Sultan Hushang marched towards Manlu besieged Manlu encamped at the foot of the fort of Manlu march i toward Ujjain the division of the country among his forces Sultan Huhang entered the fort of Manlu p 05 went from Ujjain to Manlu and sat down in front of the Dholi gate sent a ferris to Ahmadabad to summon Malik Ahmad Ali alvane i to Sarangpur Sultan Hushang submitted to him and agreed to pay tribute the sudden attack of Sultan Huhang on the Sultan's camp p 06 destruction caused by the attack of Sultan Huhang victory of the Sultan flight of Sultan Huhang with his army to Sarangpur pp 07-08 started for Gujarat d f at d Sultan Hushang outside the fort of Sa rangpur advanced in the direction of Ahmadabad p 09 lived for three year in Ahmedabad for regulating the administration of his kingdom sent an army to attack Punja advanced into Idar on the bank of Hirni laid the foundation of a fort p 200 Punja till

his death, fought with the troops of Sultān, pp 210-211, advanced to Idā, Har Rāy, the son of Pūnjā, begged for the pardon of his offences, so gave Har Rāy, p 211, conferred the title of Ṣafdar-ul mulk on Mahk Hasan, plundered Kilwāra, went to Ahmadābād, p 212, Rāja Kānhā brought a force from Sultān Ahmad Bahmanī and ravaged parts of Nadābā Shāhzāda Muhammad Khān fought a battle with the Dakhni troops and gained the victory, p 213, Shāhzāda Muhammad Khān fought with Sultān 'Alā-ud-din of Deccan and became victorious, pp 213-214, on the petition of Qutb, the officer in charge of the island of Mahāim sent Shāhzāda Zafar Khān to destroy Mahk-ut-tujjār, one of the *amirs* of Sultān Ahmad Bahmanī, Zafar Khān defeated Mahk-ut-tujjār, pp 215-216, Zafar Khān took possession of Mahāim and divided it among the *amirs*, Sultān Ahmad Bahmanī marched against the country of Baglāna, postponed the siege of Chāmpānīr, advanced towards Nādōt, after plundering Nādōt encamped in the vicinity of Nadarbār, Sultān Ahmad Bahmanī, on the arrival of the Sultān, had left a detachment on the boundary of his kingdom and had gone back to Gulbarga, turned back towards Ahmadābād, crossed the Tāptī after successive marches, p 217, Sultān Ahmad Bahmanī besieged the fort of Tambōl, advanced towards Tambōl, encouragement and assurance of reward by Sultān Ahmad Bahmanī to his soldiers, advanced towards him, Sultān Ahmad Bahmanī started to meet him, a conflict between Sultān Ahmad Bahmanī,

p 218, Sultān Ahmad Bahmanī took the path of flight, entered the fort of Tambōl, started towards Tālnīr, gave directions to Mahk Tāj-ud-din and conferred a title on him, returned to Ahmadābād, marriage of Shāhzāda Fath Khān, the story of the siege of the fort of Tambōl, p 219, invasion of the Deccan, advanced to conquer the countries of Mewār and Nāgōr, encamped in the town of Dūngarpūr and Ganēsā, Rāja of Dūngarpūr and Ganēsā paid tribute to the Sultān, ravaged the country of Kilwāra, invaded Dīlwāra, raised to the ground the palaces of Rānā Mūkul, p 220, left Malik Mīr Sultānī for collecting Khirāj, turned to Rāthōrs, Rāthōr chiefs behaved with loyalty, Firūz Khān offered tribute, gave back the tribute, returned to Ahmadābād, p 221, advanced and took possession of the greater part of Mālwa, intention to place Shāhzāda Masa'ūd Khān on the throne of his ancestors, plague attacked the army and made him return to Gujrāt, gave hopes of help to Masa'ūd Khān, date of his death, p 222, period of his reign, place of his tomb, title after his death, p 223, was sent by Sultān Muzaffar to help Sultān Hūshang, p 470

Ahmad Shāh Bahmanī, Sultān, with Firūz Shāh succeeded in regaining the hereditary dominion from Sultān Shams-ud-din, p 27, he performed feats of valour when Sultān Firūz Shāh was fighting with Deo Rāy, p 34, prophecy of Sayyid Muhammad Gisūdarāz about his sovereignty, p 38, attempt by the adherents of Firūz Shāh to seize him, Firūz Shāh attempted but could

not crush him p 40 he was declared by Firuz Shah to be the heir of his throne p 41 (and see note 3 p 40) succeeded rather assumed the title of Sultan Ahmad Shah Bahmani entrusted the care of the government to the hands of Shir Malik p 4 being aware of the insult of Nasir ud din awarded mortal punishment to Shir Malik returned the army of Sultan Ahmad Gurjati p 43 advanced towards Bijapur p 44 commenced to ravage Bijapur Deo Ray sent gifts and asked pardon for his offences forgave Deo Ray sent a friendly farman to Deo Ray came back to the capital granted promotions to the others allowed the amirs to return to their cities sent a proposal to Nasir Khan of Asir for the marriage of his son Ala ud din welcome the guests of Asir p 4 summoned the Qazis and the great men of the city arranged the marriage assembly sent back the sons and the adherents of Nasir Khan advanced towards Tilang p 46 certain forts were re occupied took tribute from the Kalantars and returned to Gulbarga advanced to punish the Ray of Mahur defeated the Ray and took possession of every thing belonging to him p 47 appointed Shahzada Ala ud din to be the heir apparent and made Muhammad Khan over to him conferred the country of Mahur with its dependencies on Shahzada Mahmud Khan gave the fort of Raipur with its surroundings to Daud Khan p 48 appointed Khalif Hasan Arab entitled Malik ut tujj r to conquer the island of Mahaim p 49 the Musalman Rays of Mahaim went to ask help from

the Sultan of Gujrāt sent Shahzada Ala ud din to reinforce Malik ut tujj r p 50 marched towards the territories of Nar Singh Ray which was invaded by Sultan Jit singh besieged the fort of Kehra after defeating Sultan Hulhang arrived in the city of Bidar p 51 selected the city of Bidar for his capital laid the foundation brick of the fort planned a grand mosque near the palace p 52 marched to capture the fort of Tanjil Sultan of Gujurat sent a message to have the fort of Tanjil in the possession of its owner withdrew his forces from the fort p 53 went to Gulbarga became ill gave counsel and directions to Shahzada Ala ud din p 54 his death period of reign p 56 (and see note 1 page 56) sent Sultan Ala ud din and Daud Khan to fight with Shahzada Muhammad p 57 despatched forces to strengthen Malik ut tujj r p 58 marched against the country of Baglana hearing the arrival of Sultan Ahmad Gurjati went back to Gulbarga p 59 besieged the fort of Tamboli encouraged his soldiers to fight the army of Gujrāt fought the army of Gujrāt p 60 was defeated and fled from Tamboli p 61 rejected the request of Sultan Ahmad Gurjati was defeated and destroyed by Sultan Ahmad Gurjati p 62 Ahmad Shah Malik was sent to reconnoitro the roads p 63 Amana p 140 An ud din Malik one of the adherents of Mahmud Shah p 239 was given a title of Nizam ul mulk by Mahmud Shah p 24

- 'Aīn-ul-mulk, Mahmūd Shāh sent him to take charge of the fort of Panāla and its neighbourhood, p 123, from Panāla he was sent to the island of Goa for its possession, came back, and presented Malik Sa'īd to the Sultān, properties and territories of Bahādur Gilānī were conferred on him, p. 126
- 'Aīn-ul-mulk, joined Nāsir Shāh, p 567
- 'Aīn-ul-mulk, Hakīm, came to 'Alī 'Ādil Khān from Khalīfa'-i-Ilāhī, p 163
- 'Aīn-ul-mulk, Malik, waited on Mu-zaffar Shāh, attacked the town of Mahrāsa, fight against the Rāja of Idar, took the path of flight, p 296, was given money by Mu-zaffar Shāh, p 297
- 'Ajab Dēō, Rāja of Jammū, reinforced Malik Yārī Bhat, p 680
- Ajhī, Malik released Muhammad Shāh, his rank in the court of Fath Shāh, his ability, p 690, was put to death by the sons of Ibrāhīm, p 691
- 'Alām, Shāh, p 327
- 'Alām, Sultān, ruler of Kālpī, complained to Sultān Bahādur against the cruelty of the army of Jinnat Āshiānī, p 367, reinforced the army of Gujrāt, p 373, was hamstrung by the order of Humāyūn Bādshāh, p 375
- 'Alām Kālpīwāl, Sultān, was appointed to govern Rāisīn by Sultān Bahādur, p 616
- 'Alām Khān, defeated Sankar Chak, p 742
- 'Alām Khān, son of Jām Bāyazīd, an account of his insult in the court of Sultān Mahmūd, p 801, wounded Sultān Mahmūd, his flight to his father, went to Shōr, p 802
- 'Alām Khān, son of Sultān Sikandar Lūdī Bādshāh of Dehli, his repre-sentation to Muzaffar Shāh about the cruelty of Sultān Ibrāhīm, p 319
- 'Alām Khān, Khānzāda, the father of Nasīr Khān of Asīr, p 57, was placed on the throne of Asīr and Burhānpūr by Malik Hisām-ud-dīn Maghūl, p 283, advanced towards Burhānpūr, p 284
- 'Alām Khān Lūdī, struggle with Daryā Khān, p 387, defeated Daryā Khān and took up the post of *vazīrat*, p 388, fled to Shēr Khān, p 389, joined Sultān Ahmad, p 395
- 'Alām Shāh, Malik, surrendered his *thāna* to Mahmūd Shāh, p 284, was given the title of Qutb Khān, and was sent in attendance on A'zam Humāyūn, p 285
- 'Alam-ul-mulk, shut himself in Dau-latābād, Hasan gave safe conduct to him, p 8
- 'Alā-ud dīn Shaikhzāda, was sent with presents to Mirzā Abū Sa'īd by Mahmūd Khaljī, p 541
- 'Alā'-ud-dīn, Sultān of Bangāla met Mukhlīs in battle and slew him, assumed the title of Sultān 'Alā'-ud-dīn, attacked Sultān Fakhr-ud-dīn and put him to death, succeeded Sultān Fakhr-ud dīn, left a *thāna* at Lakhnautī, advanced towards Bangāla, p 420 (and notes 1-2, p 420), was slain by Malik Hājī Iliyās 'Alāī, period of reign, p 421
- 'Alā-ud-dīn, Sultān of Bangāla, succeeded Muzaffar Shāh Habshī, showed favours to the *amīrs*, p 442 (and note 2, p 442), raised his special servants to high ranks, removed the *pāls*, summoned learned men, made efforts for enriching the country, allotted many villages for defraying the expenses of the alms houses, came every year

from Ekdila to Panduan his reign death period of reign p 443 Ala ud din Sultan son of Ahmad Shah Bahmani Ahmad Shah appointed him as the heir apparent and made Muhammad Khan over to him p 48 went to reinforce Malik ut tujjir came back was successful p 50 heard the counsels and directions of his father p succeeded his father and gave himself the title of Ali ud din Shah entrusted the reins of the government to Dilawar Khan p 6 sent Ghalf Hasan Malik ut tujjir to oppose Nasir Khan sent Shahzada Muhammad Khan p 58 to conquer Bijanagar advanced to Janishi Muhammad Khan on receiving the information of the death of Malik Imad ud din defeated Muhammad Khan p 7 sent a *farman* and conferred Mouzali Rajur on Shahzada Muhammad Khan p 60 returned to the capital p 61 nominated Dilawar Khan to conquer Kocan sent *farmans* to the amirs on the frontier to join Dilawar Khan p 66 distinguished Dilawar Khan for conquering Kocan and the fort of Rishal turned against Dilawar Khan p 67 received the information of plundering by the Ray of Bijanagar p 68 advanced towards Bijanagar besieged the fort of Mudkal excused the Ray of Bijanagar made an agreement and returned to the capital arranged a great entertainment and conferred distinctions on the amirs p 69 came to save Mahur from the hands of Mahunud Khanji and Sikandar Khan became victorious granted honour to the *ilhanadar* of Mahur gave him the title of Fakhr ul mulk and confirmed him in the

government of Mahur after making arrangements for the government of Mahur returned to capital forgave the offences of Sikandar Khan and exalted him p 71 his character and nature p 71 direction and precepts to his son p 73 his death p 76 period of reign p 76 was sent by his father to fight with Shahzada Muhammad of Gujerat p 78 arrived at Daulatibid received reinforcements fled after the battle p 214

Ali ud din Sultan son of Mahmud Shah was mad the *baislal* after the death of Ahmad Shah by Malik Barid planned to follow his great ancestors in opposition of his plan Malik Barid in concert with Nizam ul mulk Itaz ul mulk and Adil Khan dethroned him the period of reign which was passed in confinement was one year and eleven months p 133

Ali ud din Sultan son of Sultan Shams ud din Sultan of Kashmire accused imprisoned the Rauturis laid the foundation of a city p 139 mad a rule for unchaste women period of reign p 610

Ali ud din Hasan Shah p 610 was in Daulatibid p 3 his declaration as a descendant of Bahman p 4 came to Dolkha p 7 went to the presence of Shaikh Nizam ud din Dehlavi who predicted his future turned towards the Dakin killed the superintendent of Gulbarga and possessed its neighbouring tract went to Daulatibid gave safe conduct to Alam ul mulk possessed all the property belonging to Muhammad Shah in Dirgarh placed Isma il Fath on the throne of Dirgarh and gave him the title of Narud din p 8 on the arrival

of Muhammad Shâlî marched away towards Gulbâiga, slew 'Imâd-ul-mulk, p 9, went to Daulatâbâd, placed himself on the throne, assumed the title of Sultân 'Alâ-ud-dîn, made Gulbâiga his capital and changed its name to Hasanâbâd, his illness, his advice to his son Muhammad Khân, p 10 his death, period of reign, p 11 (and see note 4 on page 9, and note 1 on page 10)

'Alâ-ud-dîn Suhrâb, Malik, fled from Sultân Mahmûd and waited on Sultân Qutb-ud-dîn, was given the title of 'Alâ'-ul-mulk by Sultân Qutb-ud-dîn, p 228, joined Mahmûd Khaljî and was given a high rank and title by him, p 522, went to Sultân Qutb-ud-dîn, p 523

'Alâ-ul-mulk bin Sulnâb, Malik, was sent by the *amîns* of Sultân Dâûd Shâh to Makhdûma-i-Jahân to bring Shâhzâda Fath Khân, brought Shâhzâda Fath Khân, p 237

Alf Khân, son of Ulugh Khân, fled from Mahîâsa, p 279, gave the elephants in charge of Sharf-i-Jahân and went to Mandû, was not favoured by Sultân Gluyâth-ud-dîn, came towards Sultânpur, fought with the men despatched by Sultân Mahmûd, prayed for the pardon of his offences, waited on Sultân Mahmûd, did homage and was favoured by the latter, murdered *nâib-i-and* for which he was imprisoned and died there, p 280, sent a message to Latif Khân to leave Châmpâni, p 336

'Ali, Hakîm, came to 'Ali 'Adîl Khân from Khalifa-i-Ilâhî, p 163

'Ali, Malik, was slain in the battlefield, p 703

'Ali 'Adîl Khân, succeeded his father, p 162, he blinded Tahmâsp and

Ismâ'il, his character and habits, he brought Amîr Fath-ul-lah Shirâzi and made him his *wakîl*, his possessions, his war with Husain Nizâm-ul-mulk, his relation to Khalifa-i-Ilâhî, p 163, he included the name of Khalifa-i-Ilâhî in the public prayers and the oaths of his realm, his religious inclinations, demanded the eunuch of Malik Barîd, Murtada Nizâm-ul-mulk attacked Barîd, he reinforced the army of Barîd, Malik Barîd sent his eunuch to 'Ali 'Adîl Shâh, his welcome of the eunuch, was killed by the eunuch, the period of his reign, p 164

'Ali, Shankh Mir, his share in Kashmîr, p 699, was slain in the battlefield, p 703

'Ali Bêg, Shankh, as the commander of the army of Abdâl Mâkrî, p 696, his representation to Mîrzâ Kâmrân, p 700

'Ali Chak, was slain by Bibî Râbe'a, p 723

'Ali Chak, son of Naurôz Chak, his faith in Shâh 'Arîf, his protest to 'Ali Shâh, went to Husain Qulî Khân and returned to Kashmîr, p 749

'Ali Hamadâni, Mîr Sayyid, his Khânqâh was burnt by the Kashmîris, p 685

'Ali Hâmid, p 202, his request to Ahmad Shâh not to fight with Sultân Hushang, p 203

'Ali Khân, was sent with a letter and presents to Sultân Mahmûd Sharqî by Sultân Mahmûd Khaljî, p 455

'Ali Khân, father of Yûsuf, his release from Mubârik Khân, his imprisonment by the Kashmîris, p 755

'Ali Khân, uncle of Nasîr, was sent with a tribute to Mahmûd Khaljî by Nasîr Shâh, p 512, went as a messenger of

- Mahmud Khalji to Mahmud Sharqi p 516 fought against the troops of Konbha p 599 his dismissal p 562
- Ali Khan Raja was ordered to help Burhan advanced to support Burhan fought a battle sent Burhan to Ahmadnagar p 158
- Ali Khan Saivid joined the army of Humayun p 3^o slew Yusuf Khan and Baji Bhat collected soldiers to fight his enemies p 683 was banished from Kashmir p 686
- Ali Kokah was appointed in the place of Malik Luh p 745
- Ali Makri took a message to Mirza Haidar p 714
- Ali Mubarak Malik see Ala ud din Sultan of Bangala
- Ali Shah brother of Husain Sultan of Kashmir his reply to Husain Khan p 747 advanced towards Srinagar came to Husain Khan's house assumed the title of Ali Shah and the duties of royalty devolved upon him p 748 his faith in Shah Arif Darvesh obtained divorce for his daughter representation of Al Chak seized Ali Chak p 749 sent troops against Ali Chak ambassadors for Akbar sent the daughter of his nephew for the service of Sultan Salim public prayers and the coins of Kashmir were adorned with the name of Akbar forgave Yusuf Shah sent an army to invade Kishtwar went with his family to see Jamalsnagar p 750 famine in Kashmir p 751 repented of his sins occupied himself in performing religious duties his death p 5^o
- Ali Shah Sultan son of Sultan Sikandar Sultan of Kashmir after the death of Siyeh Bhat selected Shahi Khan for the post of *wazir* went to the Raja of Jammu p 650 a belief of the Indians his defeat period of reign p 652
- Ah Shah Beg joined Muhammad Shah p 692
- Ali Sher his struggle with Sultan Jamshid p 638 his imprisonment p 757
- Ali Sher Jam ruler of Sind account of his government p 775
- Ali Sher Malik sent to the fort of Raisin with Silhadi p 366
- Ali Shahr Aq Quyunli Mir p 167
- Ali Tahir p 63^o
- Allahabad Mir arrival in Multan p 803
- Alp Khan Sanjar Deputy of Sultan Ala ud din Khalji p 204 (and also n 2 on p 203)
- Amin Khan Churi seized the fort of Junagadh and Sorath p 398
- Amin Nasir brought Silhadi by deceit p 356 was sent to bring Silhadi by Sultan Bahadur p 61^o
- Amin ul mulk father in law of Mir Tahir p 153 his decision his proclamation was put to death p 154
- Amir son of Abd ullah his plan for the invasion of Sind p 764
- Amir Khan went with a message of peace to the Kashmiris p 718
- Amir Mahmud Barki joined Fuz Khan p 189 was directed by Ahmad Shah to command the force p 400
- Amir Zina Ahmad Jaurni came to his house in search of Bahram p 734
- Amman complained to Ran Khurshid p 554 was sentenced to death p 564
- Anar Jam ruler of Sind account of his government p 73
- Anchha Malik his plan to place Shahzada Uthman Khan on the throne of Hushang p 489 was

pardoned by Mahmūd Khaljī, was given a fief by Mahmūd Khaljī, his rebellion, p 499, was attacked and killed with all his men by the Gōndas, p 500

Ankas Khān, foster brother of Husam Nizām-ul-mulk, p 152, was imprisoned by Mīrzā Khān, p 153

Ankī, fought with the Sayyids, p 684, obtained release and fought against Muhammad Shāh, p 688, treatment by Muhammad Shāh, his rank p 689, his execution, p 693

Āīāsh Khān, was sent with a message to Mēdīnī Rāy by Mahmūd Shāh, p 597

Ārif *Dāruśh*, Shāhī, married the daughter of ‘Alī Shāh, faith of others in him, his flight, his imprisonment, divorced his wife, p 749

Arjun, p 633

‘Arz-ul-mulk, his son was slain in the house of Qadr Khān, p 336

Asad Khān, devastated the country of the Rāys of Kokan, p 67

As‘ad Khān, advanced from Junīr, joined Malik-ut-tujjār, p 97, made Mallū Khān the Sultān, his repentance, went to Malkāpūr, p 162

Asad Khān Lūdī, on the advance of Sultān Ibrāhīm he fled from Sanbal, p 451

Asad Khān Rūmī a *valīl* of Murtada Nizām Shāh, had an interview with Pishau Khān, p 148

Āsaf Khān, was sent by Mahmūd Shāh to punish ‘Ālam Khān and Hisām ud-dīn, took Mahik Lādan Khaljī with him and waited upon Sultān Mahmūd, p 284, was killed by Burhān, p 390, was appointed by Sultān Bahādur to guard Mahmūd Shāh, made a martyr of Mahmūd Shāh, p 614

Āsaf Khān Gujrātī, was left with a large force by Muzaffar Shāh to reinforce Sultān Mahmūd Khaljī, pp 306, 605, his son was slain in a battle with Bhīm Karan Pūrabīa, p 307, attained martyrdom, p 607

Ashja‘-ul-mulk, Mahik, fought with Udaya Singh, p 314

Āshtī Khān, was the title of Nizām Mufarrāh, p 173

‘Askarī, Mīza, was sent by Humāyūn and defeated ‘Imād-ul-mulk, p 376, was appointed to the government of Ahmadābād by Humāyūn Bādshāh, p 377, relinquished the country of Gujrāt, p 378, was left in Gujrāt by Humāyūn Bādshāh, p 616

‘Atan, Malik, defeated Yakān Khān, p 560

Aūhad Khān, was sent with tribute to Mahmūd Khaljī by his father, p 520

Aūhiyā, Shaikh, was sent by Bihjat Khān to Mahmūd Shāh to ask for pardon of his offences, p 595

Āyāz, slave of Sultān Mahmūd Gujrātī, fought with the Firangīs and defeated them, p 282

Āyāz Sultānī, Malik, fought with the Rājpūts and defeated them, p 275, stopped Muzaffar Shāh and himself wanted to proceed to crush Rānā Sānkā, p 312, was sent by Muzaffar Shāh to chastise Rānā Sānkā, a representation to Muzaffar Shāh, p 313, besieged Mandisōr, p 314, a message from Rānā Sānkā, his reply to the messenger of Rānā Sānkā, asked Sultān Mahmūd to come to his aid, p 315, amīs of Gujrāt plotted against him, agreed to make peace with Rānā Sānkā, a representation to Sultān Mahmūd Khaljī, p 316, encamped at Khaljīpūr and honoured the emissaries of Rānā Sānkā, was permitted to go

to the port of Dep sent a message to Rana Sanka p 317 his death p 318

A zam Humayun younger son of Sultan Nasir ud din see Mahmud Shah Sultan son of Nasir Shah Sultan of Malwa

A zam Humayun Zafar Khan (Gujrati) owing to the excessive cruelty of Nizam Mufarrah Sultan Muhammad Shah conferred the *jagir* of Gujrat on him he started for Gujrat encamped at the royal reservoir and heard the advice of Sultan Muhammad Shah p 173 titles which were written to him by Sultan Muhammad Shah pp 174 175 his delight on the birth of his grandson Ahmad Khan in the neighbourhood of Nagor men of Kanbayat requested him to suppress the cruelty of Nizam Mufarrah he sent a letter to Nizam Mufarrah p 175 the reply of Malik Nizam Mufarrah to him rebellion of Nizam Mufarrah a battle between Zafar Khan and Nizam Mufarrah death of Nizam Mufarrah victory of Zafar Khan p 176 he sent agents to all the *parganas* he advanced towards Asawal came back to the neighbourhood of Pattan the death of Sultan Muhammad Shah the due obedience of the Raja of Idar he advanced to punish the Raja of Idar crushed the Raja of Idar p 177 took tributes from the Raja of Idar advanced towards Somnath advanced towards Nadarbar to punish Malik Nasir Raja Adil Khan returned to Pattan invaded Jar and Tar advanced for the destruction of Somnath his behaviour towards the Rajputs and their temples arrival at Somnath and his activities came back to Pattan

heard the tyranny of the Rajputs of Mandalgarh p 178 he marched towards Mandalgarh to take revenge for the tyranny of the Rajputs he crushed the power of the Rajputs made them humble and excused their offences he performed a pilgrimage to the tomb of Shaikh Khwajah Mu in ud din Hasan Sanjari and plundered the towns of that country his march towards Dandwana plundered Dilwara and Jalwara returned to Pattan p 179 issued an order for the rest of his troops pp 179 180 Tatar Khan came from Delhi to Gujrat owing to the violence of Mallu Khan Tatar Khan prayed his father to help him in taking revenge from Mallu Khan Mirza Pir Muhammad Khan possessed Multan and seized Sarang Khan arrival of Taimur in the neighbourhood of Delhi he comforted Tatar Khan and postponed the march to Delhi he and Tatar Khan advanced towards Idar plundered the country of Idar and disgraced the Raja p 180 returned to Pattan after the attack of Amir Taimur people fled from Delhi to Pattan flight of Sultan Mahmud from Delhi to Gujrat his disgraceful advance to Idar his successful march to suppress the Hindus of Somnath p 181 he demolished their temples laid the foundation of Jamia mosque and appointed the religious servants returned to Pattan Tatar Khan asked favour of his father to take back the dominion of Sultan Mahmud from Mallu Khan he instead of agreeing with the idea of Tatar Khan made him his successor to the throne p 182 grieved at the

death of Tātār Khān, transferred Shams Khān Dandānī to replace Malik Jalāl Kōkhar, again ascended the throne after the death of Tātār Khān, p 184

Ā'zam Khān, was sent by Khalifa-i-Ilāhī to conquer the Deccan, returned without accomplishing anything, p 157

Azdar Khān, son of Alf Khān, it was reported to Mahmūd Shāh that he was the murderer of Qaisar Khān, order of his arrest issued by Mahmūd Shāh, later order of his release, p 271

'Azīz Khammār, caused rebellion in Gujrāt, p 2

'Azīz Khān Nāmī, brought a letter from Ahmad Shāh to Nasir Khān of Asir containing the proposal of marriage of Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn, p 45

'Aziz Khān Turk, offered to sacrifice his life for Mahmūd Shāh, p 114

'Azīz-ul-lah, Maulānā, p 798, was invited by Jām Bāyazīd, p 804

'Azīz-ul-mulk, Malik, was sent by Mahmūd Shāh to punish Malik Hisām-ud-dīn and 'Ālam Khān, p 284

Azurī, Shaikh, p 53

B

Bābā Khalil, effected a peace between Iḍi Zīnā and the Kashmīris, p 722, took a message to Abdāl Khān, p 752, was sent by Saiyid Mubārak Khān to the latter's enemies, p 754, his determination about Yūsuf Khān, p 760

Bābā Mahdī, his determination about Yūsuf Khān, p 760

Bābāi Bādshāh, Firdūs Makānī Zahīr-ud-dīn Muhammad, encamped in the neighbourhood of Delhī, p 321, having slain Sultān Ibrāhīm Lūdī

possessed Delhī, p 444, Radi-ul-Mulk came to him, p 610

Bachhrā, Rāyzāda, his flight, p 766

Badeh, Malik, son of Nizām ul-mulk, p 269, after the death of his father he was given the title of Ikhtiyār-ul-mulk by Mahmūd Shāh, p 271

Badi Alangdār, Saiyid, he was appointed by Mahmūd Shāh for guarding the road and for the bringing in of provisions, p 273

Badīl, went to conquer Dēbul but attained martyrdom, p 764

Badi'-uz-zamān, Mirzā, p 781

Badr 'Alā', Mahk, instigated Firūz Khān and Haibat Khān to revolt against Ahmad Shāh, made arrangements to defend the fort of Mahrāsa, message of Sultān Ahmad to him, his reply to Ahmad Shāh, p 192, his treachery with the *amīrs* of Ahmad Shāh, he was exonerated by Ahmad Shāh, p 193

Badr Khān, came into the city and offered congratulations to the murderers of Changēz Khān, p 409

Bahādur, Sultān, Gujrātī, Sultān of Mālwa, details of his reign in Mālwa, p 615

Bahādur Bhat, was asked by Ghazī Khān to bring his son on the right path, p 736

Bahādur Gilānī, account of his rebellion, took forcible possession, oppression in the ports of Gujrāt, plundered ships of Sultān Mahmūd Gujrātī and imprisoned his men, after a great battle arrested Kamāl Khān and Safdar Khān and sent them to Dābul, p 117, wrote an impudent reply to Mahmūd Shāh Bahmanī, p 119, fight with the army of Sultān Mahmūd near the fort of Mirich and its result, p 120, sent Khwājah Na'amāt-ul-lah Tabrizī in order to ask pardon of his offences,

p 191 revolted and was defeated by Mahmud Shah p 12 his men joined Sultan Mahmud fled from Kolapur sent Khwajah Naamat ul lah Tabrizi with a petition to Sultan Mahmud p 123 petition was granted but he himself changed his resolution p 1-4 was killed by Zain Khan p 1 a

Bahadur Khan agent of Jam Nanda p 778

Bahadur Khan son of Khan Zaman joined his father p 743 was slain p 744

Bahadur Khan Shahzada his petition to Muzaffar Shah for the increase of his allowance went to Ahmadabad from there to the country of Mal p 30 visited the tomb of Khwajah Muin ud din Hasan Sanjari and went towards Delhi fought with the Mughul soldiers p 321

Bahadur Shah Sultan of Gujerat at the invitation of Imad ul mulk invaded the Deccan p 135 arrived in the neighbourhood of Ahmadnagar encamped at Kalachabutra p 139 started for Gujerat p 330 a letter to Taj Khan his successful advance p 331 left Ahmadabad with great pomp p 332 sat on the throne raised the standard of empire his generous bestowal pleased every one advanced towards Champanur p 333 halted at the town of Sahvunji army crossed over the river Mahindri after crossing the river advanced towards Champanur p 334 ordered Na r Khan to seize Imad ul mulk sent Taj Khan to attack Imad ul mulk and himself mounted to follow him the house of Imad ul mulk was pillaged and his sons were taken prisoner sentenced Imad ul mulk and Saif ud din to death appointed

Shamsher ul mulk to seize Add ul mulk and Nizam ul mulk to attack Muhammed Khan p 335 sentenced Baha ul mulk to death all the murderers of Sultan Silandar were put to death p 336 pleased all people by his generosity p 337 coronation in the capital of Gujerat bestowed wealth and honours on the people Ghazi Khan was appointed to the government of Nadarbar and Sultanpur sent orders for Latif Khan's destruction p 338 arranged a festive assembly a famine took place endeavoured to ameliorate the condition of the *raja*'s movements of disturbers sent Ulugh Khan p 339 against Latif Khan Taj Khan reported to the Sultan the hostile attitude of Ulugh Khan and Qaisar Khan arrest of the conspirators ordered release of the conspirators p 340 ordered the payment of *Silahdars* allowances news from Ghazi Khan about the battle and arrest of Latif Khan sent Muhib ul mulk to bring Latif Khan appointment of beadlemen at his brothers tombs p 341 wanted to advance against the Raja of Mal Taj Khan opposed it and soothed the Sultan sent an army with Taj Khan for the punishment of Ray Singh p 342 Taj Khan ravaged the country of Ray Singh sent Taj Khan to arrange the affairs of Kanbayet dismissed the *darogha* of Kanbayet conquered the countries of Idar and Bakar returned to Champanur went to rebuild the fort of Bahroj p 343 after finishing the work went to Kanbayet travelled to Dip by road invited the *firangis* to accept Islam a letter from the governor of Asir p 344 an order was issued in

reply to the governor of Āsīr, advanced to conquer the Deccan, encamped for the collection of troops in the town of Barōda, Jām Firūz joined the Sultān, p 345, fixed a stipend for Jām Firūz, promised to restore his dominion to Jām Firūz after recovering it from the Maghūls, powers from the various directions came and joined, representation from ‘Imād-ul-mulk, decided to invade the Deccan, allowed Ja‘far Khān to visit Ahmadābād, p 346, returned to Muhammadābād and passed the rainy season there, marched towards Bākar and Idar, sent Khudāwand Khān and ‘Imād-ul-mulk from Khānpūr to Bākar, proceeded towards Kanbāyet, embarked in a ship for the Dīp, showed kindness to Rūmīs (Turks), p 347, arranged residences for Rūmīs and returned after recommending them to the favour of Malik Ayāz, on his arrival at Chāmpānīr ‘Umr Khān, Qutb Khān, and amīrs of Sultān Ibrāhīm fled to Gujrāt and were exalted to high ranks, penetrated into Bākar by successive marches, arranged for the better government of Bākar, p 348, acceded to the prayer of Ratan Sēn, laid the foundation of a mosque, gave Karchī to Prithī Rāj, divided the territory of Bākar between Prithī Rāj and Jagā, p 349, bestowed favours on Sikandar Khān and Bhūpat, a message from Sultān Mahmūd, p 350, reply to the message of Sultān Mahmūd, marched towards Bānwāla, arrived at Sambla, waited for ten days for Sultān Mahmūd, p 351, on arrival at Dibālpūr came to know that Sultān Mahmūd wanted to confer the title of Sultān

Ghiyās-ud-dīn on his eldest son and had no desire to meet Sultān Bahādur, started and encamped at Sūdpūr, arrived at Na'lcha and made arrangements for the siege, p 352, sent the Pūrabā contingent to Pahalwānīa, took up quarters in the palaces at Muhammadapūr, captured the fort of Mandū, p 353, ascended to the top of La'l Mahal and sent a man to wait on Sultān Mahmūd, received Sultān Mahmūd with respect and tried to please him, took up his residence, p 354, at Mandū, gave permission to amīrs to go back to Gujrāt, went to see Burhānpūr and Āsīr, conferred on Nizām-ul-mulk Dakī the title of Muhammad Shāh and returned to Mandū, ordered the release of Musalmān women from the disgrace of Kufr and condign punishment for Silhadī, sent Muqbal Khān to Chāmpānīr to guard the fort sent Ikhtiyār Khān with troops and treasure, made proclamation of his departure to Gujrāt, p 355, went to Mandū to make preparations for the march towards Gujrāt, left Ikhtiyār Khān in charge of the government of Mandū, gave permission to Bhūpat to bring Silhadī, advanced towards Ujjain, went away to Dibālpūr, Banharīa and Sa'dulpūr for hunting, p 356, started from Sa'dulpūr for Dhār, talked with the amīrs about seizing Silhadī, took up his residence in the fort of Dhār, sent ‘Imād-ul-mulk to attack Bhūpat, started towards Ujjain, conferred the government of Ujjain, p 357, on Daryā Khān, bestowed Sārangpūr on Mallū Khān, gave permission to Habīb Khān to go back to Āshta, marched towards Bhilsa and Rāisīn,

on arrival at Bhilsa came to know about the currency of heathenism there p 358 waited at Bhilsa for three days for the erection of mosques and houses for pious purposes advanced to conquer Raisin attacked *Purabia* Rajputs p 359 forbade continuance of the fight and postponed it to next day marched from Rai in and commenced the construction of covered passages representation from Silhadi for submission and acceptance of Islam p 360 acceding to the request of his brother Silhadi asked leave of the Sultan for evacuating tha fort granted leave to Silhadi and waited Silhadi was permitted to go to the fort Silhadi advised the Rajputs of tha fort p 361 fight between tha son of Silhadi and the army of Gujarat ordered imprisonment of Silhadi in tha fort of Mandu became violent on hearing the news of tha Rana's approach sent Muhammad Khan and Imad ul mulk Sultani for their chastisement p 362 Muhammad Khan and Imad ul mulk submitted a report to tha Sultan describing the advance of Rana with a large force on the report of Imad ul mulk hastened towards Kahar report of the spies of Rana about the arrival of the Sultan p 363 flight of Rana and Bhupat pursued the enemy p 364 leaving the punishment and castigation of the Rana to the next year returned to Raisin and after arrival there made the siege closer than before terms and conditions of Lakhman for evacuating his fort for the Sultan granted Lakhman's prayer and summoned Silhadi from the fort of Mandu

detailed a body of soldiers to guard the fort p 365 sent Malik Ali Sher with Silhadi to the fort enthusiastic speech of Rani Durgawati made Silhadi ready for revolt p 366 fatal end of the rebels granted the fort of Raisin and Chandeli and the territories of Bhilsa as a *jagir* to Sultan Alam appointed Muhammad Khan to capture the fort of the Kakrun started on an expedition to hunt elephants made Kanur over to Ulugh Khan took possession of Islamabad and Hushangahad and the whole of the country of Malwa granted these possessions as *jagirs* to the *amirs* of Gujarat p 367 arrived towards Kakrun occupied himself in Kakrun in a festiva assembly sent Imad ul mulk and Iltiyan Khan to capture the fort of Mandisor forts of Mandisor and Kakrun came into tha Sultan's possession advanced from Mandu to Champan r p 368 advanced towards Dip on being informed of tha power of *strangis* advanced towards Chitor siege of the fort of Chitor sporadic fights of the Gujratis and their victories submission of the Rana to the Sultan cause of hostility with Humayun Badshah conferred favours on Tatar Khan p 369 spent money for collection of troops p 370 letters from Humayun Badshah which were not satisfactorily responded to Humayun Badshah advanced to crush the Sultan advanced to seize the fort of Chitor p 371 took the fort of Chitor met Humayun Bad shah in the vicinity of Mandisor opinion of the *amirs* of the Sultan p 372 preparations for war with the Mughals reinforcement by Alam

Kālpīwāl, p 373, exhaustion of the Gujrātīs, fled towards Mandū, Humāyūn Bādshāh pursued him to the fort of Mandū, shut himself up in Mandū, p 374, flight from Mandū to Chāmpānīr, sent the treasure and jewels which he had at Chāmpānīr to the port of Dīp and himself went to Kanbāyet, taking strong horses went on to the port of Dīp, p 375, distribution of the treasures of the Sultān, deputed ‘Imād-ul-mulk for collecting the revenue, p 376, rebellion over the whole of Gujrāt, p 377, advanced into Gujrāt, relinquishment of Gujrāt by the *amīrs* of Humāyūn Bādshāh, p 378, advanced towards Chāmpānīr to crush Tardi Bēg Khān, halted at Chāmpānīr for arranging the affairs in that neighbourhood, advanced towards Sōrath and Junāgarh to enable the *fīrangīs*, who had been called for help, to return, p 379, arrival of the *fīrangīs* at the port of Dīp, successful conspiracy of the *fīrangīs* caused the death of the Sultān, p 380, port of Dīp in the possession of the *fīrangīs*, period of reign, p 381

Bahār Khān, the command of the fort of Ranthambhōr was transferred from him by Mahmūd Khaljī, p 520

Bahā'-ud-dīn, was welcomed by Yūsuf Khān, p 759

Bahā'-ud-dīn, Malik, one of the adherents of Mahmūd Shāh, p 239, he was made Ikhtiyār-ul-mulk by Mahmūd Shāh, p 242

Bahā'-ud-dīn ‘Imād-ul-mulk, Malik, he was sent to the *thāna* of Sonkhur by Mahmūd Shāh, p 263, by taking an oath on *Qurān* he gave assurance to Rāy Rāyān not to disclose the secrets of his treachery to Mahmūd

Shāh and promised to assist him in carrying out his intention, had a talk with Malik Miyān, wrote a letter to Malik Farhat-ul-mulk to meet him, sent a letter to Malik Qiyām-ul-Mulk forbidding him to march from Rakhiāl, sent for Muḥafiz Khān and gave him special directions, p 265, advised Mahmūd Shāh to go to Ahmadābād, addressed the *amīrs* in regard to the reply to the question of Mahmūd Shāh, p 268, inquired the cause of silence of Mahmūd Shāh, reported the whole story of conspiracy to Mahmūd Shāh who sent him to conquer Jālōr and Sājōr, encamped near the tomb of Shaikh Hājī Rajab, p 270, informed Mahmūd Shāh what was done by Mujāhid Khān, his death, p 271

Bahā'-ud-dīn Quraishi, Shaikh, went as an ambassador to Mīrzā Shāh Husain, p 805

Bahā'-ud-dīn Zakariyā Multānī, Shaikh, p 788

Bahā'-ul-mulk, helped ‘Imād-ul-mulk in placing Nasir Khān on the throne, p 328, joined Sultān Bahādur, p 332, was hanged by the order of Sultān Bahādur, p 336

Bahā'-ul-mulk (son of Alf Khān), killed Ādam Silāhdār and fled to Idar, p 247

Bahlūl, Maulānā, went as an ambassador to Mīrzā Shāh Husain, p 805

Bahlūl Lūdī, Malik, was sent by Sultān Muhammad to fight against Mahmūd Khaljī, p 510

Bahlūl Lūdī, Sultān, Bādshāh of Dehlī, asked help of Sultān Mahmūd Khaljī, p 460, asked favour of Sultān Husain, defeated Sultān Husain, sent *Mallah-i-Jahān* to Sultān Husain, p 461, requested Sultān Husain to be pardoned,

defeated Sultan Husain on every occasion took possession of Jaunpur and established his son there his death p 46

Bahram Raja raided Indarkot p 716

Bahram Chak son of Regi Chak reached Srinagar p 709 went to Hailat Khan Niyazi p 713 his share in the division of Kashmir p 719 was seized by Idi Zuna p 721 defeated the Niyazis p 723 his imprisonment p 725 was granted favours by Ghazi Khan p 73 joined the rebels p 733

Bahram Khan p 16 Bahram Khan and Govind Rai rose in revolt the Sultan started towards Deogarh arrived in its neighbourhood they became afraid and went to Daulatabad to Shaikh Rukn ud din the great Sufi of the time p 17 the Sultan on hearing of this arrived at Daulatabad and went to visit the Shaikh and agreed to pardon them they went away to Gujarat p 18 was sent by Mahmud Shah to meet Rai Batai p 72

Bahram Khan son of Sultan Zain ul ahud n welcomed Haji Khan p 668 his treachery p 670 in the service of Haider Shah his jagir p 673 went towards Hindustan p 676 arrived in the district of Karma p 677 his defeat his death p 68

Bahram Khan Khanan respected Nasrat Chak p 736

Bahrur entered the service of Sultan Bahadur p 346

Baji Bhat was slain p 683

Balal son of Imad ul mulk Tawalak his murder p 799

Bandagan Lokali was nominated to crush the rebel p 709 was left by Mirza Haider at Srinagar p 710 fought with the Kishtwars

army as the commander of Murza Haider's troop p 711 was slain p 712

Baqi Beg Khwajah the fort of Sihwan was made over to him p 779

Barbak Shah Sultan of Bangala the amirs seated him on the throne passed his time in pleasure died p 435 (and see notes 23 p 435) period of reign p 436

Barbak Shah Sultan of Bangala after murdering his master took the title of *badshah* p 438 (and see n 1 p 348) his pomp and strength was slain period of reign p 439

Barbak Shah son of Bahlul Ludu the government of Jaunpur was given to him by his father after the death of his father he advanced to conquer Delhi being defeated by Sultan Sikandar he fled to Jaunpur p 462 went to conquer Multan p 793 possessed the fort of Khanwal p 795

Barid Malik imprisoned Sultan kalm ul lah in the city of Bidar p 4 was appointed as the *lotual* of Sultan Shuhah ud din p 11 was informed about the intention of Dilawar Khan kept the Sultan in imprisonment p 113 became all powerful in administration kept Mahmud Shah as a puppet met with the army of Imad ul mulk Kawil p 131 placed Ahmad Shah on the throne of Mahmud Shah and kept him in confinement p 132 placed Ala ud din in place of Ahmad Shah dethroned Ala ud din p 133 placed Sultan Wahullah in place of Sultan Ala ud din poisoned Wahullah on account of the latter's wife after Wahullah gave the name of Sultan to Kalm ul lah p 134 had a fight with Imad ul mulk

Kāwili, made submission to Sultān Bahādur of Gujrāt, p 135, his eunuch was demanded by 'Ali 'Ādil Khān, was attacked by Murtada Nizām-ul-mulk, asked 'Ali 'Ādil Shāh for help, presented the eunuch to 'Ali 'Ādil Shāh p 164

Barkhūrdāī, Malik, was sent by Ghaznīn Khān to seize Zafar Minjumla, p 487, was given the title of Tāj Khān by Mahmūd Khaljī, p 497, sent a petition asking for aid to suppress the rebels, joined Ā'zam Humāyūn, p 499, fought with Malik Hājī 'Ali reassured Malik Ishāq of his good luck, p 504, was sent by Mahmūd Khaljī with a message of peace to Sultān Qutb-ud-dīn, p 525, fought against the army of Kōnbhā, p 529, captured the fort of Bündi, p 532, defeated Rāyzāda of Kehrīla, p 540

Barkhūrdār, Sayyid, was sent by Sayyid Mubārak Khān with a message to the latter's enemies, p 754

Basant Rāy, was entrusted with the administration by Mahmūd Shāh, p 576, was slain by the amīrs, p 577

Batāī, Rāy, fought with Malik Sadhā and killed him with his followers, plundered the army of Malik Sadhā, on the arrival of Mahmūd Shāh he repented of his shameful deed and asked for pardon of his offences his ambassadors were turned back by Mahmūd Shāh, p 272, sent tribute to Mahmūd Shāh which was refused, asked Sultān Ghiyāth-ud-dīn Khaljī to help him, p 273, fought with Qawām-ul-mulk and his troops and made martyrs of them, p 275, was captured and brought to Mahmūd Shāh, was made over to Muhibbāz Khān to recover his health, was urged by Mahmūd Shāh

to accept Islām, refused and was executed, p 276

Bāyazīd, Jām, joined Sultān Husain, p 795, his love of learned men, p 796, his engagement with Sultān Husain, p 799, seized 'Imād-ul-mulk Tawalak, his appointment as iāzīr, raised Mahmūd to the throne of Multān, p 800, disposition of Sultān Mahmūd towards him, his order for the punishment of the turbulent men of Multān, p 801, sent his son to Shōr, defeated the army of Sultān Mahmūd, his petition to Sultān Sikandar, p 802, peace with Sultān Mahmūd, p 803, granted favours to Mir Jākar Zand, his invitation to Maulānā 'Azīz-ul-lah, p 804

Bāyazīd Saikhā, Malik, was sent with a message to Mahmūd Khān, p 494, his suggestion to the amīrs to deal with Mahmūd Khān, p 495

Bāz Bahādur, son of Shujā' Khān, Sultān of Mālwa, took possession of his father's property, p 628, sent his mother to Daulat Khān, distribution among the heirs of Shujā' Khān, treacherously slew Daulat Khān, took possession of Mālwa, declared himself as the Sultān with the title of Bāz Bahādur Shāh, advanced towards Rāisīn, defeated Malik Mustafā, advanced towards Kadrūlā, p 629, took possession of Kadrūlā, invaded Katinkah but was defeated, occupied himself in pleasure and enjoyment, p 630, was defeated by the servants of Akbar, his character, period of reign, went to Gujrāt, p 631, went to the Rānā of the fort of Kōnbhal-mīr, was enrolled in the band of Akbar's servants, his death, p 632

Bhāgmatī, she was loved by Muhammad Quli Qutb-ul-mulk, p 171

Bhagwan Das Raja was sent to invade Kashmir p 760 made peaceful settlement with the Kashmiri p 761

Bhai Khan p 173 his re-echo his proclamation was put to death p 154

Bhareu p 136 (and see also n - p 136)

Bhawanidas son of Shevli brought his daughter as a tribute to Nasir ud-din p 50

Bherodas took a letter to Bihaj Khan p 559 reported all the talk of Bihaj Khan to Mahmud Shah p 550

Bikram Adam Khan Afzal n p 100 attended on Ahmad Shah and was received with favour p 101 revolted against Ahmad Shah p 104

Bhim p 481

Bhim Ray fought with Laiq Khan p 341

Bhim Ray Raja of Beypore who the citadel of Beypore was captured by Mahmud Shah he took the path of flight p 61 was seized and sent to Multan Khan for hanging and the announcement of his death p 6

Bilm Karan Pirabi fought with Sultan Mahmud Shah p 307

Bhupat waited on Sultan Bahadur and was favoured p 30 asked Sultan Bahadur to go to Ujjain to bring Silhadri p 30 his flight with Rana of Chitor p 364

Bhupat son of Silhadri went to Burhanpur with Sultan Bahadur p 610 went to Chitor p 610 possessed the fort of Ratnagar and its neighbourhood p 617

Bihar Mal joined Nizam ul mulk was sent with Nizam ul mulk by Muzaffar Shah to recover Ihar p 300

Bihukti Mir a Suyid had Fattu in his hours p 149

Bihaj Khan was entrusted with the government of Chandni p 568 his reply to Mahmud Shah p 83 sent his son to attend on Mahmud Shah p 84 who summoned by Mahmud Shah p 568 his reply to Mahmud Shah submitted a petition to Sultan Sulayman Shah p 89 proclaiming Shah Khan as the Sultan p 90 sent an army to capture Singapur p 93 prayed for the pardon of their offence to Mahmud Shah and was promised favourable discharge by the latter p 96

Bir Raja Raja of Ilker was reward by Mahmud Shah p 9

Birk na Ray could not withstand

Mahmud Shah Iaharl and paid tribute to him p 10

Bilal Parker who was succeeded by Haidur Shah p 63 caused the death of Hasan Kachhi p 64

Burhan the p 1001 of Sultan Mahmud of Gujrat d inscription of the murder of Sultan Mahmud committed by him p 391 murdered Asaf Khan and Khudawand Khan in 390 murdered Afzal Khan his proclamation for the throne was slain by Shrawan Khan p 391

Burhan ud din Qutb Shah Sharif p 34

Burhan Nizam ul mulk son of Ahsan succeeded his father Shah Tahir came from Iraq to the Deccan p 13 adopted Islam as religion p 138 Sultan Bahadur Gujrati advanced to conquer the Deccan and encamped at Kalichabutra Burhan did homage to him Sultan Bahadur

respected Shāh Tāhir Burhān had the public prayer read and composed in his own name, ruled for forty-eight years, p 139, married Āmīna, a prostitute and Husain Nizām-ul-mulk was born of her, p 140

Burhan Nizām-ul-mulk son of Husam Nizām-ul-mulk escaped from prison, was defeated by the *amīrs* of Murtada, went to Khalifa-i-Ilāhī and was favourably received p 148, his entrance in the service of Akbar and start towards Berār p 156 possessed the country of Berār the duration of his imprisonment and escape came to Gujrāt, was favoured by Khalifa-i-Ilāhī and sent to Mālwa Ā'zam Khān was sent to free the Deccan and make it over to Burhān, came back to the court of Khalifa-i-Ilāhī was appointed to attack the Afghāns, p 157 was summoned from Bangash and sent to the Deccan, a *farmān* of Khalifa-i-Ilāhī to all concerned in support of Burhān, Nazr Bē and Rāja 'Alī Khān joined Burhān, Jamāl Khān marched from Bijāpūr to defend Burhān, date of his accession p 158

Burhān-ul-mulk, Silhādī was made over to him by the order of Sultān Bahādur, p 362

C

Chānd Khān, son of Sultān Muzaaffar Gujrātī had an interview with Bahādur Shāh, p 330, got out of the fort of Mandū and fled p 353, after the death of his father went to Mahmūd Shāh p 610, fled from Mahmūd Shāh, p 612 Chandar, son of Rāja Rañjan, p 634 Chengiz Khān his father attacked Burhān, p 391, ports of Sōrathī,

Nāgōt and Chāmpānīr were in his possession. p 398 arrived at Ahmadābād and congratulated Sultān Muzaaffar p 399 sent a message to I'tmād Khān, p 400 sent a petition to the court of Sultān Muzaaffar for the extension of his dominion p 401, possessed Nadarbār marched towards the fort of Tālnū, posted his army to defend Mīrān Muhammad Shāh p 402 being unable to withstand Mīrān Muhammad Shāh fled to Bahrōj advanced towards Ahmadābād to punish I'tmād Khān, occupied Barōda sent a message to I'tmād Khān that he should retire to his own *qāqīr* p 403 advanced towards the battlefield of Ahmadābād without giving battle I'tmād Khān took the path of flight and became victorious p 404 made an amicable settlement with Shēr Khān defeated Mīrān Muhammad Shāh, p 405 allotted some parganas in the Sarkār of Bahrōj to the Mīrzās as *qāqīrs*, without his permission the Mīrzās began to occupy other estates sent an army to attack the Mīrzās his army was defeated by the Mīrzās p 406 asked Ulugh Khān and Jhuhjār Khān to come to him, received Iktivār-ul-mulk Ulugh Khān, Jhuhjār Khān and other *Habshīs* with respect, p 407, ordered Ulugh Khān to go to the *chauqān* field, p 408, was killed by Jhuhjār Khān p 409

D

Dāhur Rāy, his reply to Hajjāj, p 763, his fight with Muhammad Qāsim p 767, summary of the circumstances attending his death,

- p 76 fight of his widow p 769
his daughters were sent to **Khaljis**
p 0
- Dari II Chak d' above I his brother
p his execution p 73
- Dari I Mull was favoured by Zain
ul uldin p 661
- Darya Khan amir of Merv was sent
by Sultan Mahmud I as amir sader
to Sultan Bahadur p 300 in
order Sultan Bahadur at Sembla
that Sultan Mahmud was unable
to see him on account of illness
p 301 told Sultan Bahadur the
real cause of his master's inability
to come was sent back by Sultan
Bahadur p 3 S Sultan Bahadur
conferred the government of Uyjan
on him p 3 S united with
Imad ul mulk and put Ikhtiyar Khan
to death p 385 taking Sultan
Mahmud with him advanced towards
Sorath and defeated Imad ul mulk,
made Sultan Mahmud into a mere
puppet p 386 gave the title of
Sultan Muazzaf Shah to a boy of
unknown descent sight with Alam
Khan p 387 sought protection of
Shah Khan Mughan p 388
- Darya Khan of Sind was made ruler
of Jam Firuz p 71 joined Jam
Salah ud din summoned Jam Firuz
and raised him to the throne his
death p 80
- Darya Khan Turk slew the governor
of the fort of Kehria taking the
dead body of his father went to
rend homage to Muhammad Shah
p 36 the heirs of his father were
confirmed on him and Adil Khan by
Muhammad Shah p 07 was nominated
by Muhammad Shah Lashkar to pursue the Ray of Orissa p 104
seized Farhad ul mulk Turk killed
Mahk Qiyam ul mulk unburdened
the Turk amirs p 11-
- Dastur ul mulk was defeated by Adil
Khan at the request of Adil
Khan his officers were pardoned
by Mahmud Shah p 116
- Daud the kingdom of Sulaiman
Karak was under his power
was defeated by Khan Khan was
slain by Khan Jahan p 116
- Daud son of Jalalungir Mukri fought
with the Suvils and was killed
p 684
- Daud Malik ul mursi Malik was
appointed by Mahmud Khanji to
chaire the Cond p 540
- Daud Khan his imprisonment p 51
- Daud Khan an amir of the Dcean
challenged the Capti amirs and
was slain in prison p 19
- Daud Khan governor of Biyana
made his submission to Mahmud
Khanji p 6
- Daud Khan ruler of Vir sought
restoration of Nair Shah p 0
- Daud Khan youngest son of Ahmad
Shah Bahman Shah in Ahmad Shah
gave him the fort of Rijur (Ruchur)
with its surrounding country p
48 who sent to his son p 49
- Daud Shah cousin of Mujahid Shah
hostility with Mujahid Shah slow
Mujahid Shah conceded the throne
of Mujahid Shah p 21 hostility
of the sister of Mujahid Shah against
Daud Khan he was wounded by his
enemies who were incited by the
sister of Mujahid Shah was carried
to the palace his enemy was
defeated his death period of reign
p (also seen 1 p 2)
- Daud Shah Sultan Gujrati p 235
amirs placed Shahzada Daud Khan
uncle of Quzb ul din Ahmad Shah
on the throne began to commit
unworthy deeds made the promise
of conferring the title of Imad ul
mulk on a farrash annoyance of

the *amīrs*, direction to be separated from the work of government, p 236, Malik 'Alā-ul mulk took Shāhzāda Fath Khān to the royal palace, *amīrs* placed Fath Khān on the throne and gave him the title of Sultān Mahmūd, period of reign, p 237

Daulat, his advice to Husain Khān p 748

Daulat, nephew of Sultān Mahmud, helped Burhān in the murder of Sultān Mahmūd, p 390

Daulat Chak, nephew of Kājī Chak, ignored the summons of Mīrzā Haidar p 712, went to Haibat Khān Niyāzī, p 713, his share in the division of Kashmīr, gave his fief to his son, p 719, summoned Sankar Chak p 720, marriage of his daughter, went to Sūyyapūr, p 721, joined Ghazī Khān, p 722 defeated the Niyāzīs, p 723, defeated 'Idī Zinā, p 724, rise of his power, p 725, hostility of Ghazī Khān, p 726, sent Ibrāhīm Chak and Haidar Chak to invade great Tibet, p 727, was blinded by Ghazī Khān, p 730

Daulat Khān p 743, conflict with Bahādur Khān, p 744, fled from Mubārak Khān, p 755

Daulat Khān Ajīyālā, adopted son of Shujā' Khān, p 623, requested Islām Khān to pardon the offences of Shujā' Khān, p 627, was slain by Miyān Bāyazīd, p 629

Daulat Khān Lūdī, received the *farmān* of Sultān Sikandar, p 802, effected peace between Sultān Mahmūd and Jām Bāyazīd, p 803

Dāwar-ul-mulk, joined Sultān Bahādur, p 332, was arrested, p 340 Dēbā, sent troops to fight against Mahmūd Khaljī, p 512

Deo Rāy, sent an army in the neighbourhood of Badhūl, p 32, his fight with Firūz Shāh, p 34, his submission to Firūz Shāh, p 35; his revolt against Firūz Shāh, p 38, sent gifts and presents to Sultān Ahmad Shāh and asked pardon of his offences, p 45

Dhūalnūn Beg, Mir his death, p 781 Dīā'-ul-mulk, saw Sultān Bahādur in the city of Chāmpānīr, p 334, was asked to convey an order to his father, p 335 was imprisoned but was released by the order of Sultān Bahādur, p 340

Dilāwar Khān was sent by Mahmūd Shāh to reinforce Ā'zam Humāyūn, p 288, arrived at the town of Nadarbār, p 289

Dilāwar Khān, Khān Ā'zam Khān, the reins of the government of Sultān 'Alā ud dīn came under his grasp, p 56 was nominated by Sultān 'Alā ud-dīn to conquer the country of the Rāys of Kokan, sent Asad Khān, Fūlād Khān and Safdar Khān to devastate the country of the Rāys, p 66, forgave the Rāy of Sangesar, advanced to capture the fort of Rāhal, after much bloodshed the Rāy of Rāhal requested for pardon of his offences at the instigation of envious people Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn turned against him, retired into a corner of safety, p 67

Dilāwar Khān Ghūrī Sultān of Mālwa, brought Mālwa under his possession, p 467, after the downfall of Sultān Mahmūd of Dehli declared himself as the independent ruler of Mālwa, died after enjoying success and pleasures of life, views of other historians in connection with his death, p 468 Dilāwar Khān Habshī, wounded Nizām-ul-mulk, p 112, *vakālat* of Ibrāhīm

Ādil Khan reverted to him ran the government for nine years was attacked by Ibrahim Ādil Khan p 166 fled to Burhan Nizam ul mulk and instigated him to attack Adil Khan was summoned by Adil Khan and blinded p 167

Dilawar Khan Jangal got into the fort p 56²

Dilju p 636 destroyed Kashmir returned to Qandahar p 637

Dukha was placed in charge of the public affairs p 748

Dungar Sen besieged Narwar p 507 retreated to Gwahar p 508 despatched treaties on music to Sultan Zain ul abidin p 659

Dungars he was captured and brought to Mahmud Shah he was made over to Muhibz Khan and was executed p 76

Durgawati Rani mother of Bhupat delivered an enthusiastic speech which made Silhadi ready for revolt her sacrifice pp 365-366

Durgawati Rani wife of Raja Katinkah defeated Baz Bahadur p 630

F

Fadl Beg Kokaltash was left in the fort of Bhakkar p 779

Fadl ul lah Badh Malik went in company of Tatar Khan to Nasir ud din p 557 joined Nasir ud din p 56²

Fadl ul lah halim Maulana was appointed by Mahmud Khan p 519

Fakhr ud din Sultan of Bangala after murdering Qadr Khan became the master of the throne sent Mukhlis to the frontier district of Bangala p 419 (see notes -4 p 419) had no faith in his followers Ali Mubarak attacked him and sentenced him to death period of reign p 4 0

Fakhr ul mulk was sent to crush Muhibz Khan p 594

Fakhr ul mulk Malik dispersed the rebels p 115 was entrusted with the management of the army by Mahmud Shah p 116 was sent to take charge of the fort of Panala p 123 destroyed Bahadur p 125 was given the title of Khan Jahan by Mahmud Shah p 1 6

Farhad ul mulk Turk was seized by the traitorous amirs in the time of Muhammad Shah Lashkari p 11

Farhat ul mulk reported Mahmud Shah about the messenger of Shah Ismail p 90

Fard Imad ul mulk Malik was directed to command the force in war by Ahmad Shah was summoned by Ahmad Shah p 90 fought with Sultan Hushang and defeated him p 91 was given Kantha by Ahmad Shah in his fief p 90 enquired of Malik Juna about the welfare of Ahmad Shah came for the destruction of Sultan Hushang p 9

Fath Chak raided Indarkot p 716 created disturbance p 733 joined Khan Zaman p 743

Fath Jang Khan Sherwani went to his jagr p 587

Fath Khan his flight from Ghazi Khan p 738 in fight with the Tibetans and death p 739

Fath Khan commander of Husain Khan defeated Sankar p 741

Fath Khan son of Adan Khan see Fath Shah Sultan of Kashmir

Fath Khan son of Sultan Muzaffar was sent by Ahmad Shah but joined his brothers p 19 helped to place Sikandar Khan on the throne p 323 was made over to custodians by the order of Sultan Hushang

- p 482, was sent by Muzaffar Gujrātī to chastise Mēdīnī Rāy and Rānā Sānkā, p 602
- Fath Khān, uncle-in law of Būz Bahādur, his consultation with Miyān Bāyazīd, p 626, was killed, p 630
- Fath Khān, Jām, ruler of Sind, account of his government, p 776
- Fath Khān, Shāhzādā, was married to the daughter of the Rāy of Mahāim by Ahmad Shāh, p 219
- Fath Khān Balūch, p 398, was attacked by the Fūlādis and defeated, p 399
- Fath Khān Rāfsī, put Mullā Yūsuf and Mullā Firūz to death, p 746
- Fath Shāh, Sultān of Bangūla, the *amīrs* placed him on the throne, p 437 (and see n 4, p 437), he was slain by the *pāils* who were instigated by an eunuch who himself sat on the throne, period of reign, custom of Bangūla, p 438
- Fath Shāh, Sultān of Kashmīr, his efforts to regain his ancestral dominions, p 686, his defeat in fight advanced to conquer Kashmīr, p 687, his fight with Muhammād Shāh, defeat, victory, p 688, his order for Muhammad Shāh, accession, arrival of Mīr Shams, p 689, disputes among the *amīrs*, release of Muhammad Shāh, division of Kashmīr, his *vazīr* and *Dīwān*, an example of the judgement of Malik Ajhī, p 690, struggle between Muhammād Shāh and the latter's victory, returned to Hindūstān, period of reign accession of Muhammad Shāh for the second time, his *vazīr*, his successor, death of Malik Ajhī, victorious attack of Fath Khān, p 691, period of Sultān Muhammād's reign, Kashmīr under Fath Shāh for the second time, successful attack of Muhammad Shāh, his death and period of reign, Sultān Muhammad's accession for the third time, p 692, his *vazīr*, an example of the wisdom of Kūjī Chak, execution of the *amīrs* of Fath Shāh, p 693, skirmishes between Muhammad Shāh and Iskandar Khān, Muhammad Shāh turned against Malik Kājī p 694, Malik Yārī defeated and seized Iskandar Khān, Iskandar's eyes were blinded, Malik Kājī imprisoned Muhammad Shāh and raised Ibrāhīm Khān to the throne, p 695, period of the reign of Muhammad Shāh p 696
- Fath-ul-lāh, Maulānā, p 798
- Fath-ul-lāh Shīrāzī, Amīr, was brought by 'Alī 'Ādil Khān, p 163
- Fattū a prostitute, her account, p 149, her power, p 150
- Firūz, Jām, ruler of Sind, succeeded his father, made Daryā Khān his *vazīr*, hostility with Jām Ṣalāh-ud-dīn, p 779, account of his reign, p 780
- Firūz, Mulla, gave the order for the execution of Yūsuf, p 745, his execution, p 746
- Firūz, Sultān, son of Sultān Husam, Sultān of Multān, his accession, his *vazīr*, his nature, p 798, his envy towards Balāl, caused the murder of Balāl, his death by poison, p 799
- Firūz Khān, was asked to come to the private chamber of Mahmūd Shāh and was explained the purpose of the announcement of *Haj*, p 267, was ordered by Mahmūd Shāh to arrest Azdar Khān p 271
- Firūz Khān of Kashmīr, was slain in the battle, p 723
- Firūz Khān, ruler of Nāgōi, son of Shams Khān Dandānī, fought with Rāna Mūkul, p 194, brought some

lakhs of tankas as tribute which was returned by Ahmad Shah p 21 news of his death p 29

Firuz Khan son of Sultan Murzaffar rose in revolt *amirs* united with him in rebellion went to Kanbayat used the opportunity of the unity of his brothers and advanced towards Bahroj asked Sultan Hushang Churi to help him p 189 was favoured by Ahmad Shah p 190 revolted in 814 A H took shelter in the hills of Idar asked Raja of Idar to help him p 19 fled from Ankhor to the hills of Idar fled to Nagor attained martyrdom p 194 his revolt in the country of Bahroj and request to Sultan Hushang joined Ahmad Shah p 47^o

Firuz Shah Sultan success in the attempt at regaining his hereditary dominions p 2^o accession to the throne p 7 account of justice in his reign conquered Bijanagar p 8 advanced towards Shakar p 29 opposed by the Ray of Bijanagar defeated the Ray of Bijanagar p 30 marched to conquer the country of the Marhatta p 35 conquered Kehrila and devastated its surrounding countries sanctioned the plan of a new city with the name of Firuzabad p 36 welcomed Amr Sayid Muhammad Cisudaraz p 37 marched towards Arankal p 38 was wounded by the army of Deo Ray and was taken to Gulbarga p 39 asked help of Sultan Ahmad of Gujarat p 40 tried to crush Khan Khanan declared Ahmad Khan to be his heir his death p 40 period of reign p 4

Firuz Shah Sultan of Bangla the *amirs* placed him on the throne

p 439 (and see n 4 p 439) his death period of reign p 440

Firuz Shah Tuqluq Sultan son of Rajab advanced from Delhi towards Lakhnauti p 4 engaged in a battle with Sultan Shams ud din near Ekdela returned to Delhi received tribute from Sultan Shams ud din p 43 treated the ambassador of Sultan Shams ud din with kindness and sent Arab and Turki horses to Sultan Shams ud din with Malik Saif ud din p 44 advanced to conquer Bangala in the time of Sultan Sikandar p 46

Fulad Khan was appointed as the governor of Bijanagar by Firuz Shah p 3 killed many soldiers of Deo Ray p 34 devastated the country of the Rays of Kokan plundered the country of Rabal p 6

G

Gadal of Rawat tribe Sayid Muhammad got into his house p 686

Gadar Malik was sent to help the men of Nagor by Sultan Qutb ud din p 230

Gajudhar fought against Mahmud Khalji and was slain p 59

Ganea paid a tribute to Ahmad Shah p 20 did homage to Sultan Muhammad Shah through the intervention of Malik Mir Sultani p 4

Gangdas sent his request to Mahmud Khalji p 21 paid tribute to Mahmud Khalji p 5

Gangdas Raja of Champanir p 257 **Chadanfar** fled to Sultan Bahadur and incited him to advance on Ahmadabad p 377

Ghalib Khan was ordered to destroy the palace of Narud din p 557

Ghazi Khan was appointed to the government of Nadarbar and Sultan

pūr, was sent with an army to crush Latīf Khān, p 338, informed Sultān Bahādur about the hostility of Latīf Khān, p 341

Ghāzī Khān, son of Mubārak Khān of Asīr, his titles, his oppressions, asked pardon of his, p 533, offences and was excused by Mahmūd Khaljī, p 534, being defeated fled towards Elchpūr, p 538, informed Mahmūd Khaljī about the rebellion of the *Zamīndārs* of Kachwārah, p 541

Ghāzī Khān, son of Rēgī Chak, Sultān of Kashmīr, was brought before Mīrzā Haider, p 710, went to Harbat Khān Niyāzī p 713, went to Mīrzā Haider, p 714, his share in the division of Kashmīr, p 719, his relation with Kājī Chak, summoned Sankar Chak, p 720, his marriage, p 721, his fight with the army of 'Idī Zinā, p 722, hostilities with Daulat Chak, p 726, rose to power, his advice to Nasrat Chak, p 729, seized and blinded Daulat Chak, raised Habib Shāh to the throne, p 730, fight with Habib Chak, p 731, attack on his enemies, p 733, defeated Shāh Abu-ul-ma'ālī, his order for the execution of the *Mughals*, p 735, his tyranny, his order for his son, p 736, after defeating his enemies raised the standard of his rule, accession, p 737, pardoned his enemies, took up his residence at Lār, sent his son for the conquest of Tibet, p 738 fight with the Tibetans, period of rule, p 739, raised his brother to the throne, p 740, collected army to fight with Husain Khān, p 741, his death, p 744

Ghāzī Sayyid Khān, his fight with Sultān Husain p 792

Ghaznīn Khān, with the title of Sultān 'Alā-ud dīn, was sent by Sultān Mahmūd Khaljī against Sultān Muhammad, p 510, for further details see Qadam Khān, son of Sultān Mahmūd Khaljī

Ghaznīn Khān, Shāhzāda, son of Sultān Hūshang see Muhammad Shāh, son of Hūshang Shāh Ghūrī, Sultān of Mālwā

Ghiyās-ud-dīn, Sultān, succeeded his father, p 24, he was imprisoned and blinded by Tagħaljī, period of his reign, p 25

Ghiyās-ud-dīn Sultān of Bangāla, succeeded his father with the title of Sultān Ghiyās-ud-dīn, p 427, his life, period of reign, p 428 (and see note 4, p 427)

Ghiyath-ud-dīn, Sultān, Sultān of Mālwā, p 257, advanced to help Rāy Batālī, p 273, withdrew his steps and retired to Mandū, p 274, was sent by Mahmūd Khaljī against Sultān Muhammad, p 510, entrusted with the command of the army of Sārangpūr, p 523, ravaged the surrounding places of Sūrat, p 525, ravaged the countries of Kilwārah and Dilwārah, p 532, his accession, bestowal of Ranthambhōr upon Qadam Khān, his generosity, p 543, granted rank and title to 'Abd-ul-qādīr, his statement to the *amīrs* about his activities for the sake of his kingdom, p 544, sent an order to Shēr Khān, p 546, to chastise Sultān Bahlūl, description of his faith and simplicity, his strictness in religious rites and duties, an example of his love and respect for Qurān, p 548, an incident in connection with his obedience to the laws of the Prophet, p 549, his reply to the petition of the Rāy of Chāmpānīr according to the law

of religion p 1 period of reign p 553 representation of Shuja at Khan and his order p 554 killed Malik Mahmud and Sri Das sent men to seize the murderers of Munja Baqal p 555 sent a message to Na'ir ud din p 556 ordered the destruction of the Na'ir Shahi palace mes ago of Na'ir Shah p 557 sent a message to Na'ir ud din p 559 his effort to arrange peace among his sons p 561 destruction of his palace shifted to the palace of Sarsati p 563 recognised Na'ir ud din as a Sultan p 564 news of his death 566 Gita Dorah did homage to Sultan Qutb ud din and represented the forcible possession of Rana Kumha p 31 the fortress of Abu was made over to him by Sultan Qutb ud din p 533 Gop Singh Raja has relations with Sultan Zain ul abidin p 600 Govind Ray see Bahram Khan

II

Habib gun maker Sultan Zain ul abidin wrote a book in concert with him p 607 Habib Qali went to the house of Husain Khan p 749 was injured by a *Rafidī* p 745 Habib Chak son of Daulat Chak his jagir his marriage p 719 his victory over the Tibetans p 727 refused to fulfil the demands of Haider Chak p 778 his rebellion with Chizi Khan p 731 his execution p 732 Habib Khan governor of Ashta p 301 fled from Mandu and complained about the power and violence of Purabia Rajputs to Muzaffar Shah p 302 was permitted to go to

Ashta by Sultan Bahadur p 358 was sent to crush Muhammed Khan p 591 Habib Khan his effort to defeat Yusuf Khan p 708 Habib Shah son of Ismail Shah Sultan of Kashmir according agreement among the enemies of Chazi Khan p 30 definition of the *Pishtas* advance of Shah Abu ul maali towards Kashmir p 734 defeat of Shah Abu ul maali execution of the *Mujahids* p 30 was concealed in a corner p 37 Habib ul lab Shahi was allotted the management of Khel a *parganas* p 501 killed Munja Baqil and fled to the harem of Sultan Na'ir ud din p 502 fled from the palace of Sultan Na'ir ud din p 56 waited on Sultan Na'ir ud din p 507 despatched his ring to Na'ir Shah after the victory p 563 favoured by Na'ir ud din Na'ir Shah conferred on him the title of Yam Khan p 564 went to Shir Khan p 565 was made over to the men of Shir Khan p 566 was imprisoned by Na'ir ud din p 569 Habshi Hafiz his escape from execution p 135 Hafiz Malik was given the title of Mihafiz Khan by Mahmud Shah and was sent in attendance on Yaqum Humayun p 285 Habbat Khan had an interview with Firuz Khan united with Firuz Khan p 189 was sent by the amirs to the presence of Ahmad Shah was favoured by Ahmad Shah p 190 summoned the Raja of Idar for help p 19 joined Nasir ud din p 558 was nominated to crush Yakan Khan by Na'ir ud din p 560 Habbat Khan son of Sultan Muzaffar his revolt in the country of Bahroj

and request to Sultān Hūshang, joined the troops of Ahmad Shāh, p 472, was made over to custodians by Sultān Hūshang, p 482
 Haibat Khān, son of Jām Salāh-ud-dīn, his death, p 780
 Haibat Khān son of Sultān Qutb-ud-dīn, p 643
 Haibat Khān Niyāzī, settlement with Islām Khān, made proposals for peace with Mīrzā Haider, p 713, his advance to conquer Kashmīr, was slain, p 723
 Haider, son of Muhammad Khān, was appointed as the successor of Sultān Zain-ul-‘ābidīn, p 660
 Haider, Mīrzā, Sultān of Kashmīr, Humāyūn permitted him to conquer Kashmīr, p 707, possessed Srīnagar, p 708, his victory over Kājī Chak, suspicious about Rēgī Chak, nominated his men to crush the rebels, p 709, advanced to conquer Tibet, seized the fort of Kōsūr, welcomed the ambassador of Kāshghar at Lār, p 710, his reply to ‘Idī Zīnā, advanced from Lār to Kishtwār, skirmishes with the Kishtwārā army, p 711, advanced towards Tibet, appointed Muhsin as the governor of Tibet, granted the prayer of Ādam Kakhar, p 712, returned to Kashmīr, proposals of Haibat Khān for peace, p 713, Kashmīris separated from Haibat Khān, sent an ambassador to Islām Khān, sent back the ambassador of Islām Khān, appointed the governor of Baharmal, representation of the Mughals, p 714, refused to listen to ‘Alī Mākri, conflagration in Indarkōt, message of Qarrā Bahādur, battle between the Mughals and the men of Baharmal, appointment of agent, news about the arrival of Mullā

‘Abd ul-lah, p 715, came out of Indarkōt, the Mughals joined him and resided at Shihāb ud-dīnpūr, his encampment, destruction of Indarkōt, p 716, took up his residence in Khānpūr, the Kashmīris came to Adanpūr, made a will for his brother, started to attack his enemy, account of his death, p 717, flight of the Mughals, the Kashmīris buried his corpse, peace between the Mughals and the Kashmīris, period of reign, p 718
 Haider Chak, went with ‘Alī Khān, p 755, helped Lōhar, p 757, fought but was defeated by Yūsuf Khān, went to Rāja Mān Singh, p 759
 Haider Chak, son of Ghazī Khān, his message to Habib Chak, p 728, his execution, p 736
 Haider Kāshgharī, Mīrzā, was sent to invade Kashmīr, p 701, fought with the Kashmīris, p 703
 Haider Khān, son of Muhammad Shāh, his arrival in Nau Shahr for the conquest of Kashmīr, p 750, was deceived by Muhammad Khān Chak, p 751
 Haider Khān, son of Yūsuf Khān, went to wait on Akbar, p 758
 Haider Shāh, Sultān, son of Sultān Zain-ul-‘ābidīn as Hāji Khān revolted against his father, p 663, his defeat, p 664, was sent for by his father, p 666, obeyed the *farmān* of his father, p 667, was made the successor of his father, p 668, his illness, p 669, was summoned by the *amīrs* to occupy the seat of his father, p 671, his accession, p 672, his heir, allotment of fiefs, character and habits, p 673, illness, p 674, death, period of reign, p 675

Haji Malik one of the adherents of Mahmud Shah p 39 made an attack on the rebels p 91 was given the title of Imdad ul mulk by Mahmud Shah p 24^o was sent to Idar by Mahmud Shah induced two servants of Baha ul mulk to confess to the murder of Adam Silahdar reported to Mahmud Shah that he had brought the murderers of Adam Silahdar and Baha ul mulk had fled into Idar caused the execution of the two servants of Baha ul mulk was executed by the order of Mahmud Shah p 49

Haji Ali Malik Taj Khan and Mansur Khan fought with him p 304

Haji Kamal Malik ul umara government of Chandeli was transferred from Nasrat Khan to him p 501 rebellion in his country p 503

Haji Kashmiri Khwaja was nominated to crush the rebel Bahadur Chak p 99 went to the spot where Mirza Haidar was lying wounded p 718 one lakh donkey loads of paddy allotted to him p 719 went to Islami Khan p 7^o. Haji Khan did not take part in the battle between Itraad Khan and the Fuladis joined the Fuladis who demanded his jagir from Itraad Khan p 400

Haji Khan son of Sultan Zain ul abidin see Haidar Shah Sultan son of Sultan Zain ul abidin Sultan of Kashmir

Haji Khan Sultan was appointed to Dhar p 621 informed Shuja Khan about the advance of Mallu Khan p 623

Hajjaj son of Yusuf sent Muhammad Harun towards India p 761 his letter to Ray Dahir p 763 sent Badil to conquer Debul sent

Muhammad Qasim for the conquest of Sind p 764

Hakim Ali wi welcomed by Yusuf Khan p 709

Hamid Bulkarai Saifid satisfied Sher Khan by answering his question p 413

Hans Raja of Blumbar fought with the army of Titar Khan p 68

Harat i Amriza dah i was removed by Sultan Mahmud from Qanauj p 40

Hariju went to bring Sankar Chak p 70

Harkhukha his son asked help from Muzaffar Shah p 298

Har Ray prayed Ahmad Shah for the pardon of his offences p 11 was forgiven by Ahmad Shah and was taken into the circle of loyal adherents was asked to pay tribute this was delayed was pursued fled from the place p 1^o presented his daughter in the shape of tribute to Muhammad Shah Muhammad Shah gave him the fort of Idar at the request of his daughter p 44

Harsingh Ray was the Ray of Kehri who made his submission to Firuz Shah and accepted his sovereignty p 36

Hasan informed Sultan Chiyath ud din about the raid of Bahadur Lodi p 546

Hasan son of Shar Ashrafi was banished with his brother by Sher Shah p 642 was imprisoned by Sultan Qutb ud din p 643

Hasan Malik was given the title of Safdar ul mulk by Ahmad Shah and was left in Ahmadnagar p 21^o

Hasan Malih was sent by Chaznun Khan to seize Zafar Minjumla p 48^o

Hasan Sayid son of Sayid Nasir was sent for and entrusted with the reins of authority by Sultan Hasan

- turned the mind of Sultān Hasan against the Kashmīrīs, p 681, accepted the will of Sultān Hasan for his successor, placed Muham-mad Khān on the throne of his father, was slain, p 682
- Hasan, Sultān, son of Hājī Khān Haider Shāh, Sultān of Kashmīr, his accession, p 675, residence, entrusted the administration to Ahmad Aswad, revived the rules of Sultān Zain-ul-‘ābidīn, act of mischievous persons, p 676, sent Malik Tāj Bhat against Bahrām Khān, p 677, unprisonment of Bahrām Khān and Zain Badr, p 678 enmity between the *amīrs*, disturbances created by the *amīrs*, p 680 imprisonment of Ahmad Aswad, made over the reins of authority to Sayyid Hasan, attacked by disease, made will for his heir and successor, p 681, period of reign, p 682
- Hasan ‘Alī, his father, his appointment as *nāyib*, was conferred the title of Mīrzā Khān, his activities as the *vakīl* of Murtada Nizām Shāh, declared Mīrān Husain to be the Sultān, p 150
- Hasan ‘Alī Khān, p 114
- Hasan Chak, went to Haibat Khān Niyāzī, p 713
- Hasan Daknī, Malik, was known as Malik-ut-tujjār, Shāhzāda Zafar Khān was sent by Ahmad Shāh to destroy him, his tyranny, p 215, built a barricade along the shore of Mahāim, fought with the army of Gujrāt, fled and got within the barricade, after the reinforcement of the army of Gujrāt he prayed Sultān Ahmad Bahmanī for help, was reinforced by the army of Sultān Ahmad Bahmanī and advanced towards Thāna, fought with Shāhzāda Zafar Khān and was defeated, p 216
- Hasan Gāngū see ‘Alā ud dīn Hasan Shāh
- Hasan Kachhī, favoured Hājī Khān, p 671, his execution, p 674
- Hasan Khān, made strong terms of engagement with Amīrzāda Habib-ul-lah, gained the favour of the soldiers, p 82, was deceived by Sirāj Khān, receiving a safe conduct went to the besiegers, p 83
- Hasan Khān, son of Hājī Khān, joined his father, p 672, Kamrāj allotted as his jāgīr, p 673, came to Kashmīr but was not welcomed by his father, p 675
- Hasan Khān, son of Kājī Chak, his marriage, p 721
- Hasan Khān, son of Sayyid Mubārak Khān, was slain, p 753
- Hasan Khān, son of Sultān Firūz Shāh, p 38
- Hasan Khān Shāhzāda, youngest son of Sultān ‘Alā-ud dīn, was supported by Saif Khān, Mallū Khān and other *amīrs* in taking the throne of Humāyūn Khān, at the time of sitting on the throne he saw Humāyūn Khān coming to the palace, became afraid, p 75, came down from the throne, p 76, was taken to the house of one of the conspirators, p 239
- Hasan Mākrī, defeated the Niyāzīs, p 723, joined Ghāzī Khān, p 726
- Hasan Matū, family of Mīrzā Haider was placed in his house, p 719
- Hastī Chak, helped Lōhar, p 757
- Hastī Khān, joined the enemy of Ghāzī Khān, p 731
- Hastī Tariq, seized Habib Chak, p 731
- Hātim, Malik, attained martyrdom at the hands of Rānā Sānkā, p 310

Hayat Khan wife of Sultan Hasan of Kashmir gave birth to a son named Muhammad p 680

Hazbar Khan p 563

Hemkaran was sent to crush Muharriz Khan p 594

Himmat Khan joined Nasir ud din p 559

Hindal see Quib ud din Sultan son of Sultan Shams ud din Sultan of Kashmir

Hindal Mirza was sent by Humayun Badshah to crush Tatar Khan p 371 Hindu Bagh Qulchin entered the fort of Mandu p 374 was sent with Mirza Askari p 376 was appointed to the government of Baroda by Humayun Badshah p 377 when quashed the country of Gujarat p 378

Hisam ud din went to his brother Rukn ud din p 241

Hisam ud din Malik p 203

Hisam ud din Qadil went to Champanir from Ahmadabad for negotiations p 230

Hisam ud din Maghul Malik placed Khanzada Islam Khan on the throne of Asir and Burhanpur p 283 joined the camp of Mahmud Shah and was honoured by him p 284 was given the title of Shahryar and the moudah of Dhanura and was permitted to go back by Mahmud Shah p 285 left Burhanpur and resided in Thalnur joined Nizam ul mulk Bahri in rebellion came towards Burhaapur with four thousand horsemen came with pride to Azer Humayun was slain by Darya Khan p 286

Hisam ul mulk Handeri was summoned by Mahmud Khalji p 50°

Humayun Badshah Junnat Ashrafi sent letters to Sultan Bahadur to expel Muhammad Zaman Mirza

from his dominions advanced to crush Sultan Bahadur p 371 met with the army of Sultan Bahadur in the vicinity of Mandisor p 372 pursued Sultan Bahadur to the fort of Mandu p 374 came to Baagala in pursuit of Sher Khan p 448 Sultan Bahadur came to him account of the rule of deputies in Malwa p 616 left Malwa and went to Agra turned towards Bangala p 617

Humayun Shah Sultan (son of Sultan Ala ud din) ascended the throne and appointed a wiso ta ir p 76 entrusted the duties of the vizir to Khwajah Nizam ud din Qaran Gilani determined to march to Malkonda sent Khan Jahan in advance of himself p 77 fought became victorious returned to the capital conferred the title of Khwajah Jahan on Malik Shah p 78 sent Khwajah Jahan with Nizam ul mulk Churi to the country of Tilang and followed himself p 79 turned against Nizam ul mulk cast off the Khwajah from his favour determined on the conquest of Tilang p 80 understood the policy of Hasan Khan killed friends and strangers p 8° became a slave of lust put members of his harem to death p 84 was slain period of reign p 8°

Husain Mir was slain in the battle field p 703

Husain Shah ruler of Sind account of his reign p 783

Husain Sultan son of Mahmud Shah Sharqi succeeded his brother advanced towards the country of Orissa conquered the country of Tirhut levied tribute p 459 returned to Jaunpur after victory put the fort of Benarss into repair

sont amīns to capture the fort of Gwāhar, advanced to conquer Delhi, seized the territory, p 460, appertaining to Delhi, rejected the request of Sultān Bahlūl, defeated by Sultān Bahlūl, p 461, refused to accept the request of Sultān Bahlūl, was defeated on every occasion, had to content himself with a section of his territory, induced Bārbak Shāh to advance on Delhi, p 462, fled and found an asylum with the ruler of Bangāla, period of reign, end of the Sharqī Empire, p 463

Husain, Sultān, son of Sultān Mahmūd, Sultān of Multān, his accession, siege of Multān by Mirzā Shāh Husain, p 806, description of Maulānā Sa'd-ul-lah Lāhōrī about the siege of Mirzā Husain p 807, account of Maulānā Sa'd-ul-lah about himself after the victory of Mirzā Husain over Multān, p 808, his imprisonment, Multān under the possession of Langar Khān, p 810, Multān in the possession of the Sultāns of Delhi, a final statement by the author, p 811

Husain, Sultān, son of Sultān Qutb-ud-din, Sultān of Multān, succeeded his father, p 791, conquest of the fort of Shōr, p 792, possessed the fort of Khānāwūl, returned to Multān, brought the country as far as the boundary of the fort of Dhankot into possession, rebellion of Sultān Shihāb-ud-dīn, seized Sultān Shihāb-ud-dīn, entered the fort of Multān, p 793, flight of the Delhi army, p 794, jāgīr conferred on Malik Suhrāb, arrival of the Balūchīs, his grants to the Balūchīs, Jām Bāyazīd and Jām Ibrāhīm entered his service, p 795, his letter to Sultān Sikandar, p 796, peace

and agreement with Sultān Sikandar, sent an ambassador to Sultān Mu'azzīz Gujrātī, description of Qādī Muhammād about the palaces of the Sultāns of Gujrāt, speech of 'Imād-ul-mulk Tawalak, p 797, raised Firūz Khān on the throne, p 798, his lamentations after the death of his son, again occupied himself with administration, sent for Jām Bāyazīd and instructed him to avenge the murder of his son, p 799, appointment of Jām Bāyazīd as iazīr, his death, period of reign, p 800

Husain Aīghūn, Mirzā Shāh, a farmān of Bābar, an ambassador of Sultān Mahmūd came to him, p 805, besieged the fort of Multān, p 806, began to destroy Multān, p 808, made over Sultān Husain to the guards, treatment of Shujā'-ul-mulk, returned to Thathā, p 810

Husain Khān, brother of Ghazī Khān, Sultān of Kashmīr, was made the commander of the army of his brother, p 735, requested Ghazī Khān to pardon the offences of his enemies, p 738, accession, p 740, divided the country of Kashmīr, sent a large force against Sankar Chak, plans for murdering him, p 741, sent a message to his enemies, imprisoned his enemies, sent a large army to attack Sankar Chak, p 742, his disposition against Khān Zamān, attack of Khān Zamān, p 743, execution of Khān Zamān, founded a college, p 744, ordered Mubāriz Khān to be imprisoned, consultation with the lawyers of Shara'i'at, p 745, reply to Yūsuf's partisans, welcomed the ambassadors of Akbar, execution of the Muftīs, sent his daughter for the service of Akbar, p 746, illness, his message

to Ali Khan p 747 handed over government to Ah Khan died p 748

Husain Makri was sent with Qarra Bahadur sent his brother with a mes age to Mirza Haidar p 714

Husain Nizam ul mulk (son of Burhan Nizam ul mulk) succeeded his father Burhan Nizam ul mulk p 140 attacked Ram Raj of Bijanagar with Adil Khan Qutb ul mulk and Malik Barid Ram Raj advanced to meet them with p 141 a large army p 14 Ram Raj was killed p 143 ruled for thirteen years left two sons p 144

Husain Nizam ul mulk son of Murtada Nizam ul mulk was released by Hasan was made the successor of his father by Hasan Ali p 150 Mirza Khan in his government spent his time in luxury *amirs* of the Deccan oblivious of Mirza Khan decided to get rid of Mirza Khan arrangement of a feast p 151 invitation to Mirza Khan and his refusal Sayyid Murtada Sharwani complained that he was poisoned report and suggestion of Mirza Khan to Husain Nizam ul mulk about Sayyid Murtada Sharwani his imprisonment by Mirza Khan p 152 Mirza Khan imprisoned Ankas Khan Mirza Khan sent Mir Tahir to the fort and brought Ismail out of prison Jamal Khan Gujrati and Yaqut declared war against Mirza Khan p 153 his massacre announcement about Ismail Nizam ul mulk for the succession of Husain fight of Jamal Khan and the other *amirs* with Mirza Khan Mirza Khan's defeat and end his period of rule p 154

Husain Quli Khan p 749

Husain Sabazwari Sultan father of Hasan Ali p 150

Husain Sharwani went with an army to reinforce Kuj Chak p 708

Hushang Sultan son of Dilawar Khan Sultan of Malwa invaded the country of Nar singh Ray fought with Sultan Ahmad by the side of Nar singh Ray was unsuccessful p 59 advanced to give battle to Muazzaf Shah fled to the fort of Dhar saw Muazzaf Shah p 186 was imprisoned by Muazzaf Shah p 188 was released by Muazzaf Shah p 187 was requested by Firoz Khan for help p 189 advanced from Dhar to help Firoz Khan p 190 returned to his country p 191 advanced towards Gujerat returned to his country retreat of Sultan Hushang p 193 his arrival at the town of Mahura could not face the army of Sultan Ahmad Shah and returned to his own country p 197 his repeated invasions of Gujerat met the army of Ahmad Shah p 199 was defeated and fled from the battlefield p 201 his offences were forgiven by Ahmad Shah p 203 left Malwa p 204 returned from Jajnagar and entered the fort of Mandu p 205 went to Sarangpur and agreed to pay tribute to Ahmad Shah his attack on the camp of Ahmad Shah p 200 plundering of the camp of Ahmad Shah by his army army of Ahmad Shah met with his army and wounded him p 207 was defeated by Ahmad Shah and retired to Sarangpur fought with the army of Ahmad Shah and was defeated p 208 succeeded his father and gave himself the title of Sultan Hushang the *amirs* and the great men of Malwa rendered homage to him heard the news of the arrival of Sultan Muazzaf Gujerati at

Ujjain, p 468, fought with Sultān Muzaffar in the vicinity of Dhār but was defeated and arrested, army of Mālwa carried Nasīr Khān out of Dhār, p 469, armies of Mālwa left Dhār and resided in the fort of Mandū and made Mūsā Khān their chief, sent a petition to Sultān Muzaffar, Sultān Muzaffar granted permission to Shāhzāda Ahmad Shāh to reinforce him, sent a man to the fort of Mandū to summon the *amīrs*, p 470, *amīrs* could not join him, went to the town of Mahēsar but could not conquer it, his cousins came out of the fort of Mandū and joined him, p 471, entered the fort of Mandū, conferred the title of Malik-us-sharq on Malik Mughīth and appointed him as his *vazīr* and representative, advanced to destroy the country of Gujrāt but without fulfilling his aim returned to Dhār, while Sultān Ahmad Gujrātī was attacking the Rāja of Jhālāwār he turned towards Gujrāt, p 472, could not withstand Ahmad Shāh and returned to his own country, on the petitions of the *Zamīndārs* and the Rājas of Chāmpānīr, Nādōt and Idar advanced to conquer Gujrāt but was unsuccessful and had to return to his own country, p 473, fought with Sultān Ahmad in the vicinity of Kāliādah but fled and took shelter in the fort of Mandū, conferred the title of Mahmūd Khān on Malik Mahmūd and granted him a share in the government of his father, whenever he went on any expedition he left Malik Mughīth as his deputy and took Mahmūd Khān with him, p 477, advanced towards Jājnagar, p 475, as a merchant to buy some elephants, p 476, attacked

the Rāy of Jājnagar and imprisoned him, the *vazīrs* of Jājnagar sent 75 elephants to him, returned to his own country, released the Rāja of Jājnagar, p 477, made a night attack on the army of Sultān Ahmad, p 478, fought with Sultān Ahmad and fled to the citadel of Sārangpūr, when Sultān Ahmad turned his face towards his own country he pursued him and again gave battle, but being defeated took shelter in the fort of Sārangpūr, went from Sārangpūr to the fort of Mandū, conquered the fort of Kākrūn, advanced to conquer Gwāliar and took possession of its neighbouring territory, advanced to meet Sultān Mubārak Shāh, p 479, peace with Sultān Mubārak Shāh, advanced to aid the Rāy of Kehrla, attacked Ahmad Shāh Bahmanī and fled towards Mandū, his wife fell into the hands of Sultān Ahmad who sent her to Mandū, marched to conquer Kālpī, p 480, after fighting with Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī obtained possession of Kālpī, p 481, summoned Uthmān Khān Shāhzāda with his two brothers and gave orders for their confinement, destroyed the men of Jātba, p 482, plundered the Rāja of Bhīm and went to the fort of Hūshangābād, told an allegorical story of his death to the *amīrs*, declared his son Ghaznīn Khān as his successor, p 483, gave directions to the *amīrs*, gave counsel and advice to Mahmūd Khān, some *amīrs* represented to him in favour of Uthmān Khān, his reply to the *amīrs*, p 484, he asked for his quiver and called for the *amīrs*, p 488, his death, p 490, period of reign, p 491

Hīhang Shah adopted son of Shihab ud din was placed on the place of Sultan Shihab ud din was attacked and fled p 581

Hushyar ul mulk p 339

I

Ibrahim was slain p 37

Ibrahim son of Jahangir Mārlī persuaded Muhammad Shah to invade Kashmir his rival in the court of Muhammad Shah p 691 was imprisoned by Malik Kujī p 693

Ibrahim Jam joined Sultan Husain p 9 bestowal of Och by Sultan Husain on him p 790

Ibrahim Saīd was seized by Iltīzām p 71 fled from custody and joined Daulat Chak p 79

Ibrahim Ādil Khan son of Ismaīl Khan succeeded his father request of Mallu Khan to Asād Khan p 161 Mallu Khan's reign repentance of Asād Khan he unprisoned and punished Mallu Khan and Ulugh Khan fight with Burhan Nizam ul mulk period of reign p 169

Ibrahim Ādil Khan son of Tahmasp when and how he ascended the throne p 169. Kishwar Khan slow Kamīl Khan the end of Kishwar Khan and Muṣṭafa Khan abolished the established form of religion establishment of a new religion Dilawar Khan as a *talukdar* in the administration p 166 attacked Dilawar Khan instigation of Dilawar Khan to Burhan Nizam ul mulk to attack Ādil Khan summoned Dilawar Khan and blinded him period of reign p 167

Ibrahim Husain Mirza reinforced Chongiz Khan p 463 went with his brother towards Baroda and Bahroj p 413

Ibrahim Khan son of Chāzī Khan his faith in Shah Ārif p 749 his execution p 756

Ibrahim Khan son of Muhammad Shah see Ibrahim Shah Sultan son of Muhammad Shah Sultan of Kashmir

Ibrāhīm Khān Saīd p 69 as the commander of the army of Ibrahim Shah p 698

Ibrahim Nizam Saīd instigated Faṭḥ Khan to join his brothers entitled Rukn Khan made arrangement to defend the fort of Mahrasa p 19 his treachery in conjunction with the amirs of Ahmad Shah his execution p 193

Ibrahim Quṭb ul mulk became the ruler of Golkonda his character and habits period of reign pp 169-170

Ibrāhīm Shah Sultan son of Muhammad Shah Sultan of Kashmir was placed on the throne of his father by Malik Kujī p 69, accession his wife name of Abdal Mahri and his advance towards Kashmir p 696 message of Abdal Mahri to Malik Kujī p 697 victorious fight of Abdal Mahri period of reign p 698

Ibrahim Shah son of Muhammad Shah brother of Muzaffar Shah Sultan of Kashmir accession p 725 hostility between Chāzī Khan and Daulat Chak p 76 settlement between Chāzī Khan and Daulat Chak destruction of Tibet p 727 earthquake in Kashmir p 78

Ibrahim Sharqī Sultan advanced from Jaunpur to capture Delhi but returned to his country on hearing of the advance of Muzaffar Shah p 186 was reinforced by the arrival of Shahzada Bahadur Khan p 321 had an interview with Bahadur

Shāh, p 330, succeeded Mubārak Shāh, condition of Jaunpūr, p 449, literary works which were written in his name, personal qualifications, advanced to destroy Sultān Mahmūd and Mallū Iqbāl Khān, p 450, laid siege to Kanauj, conquered Kanauj and made it over to Ikhtiyār Khān, captured Sanbal and entrusted, p 451, it to Tātār Khān, seized the town of Baran and made it over to Malik Marjān, returned towards Jaunpūr, fight and peace with Khidr Khān, advanced to conquer Kālpī, p 452, returned towards Jaunpūr hearing of the advance of Mubārak Shāh, died, period of reign, p 453

‘Īdī Zinā, his anger on the murder of Ujh Bahrām, p 710, fought with the Kishtwārā army as the commander of Mīrzā Haider’s troop, p 711, fight with the Mughals, p 715, his house at Srīnagar was burnt, p 716, his daughter was married to Habib Chak, rise of his power, p 719, settlement with Ghāzī Khān, p 720, released the Mughals, p 721, fight with Ghāzī Khān, p 722, his victory over the Niyāzīs, p 723, was defeated by Daulat Chak, his death, p 724

Iftikhār-ul-mulk, Malik, was granted Muhammadvār by Ahmad Shāh as his fief, p 205, was sent with an army by Ahmad Shāh, his victorious fight, p 208, was sent with Shāhzāda Muhammad Khān by Ahmad Shāh, p 213, seized a large elephant as booty on the destruction of Sultān ‘Alā-ud-dīn, p 214, was sent by Zafar Khān to surround Thāna, p 215

Ikhtiyār Khān, was sent by Mahmūd Shāh to meet Rāy Batāī, p 272, joined Sultān Bahādur in the

town of Dhār, p 355, the charge of the government of Mandū was placed in his hands, p 356, was left to carry on the seige of the fort of Rāisīn, p 363, was sent by Sultān Bahādur to capture the fort of Mandisōr, p 368, was enlisted among the courtiers of Hūmāyūn, p 375, Kanauj was made over to him by Sultān Ibrāhīm, p 451, was entrusted with the government of Mandū by Sultān Bahadur, p 616

Ikhtiyār Khān Gujrātī, became powerful but was put to death, p 385

Ikhtiyār-ul-mulk, was sent to reassure the citizens of Dhār, p 298, attacked Sāiyid Mubārak, p 395, advised I’tmād Khān to leave Ahmadābād, p 404, arrived at Ahmadābād, p 407, proposed to conquer Bahrōj, p 410, was enlisted in the band of the loyal servants, p 414

Ikhtiyār-ul-mulk, Malik, was made ‘Imād-ul-mulk by Mahmūd Shāh and was appointed as *nā’ib gharbat*, all the soldiers of Malik Hājī were made over to him by Mahmūd Shāh, p 248

Hājī, Sultān of Bangāla, slew Sultān ‘Alā-ud-dīn, his possessions, gave himself the title of Sultān Shams-ud-dīn, had public prayers read in his name, marched to Jājnagar, p 421, his administration, p 422, fled to the fort of Ekdāla, fought with Sultān Firūz and fled, sent tribute to Firūz Shāh and prayed for pardon, sent Malik Tāj-ud-dīn to Delhī with tribute, p 423, died, period of reign, p 424 (and see note 4 of p 424)

‘Ilm-ud dīn, Sāiyid, p 327, became a martyr, p 328

Imad Maulana brought a gift to Mahmud Khanji p 539 joined Nasir ud din p 558

Imad ud din Gburi Malik joined the army of Muhammad Khan on the bank of the river Krishna was put to death by Muhammad Khan p 59

Imad ud din Khurasani Malna fought against Shahib Khan p 586

Imad ul mulk was appointed by Sultan Muhammad to subdue Hasan Hasan defeated and slew him p 910

Imad ul mulk son of Imad ul mulk with his help Malik Barid dethroned Ahmad Shah p 133 was sent by Sultan Ahmad Gujrati to fight with Sultan Hushang seized all those who had joined Hushang and brought them to Sultan Ahmad Gujrati p 191 was appointed by Muzaffar Shah to crush Rana Sanga taking Qawam ul mulk went to Parantej p 311 was deputed by Sultan Bahadur for revenue collection fought with Mirza Askari and was defeated p 376 enmity arose between him and Darya Khan went as a suppliant to Miran Mubarak Shah being defeated by the army of Gujrati fled from Burhanpur p 386 attacked Imad Khan p 396 news of his encampment reached Mahmud Shah p 392 sent a message to Bijhat Khan p 593 entered the fort of the Rajputs and opened the gate to his soldiers p 603

Imad ul mulk Kawl Malik submitted himself to Sultan Bahadur of Gujrati and instigated him to invade the Deccan p 4 Sultan Muhammad Lashkari granted him Kawl as jagir p 94 took up the duties of rai of Mahmud Shah consulted Malika-i-Jahan in administration

was attacked by Dilawar Khan p 11^o went to Kawil p 113 invited Mahmud Shah to come to Kawil advanced to crush Malik Barid p 131 returned to Kawil p 132 reinforced Muhammad Khan of Asir and Burhanpur fought with the amirs of the Deccan fled to Asir and Burhanpur regained possession of his dominions with the help of Bahadur Shah Gujrati p 135 his hospitable transaction with Isma'il Adil Khan p 161 sent a representation to Sultan Bahadur p 346

Imad ul mulk Samarqandi Malik was sent with an army to meet Sultan Hushang by Ahmad Shah arrested some of the disturbers p 193

Imad ul mulk Sultan helped to place Sikandar Khan on the throne p 33 determined to dethrone Sultan Sikandar p 396 his entrance into the palace of Sultan Sikandar p 327 placed Nasir Khan on the throne of Sultan Sikandar p 328 despatched letters to various powers for help p 329 collected troops to meet Bahadur Shah p 331 paid wages for one year to the soldiers p 33^o sent men towards Baroda p 334 took shelter in the house of Shah Jui Sadiqi was seized and ordered to be hanged p 335 was sent by Sultan Babadur to attack Bhupat p 357 was sent by Sultan Bahadur to chastise Bhupat and Rana p 362 fought with Puran Mal and made him run away and imprisoned some of the Purabas submitted a report to Sultan Bahadur p 363 was sent by Sultan Bahadur to capture the fort of Mandisor p 368

Iqbāl Khān, was sent to fight against Mubārak Khān by Maḥmūd Khaljī, p 527, was appointed to get rid of Shēr Khān, p 567, pursued Khwājah Sulail and Maḥābat Khān, p 568, went to defend Asū and Burhānpūr, p 570, sent a message to Maḥmūd Shāh, p 577, was summoned by Maḥmūd Shāh, his flight from his house, p 579, sent the corpse of Shihāb-ud-dīn to Shādiābād p 580, his petition to Maḥmūd Shāh, p 581, joined Maḥmūd Shāh, p 582, was slain by the order of Maḥmūd Shāh, p 587

'Isā Khān Sūr, was left in the town of Ujjain by Islām Khān p 627

'Isā Sālān, Malik, rose in revolt, p 194

'Isā Tarkhān, Mīrzā, ruler of Sind, defeated the Jām's army, p 778, account of his rule in Sind, p 784

Isfandiyār, p 4

Ishāq, Malik, son of Qutb-ul-mulk, sent a petition to Maḥmūd Khaljī, who conferred the title of Daulat Khān, wealth and honour on him, p 504

Ishāq, Qādī Pīr, was sent to reinforce Malik Sharikhā, fought with Alf Khān, p 280 (and see also note 1 on p 280)

'Ishqī Mullā, went as an ambassador to 'Alī Shāh, p 750

Iskandar, Jām, son of Jām Fath Khān, ruler of Sind, account of his rule, p 777

Iskandar Kakhar, reinforced Muhammad Shāh, p 692

Iskandar Khān, was made successor to the throne by Muhammad Shāh, p 691, skirmishes with Muhammad Shāh, p 694

Islām Khān, the possessions of Shēr Khān devolved on him, p 623, placed the reins of Mālwa in the hands of Shujā' Khān, his anger with

Shujā' Khān, p 624, a message from Shujā' Khān, p 625, went to enquire about Shujā' Khān, p 626, rewarded Shujā' Khān, detached soldiers to pursue Shujā' Khān, took possession of Mālwa, p 627, pardoned the offences of Shujā' Khān and bestowed Sārangpūr and Rāisīn on the latter, his death, p 628

Islām Khān of Kashmīr, made an amicable settlement with Haibat Khān Niyāzī, p 713, an ambassador came from Mīrzā Hādar, p 714, was slain by Muhammad Khān Chak, p 751

Ismā'il, p 162, was blinded by his brother 'Alī 'Ādil Khān, p 163

Ismā'il, son of Mīr Bihishti, relations with Fattū, his rank in service, imprisoned Salābat Khān, showed a written letter to Salābat Khān, p 149, his rise to power, his cruelty, p 150

Ismā'il, Shāh, the Badshāh of Irān, sent Yādgār Bēg Qazlbāsh to Maḥmūd Shāh with presents, p 290.

Ismā'il 'Ādil Khān, succeeded his father, his character, his achievements, received a title, p 160, description of his soldiers, sent ships to Hormuz and summoned men from 'Irāq and Khurāsān, transaction with 'Imād-ul-mulk Kāwili, his wars with Nizām-ul-mulk and their results, period of reign, p 161

Ismā'il Afgān, p 9

Ismā'il Fath, was placed on the throne by Hasan Gāngū with the title of Nāsir-ud-dīn, p 8 (and see note 3 on pp 8-9), crept into the fort of Dhārāgarh, p 9

Ismā'il Hāyat, went to bring Sankar Chak, p 720

Ismā'il Khān Kālpī, p 507

Ismail Nizam ul mulk Jamal Khan as an all in all in his government his attitude towards the white skinned people Jamal Khan invaded the Adil Shahi country and became victorious p 155 arrival of Burhan in the Deccan p 156 Burhan took the possession of Berar opposition of Jamal Khan Burhan possessed Ahmadnagar period of reign p 157

Ismail Safvi Shah sent an ambas sadar to Gujrat p 586

Ismail Shah brother of Ibrahim Shah Sultan of Kashmir accession p 7-9

Imdad Khan refused to believe the message of Burhan summoning him p 390 was appointed by Sultan Mahmud as the attendant of his harem p 393 placed Radul mulk on the throne of Sultan Mahmud kept the affairs of Kingdom in his own hands and kept Radul mulk confined in his house fought and defeated Sultan Ahmad p 395 confined Sultan Ahmad in his house put Sultan Ahmad to death p 396 declared on oath that Nanu was the real heir of the throne of Sultan Ahmad p 397 remained as *ta'ir* in the reign of Sultan Muzaffar p 398 kept Sultan Muzaffar Nanu in a state of imprisonment attacked the Fuladis p 399 refused the demands of the Fuladis was defeated by the Fuladis met Musa Khan and Sher Khan but was defeated gave up the possession of the jagir of Haj Khan and took up his quarters at Ahmadabad received a message from Chengiz Khan p 400 sent a reply to the message of Chengiz Khan p 401 sent a reply to Chengiz Khan inducing him to conquer Sardarbar p 402 commenced to

equip his army after receiving the message of Chengiz Khan left the city and encamped in the vicinity of Batuh on the arrival of Chengiz Khan took Mu assar Shah to the battlefield but being frightened fled towards Dungarpur p 404 arrived at Ahmadabad bringing Muzaffar Shah with him wrote a letter to Sher Khan for the evacuation of Bahdar p 410 did not accept the agreement which was settled among the amirs p 411 deceived Jhuhjar Khan sent a letter to Sher Khan stating that Nanu wa not the son of the Sultan p 412 summoned the Mirzaas from Bahroj sent a petition to Khanfa Ilahi requesting him to conquer Gujr t p 413

J

Jada was appointed by Shaikh Shuja ul mulk plundered the house of a poor man p 807

Ja far Khan was sent by his father to Sultan Bahadur of Gujrat with a request took permission to visit the city of Ahmadabad p 346

Jaga moved about in the hills went for protection to Ratan Sen p 348 was sent for by Sultan Bahadur p 349

Jahan Khan his letter to Ahmad Shah informing him of the intention of Sultan Hushang p 197

Jahangir Badrah as the *ta'ir* of Fath Shah joined Muhammad Shah p 699

Jahangir Malr fled from Kashmir p 681 came to strengthen the Kashmoris p 684 persuaded Muhammad Shah to come out of Kashmir p 686 fought with the army of Fath Khan and defeated it advanced for the second time to meet Fath Khan p 687 his message

to the Rāja of Rājaurī, summoned the Sayyids, fight with Fath Khān, p 688, his seclusion, p 689, as the commander of the army of Fath Shāh, was killed, p 692

Jahāngūr Mākrī, agent of Mīrzā Haidar, was awarded the fief of Husain Mākrī, p 115

Jahāngīr Quli Bēg, ruled Bangāla on behalf of Humāyūn Bādshāh, was slain by Shēr Khān, p 445

Jāīldah, Shaikh, p 301, fled from Mandū and complained about the power and violence of Pūrabīa Rājpūts to Muzaffar Shāh, p 302, received a letter to Sultān Mahmud Sharqī, p 456, sent a letter to Sultān Mahmūd Khaljī, p 457, by his exertions peace was effected between Mahmūd Khaljī and Mahmūd Sharqī, p 519

Jai Singh, account of his rebellion against Mahmūd Shāh, p 257

Jai Singh Rāy, proprietor of the fort of Birākar, p 99

Jākar Zand, Mīr, arrival in Multān, p 803, was respected by Jām Bāyazīd, p 804

Jalāl Bukhārī, Sayyid, p 327

Jalāl Khān Bukhārī, shut himself in the fort of Mālkonda, p 78, was released from the prison of Humāyūn Shāh, was put to death by a *lotwāl*, p 82, incited Mahmūd Khaljī to seize the fort of Māhūr, p 526

Jalāl Kōkhar Malik, was displaced by Ā'zam Humāyūn, p 184

Jalāl-ud-dīn, Sayyid, asked for the help of Mahmūd Khaljī against the oppression of Ghāzī Khān, p 533

Jalāl-ud-dīn, Sultān of Bangāla, became a Musalmān, assumed the name of Sultān Jalāl-ud-dīn, died, period of reign, p 432 (and see note 3, p 432)

Jalāl-ud-dīn Quraishī, Shaikh, was respected by Jām Bāyazīd, p 796, a wonderful story which was narrated by him, p 804

Jamāl, Shaikh, father of Shaikh 'Abd-ul-hāī, p 621

Jamāl Khān Gujrātī, his fight, his rank in service, p 153, sentenced Mīrzā Khān to death, p 154, placed Ismā'il Nizām-ul-mulk on the throne, kept Ismā'il as a puppet and himself rose in power, invaded the 'Ādil Shāhī country, p 155, attacked Burhān-ul-mulk and was killed, p 157, defeated 'Ādil Khān, fought with Rāja 'Alī Khān, his death, p 158

Jamāl-ud-dīn, Mahk, was given the title of Muhibbīz Khān by Sultān Mahmūd Gujrātī, p 255, was appointed as *Shahna* and *kotwāl* and posted to Ahmadābād, satisfactory discharge of his duties improved his honour, wealth and rank, p 256, was promoted to the rank of *vazīr*, p 257, was ordered to execute Bhīm Rāy, p 262, was directed by 'Imād-ul-mulk to attend on Prince Ahmad Khān and to guard the city on the day of 'Id, p 265, was transferred to the post of 'Imād-ul-mulk, p 271, his charge when the fort of Chāmpānīr was besieged by Sultān Mahmūd, p 273, reported to Sultān Mahmūd about the cure of Rāy Batāī, charge of the erection of *Jahān Panāh* citadel was given to him, p 276, was sent to receive and welcome Sāhib Khān by Muzaffar Shāh, p 293, fled and sought the protection of Rāy Singh p 336, joined Latīf Khān, p 337

Jamāl-ud-dīn Astrābādī, Khwājah, went with presents to Mahmūd Khaljī, pp 540-41

Jam Firuz left Thatha and joined Sultan Bahadur p 345
 Jam p 581
 Jamil Hafiz Mulla received favours from Sultan Zain ul abidin p 657
 Jamshid Sultan son of Sultan Shams ud din Sultan of Kashmir neces sion p 637 struggle with Ali Sher p 638 period of reign p 639
 Jamshid Khan p 153 his decision his proclamation was put to death p 154
 Jam hid Quṭb ul mulk succeeded his father period of reign p 108
 Jan Baba was defeated by his brother p 785
 Jan Beg Mirza ruler of Sind account of his reign p 780
 Jarah mother of Nuru p 307
 Jarju a pigeon fancier p 386
 Jarud helped Sayyid Ibtalim and Sayyid Ya qub in their release p 79
 Jassrat Khokhar p 601 became powerful in the Punjab and brought it into his possession p 602
 Jawash Khan was sent to crush Shihab ud din p 575 despatched a report to Mahmud Shah and was summoned back p 576 was given a title and sent to crush Mukhtas Khan and Iqbal Khan p 580 was summoned by Mahmud Shah p 58
 Jay Sinha Rayzada his flight p 705 his flight with Muhammad Qasim p 709
 Jesus p 547
 Jhaju Muhammad his title p 238 for further account see Kabir Sultanī Malik
 Juhjār Khan attacked Sayyid Mu barak p 395 advised I tmad Khan to leave Ahmedabad p 404 took Sultan Muzaffar to Dungarpur and made him over to I tmad Khan

p 406 explained his position p 407 started for the chauhan field with Chengiz Khan p 408 killed Chengiz Khan p 409 went to I tmad Khan p 41
 Juhjār Khan defeated Malik Mahmud p 593
 Jiu Shah Shaikh the descendant of Quṭb Ulam Shaikli Burhan ud din p 34 was slain in the house of Qadr Khan p 336
 Jivan Das Khattri was appointed to the post of *ta'ir* by Sultan Ahmad Shah p 18
 Juna Malil came out of the camp with Ahmad Shah was sent by Ahmad Shah to make an enquiry informed Ahmad Shah about Sultan Hushang and his army p 20
 Juman Jam ruler of Sind account of his government p 773

K

Kabir Sultanī Malik his title prepared to create disturbances resolved to remove Malik Shah ban Imad ul mulk from his office p 238 went to his house p 239 his amazement p 240 fled from the *darbar* went among the grassias was slain by them p 241
 Kaji Chak Malik as the *ta'ir* of Muhammad Shah his power of judgment imprisoned Ibrahim Mai ri p 693 fought against Iskandar Khan went to Rajauri p 694 as the *ta'ir* of Muhammad Shah imprisoned Muhammad Shah and raised Ibrahim Khan to the throne p 69 as the *ta'ir* of Ibrahim Shah p 696 went to the village of Sillah to meet Abdal Makri a message from Abdal Mukri p 697 his defeat and flight p 698 his defeat by Abdal Mukri p 700 owing to the treachery of Abdal

Mākrī went to Hindūstān, p. 701, his defeat and flight, p. 702, fought with the Kāshgharīs, p. 703, his residence, p. 705, disputes with Abdāl Mākrī, p. 706, defeat by Mīrzā Haidar, brought reinforcements from Shīr Khān Afghān, p. 708, fight with Mīrzā Haidar, advanced to crush Mīrzā Haidar, p. 709, his flight, death, p. 710

Kalīm-ul-lah, (son of Mahmūd Shāh), was placed in place of Wali-ul-lah Sultān by Malik Barīd, his imprisonment in Bīdar p. 134, ‘Imād-ul-mulk Kāwīlī went to the aid of Muhammad Khān, fought with Nizām-ul-mulk Malik Barīd, Khudāwand Khān and the *amīrs* of the Deccan, fled to Asīr and Burhānpūr, with the help of Sultān Bahādur of Gujrāt ‘Imād-ul-mulk regained his possessions and read the *Khutba* in the name of Sultān Bahādur in the *parganas* of his territories, and invited him to invade the Deccan, Nizām-ul-mulk, Malik Barīd, and other *amīrs* could not withstand the Sultān Bahādur of Gujrāt and read the *Khutba* in his name in Ahmadnagar and all the provinces of the Deccan were divided among the four *amīrs*, p. 135

Kālū, Malik, one of the adherents of Mahmūd Shāh, p. 239, was sent by Mahmūd Shāh to seize the murderer of Ādam Silāhdār, was executed by the order of Mahmūd Shāh, p. 248, was defeated by Muzaffar Ibrāhīm, p. 518

Kānhā, Rāja, Rāja of Jhālāwār, p. 212, hearing of the marches of Ahmad Shāh left his country, brought a force from Sultān Ahmad Bahmanī, plundered parts of Nadarhār, p. 213, joined Sultān ‘Alā-ud-dīn, p. 214

Kamāl, Mīr, was slain in the battlefield, p. 703
 Kamāl Khān with Šafdar Khān went to punish Bahādur Gilānī, they fought and were wounded, fell into Bahādur's hands, and were sent to Dābul, p. 117 (and see note 1, p. 160)
 Kamāl Kōkah, a tradition about his name, p. 718
 Kamāl-ud-dīn, Maulānā, p. 745
 Kamāl-ud dīn, Saiyid, was slain by Ghāzī Khān, p. 533
 Kamāl-ud-dīn Mālwī, Shaikh, pp. 299, 588
 Kāmil Khān, Ibrāhīm ‘Ādil Khān was placed on the throne by his help, p. 165, was slain by Kishwar Khān, p. 166
 Kāmrān, Mīrzā, sent an army to conquer Kashmīr, p. 700
 Kaniyā, Rānī, wife of Mahmūd Shāh, p. 600
 Kank Dās, Rāy, fought with Sultān Muhammad, asked Sultān Mahmūd Khaljī for aid, p. 225
 Kāns, Rāja, how he acquired power, his son became a Musalmān and sat on the throne, p. 430, period of his power, p. 431 (and see note 3, p. 430)
 Kapūr Chand, brought a message from Sultān Bahlūl Lūdī to Mahmūd Khaljī, p. 542
 Karn, Jām, ruler of Sind, account of his government, p. 776
 Karshāshab, father of Tāhir Āl, p. 633
 Khadam Khān, p. 124
 Khalf Hasan ‘Arab, Malik-ut-tujjār, was appointed to conquer Mahām by Ahmad Shāh, p. 49, possessed Mahām, fought with Zafar Khān but was defeated, p. 50, opposed Nasīr Khān as far as Asīr and raided part of that territory, p. 58, advanced to capture the fort

of Sangesar seized the fort of Raja Sarka and made him prisoner p 61 forgave Sarka made Sarka the leader of his army Sarka led him to a place where the whole army was murdered p 62 p 65 n Khalifa: Ilalu His Majesty sent Pishru Khan to give an account of the administration of Murtada Nizam Shah p 147 Murtada Nizam Shah in his service showed favours to Burhan gave shelter to the amirs of Berar p 148 issued *farmanas* to the amirs and Zamindars in favour of Burhan Nizam ul mulk p 158 was requested by I tumad Khan to invade Gujerat sent Khan Kalan to conquer Sirohi marched towards Gujerat p 413

Khalil Khan Shahzada was given the country of Sorath forts of Junagadh and Karnal by Mahmud Shah p 277

Khanam widow of Mirza Haider her advice to the Mughals p 718

Khanamji sister of Mirza Haider went to Kashghar p 723

Khan Jahan marched towards Malakonda was attacked and defeated by Sikandar Khan p 77 watched the city p 115 was sent by Sultan Ahmad Bahmani to fight with Shalzada Muhammad p 113 went to reinforce Malik ut tujjar p 216 ruled Bangala after Khan Khanan and slew Daud p 446

Khan Jahan Shirazi took possession of Nausari p 377

Khan Jahan Sultan through his intervention Har Ray asked Ahmad Shah to be pardoned p 111

Khan Khanan his decision his proclamation p 154 defeated Daud and conquered Bangala p 446

Khan Khanan Ahmad Khan see Ahmad Shah Bahmani Sultan

Khan Zaman defeated Sankar Chal p 74 attacked Husain Khan p 743 his execution p 44

Khwaja Khan did not admit Shihab ud din 574

Khidr Maulana his title p 38 was imprisoned and sent to Dip p 24 and see Kabir Sultan Mahlik

Khidr Malik took tribute from the Rajas of Balar Idar and Sirohi p 207 consultation by Malik Mu'lith was celebrated as Miyan Agha joined Sultan Hushang p 471

Khidr Khan son Mallu Khan p 451 ruled in Delhi right and peace with Sultan Ibrahim p 45

Khudawand Khan Mahur was conferred on him by Sultan Lashkari p 94 fought with Imad ul mulk Kawili p 135 his designation in the time of Murtada Nizam Shah an event p 147 his performance p 148 was sent to Shaikh Muhammad Qasim Budhu by Muzaffar Shah p 187 was appointed as the *wazir* of the kingdom by Mahmud Shah and was left in attendance on Shahzada Ahmad Khan at Ahmadabad private talk with Ray Rayan to unite with Imad ul mulk and to place Shahzada Ahmad Khan on the throne p 261 sent for Ray Rayan and explained his views about

Imad ul mulk kept his intention in secret p 266 was fined by Mahmud Shah p 270 was ordered to be arrested p 271 was left by Muzaffar Shah to guard the camp p 300 gave advice to Muzaffar Shah p 319 was ordered to summon Bahadur Khan p 32 helped to place Sikandar Khan on the throne p 33 sought to be ahead of the others p 39 rendered homage to Sultan Bahadur p 335

was sent to Bākar by Sultān Bahādur, p 347, waited upon Sultān Bahādur, p 348, was left to accompany the camp, p 357, was murdered by Burhān, p 390

Khurāsān Khān, deserted Sultān Bahādur and joined the army of Hūmāyūn Bādshāh, p 372

Khurram Khān, welcomed Bahādur Shāh, p 331

Khurshid, Rānī, p 545, took the side of Shujā'at Khān in the latter's fraternal dispute, p 552, made over the treasures of Sultān Ghīyāth-ud-dīn to Nāsir Shāhī agents, p 553, her report against Sultān Nāsir-ud-dīn, p 554, took the affairs of the kingdom in her hands, narrated the death of Mūnjā Baqāl to Sultān Ghīyāth-ud-dīn, p 555, representation to Ghīyāth-ud-dīn, p 556, her order to the pay-master, sent an army in pursuit of Shaikh Hābib and Khwājah Suhail, p 557, sent a report about the power of Nāsir-ud-dīn to Sultān Ghīyāth-ud-dīn, p 559, her advice to Shujā'at Khān, p 561, dismissed 'Alī Khān and appointed Malik Piyārā, p 562, she was seized by the *amīrs* of Nāsir Shāh, p 563, was made over to custodians p 564

Khush-Qadam, Malik, was given the title of 'Imād-ul-mulk by Sultān Muzaffar Shāh, p 293

Khwājah Bābū, was imprisoned but was released by the order of Sultān Bahādur, p 340

Khwājah Jahān, went to protect Asīr and Burhānpūr, p 570

Khwājah Jahān Malik Shāh Turk, seizing the bridle of the horse of Nīzām Shāh went to Bidar, pp 244, 535

Kishan Rāy, p 20, surrendered his fort to Mujāhid Shāh, p 21

Kishwar Khān, p 165, slew Kāmil Khān, became the *vakīl* of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Khān, was put to death, p 166 Kōbī Zunnārdār, Malik, was sent by Rāja of Idar to Muzaffar Shāh, p 297

Kōnbhā, his defeat by Muhmūd Khaljī, p 514, attacked Mahmūd Khaljī but was defeated by the latter, p 515, agreed to pay tribute to Mahmūd Khaljī, p 520, sent tribute to Mahmūd Khaljī, p 527, sent a message to Mahmūd Khaljī for the pardon of his offences, p 528, sent troops to confront the army of Mahmūd Khaljī, p 529

Kopā Dēvī, wife of Rāja Adwan, her message to Shāh Mir, attacked Shāh Mir, conversion to Islām, her imprisonment, p 635

Kōpwārī, sister of Yūsuf Chak, was married to Ghāzī Khān, p 721

L

Lādan Khaljī, Malik, his hostile attitude towards Malik Hisām-ud-dīn Maghūl, had an interview with Āsaf Khān and welcomed him, was given the title of Khān Jahān by Mahmūd Shāh, p 284, the village of Banās was given to him by Mahmūd Shāh, p 285

Lājin, Malik, was sent by Sultān Tughlaq to summon the *amīrs* of hundreds of Daulatābād, was slain by the *amīrs* of hundreds, p 2

Lakhman Sēn, strengthened the citadel of Rāīsīn and was ready for battle, p 359, his advice to Silhadī, p 361, sent two thousand *Pūrabīas* to fight with the army of Gujrāt, p 362, agreed to evacuate the fort of Rāīsīn if Sultān Bahādur would excuse the offences of Silhadī and summon him from the fort of Mandū, a request to Sultān Bahādur, p 365

Lalitadat Devharali Rajo the temple which was built by him p 648

Lang Shahzada joined Mirza Hardar p 716 his release p 7

Langar Khan p 800 joined Mirza Shah Husain p 806 gained possession of Multan was summoned by Mirza Kamran and was granted the territory of Il bal by the latter p 810

Laif entered the service of Bahdur Shah p 331

Laif Ustad accompanied Yusuf Khan p 761

Laif Khan was sent by Ahmad Shah to punish Malik Shah Malik defeated Malik Shah Malik p 100

Laif Khan Barisil Malik Sultan Sikandar conferred on him the title of Sharzah Khan advanced to put down Sidi do Laif Khan but was slain p 300

Laif Khan Shahzada has intention to seize the throne of Sikandar Khan p 300 went as a suppliant to Fath Khan p 331 remained concealed at Champanir p 336 his arrival at Awas p 338 fought and died p 341

Laif Zahariya placed Shahzado Masud Khan on the throne of Malwa p 494

Loar was sent to conquer Loharkut by Sultan Quib ud din and was slain p 642

Lodha governor of Kanduyah p 586 attacked Sahib Khan p 587 was nominated to punish Sikandar Khan p 591 was murdered p 59

Lohar Chak was sent with an army to Rajauri was seized by Muhammad Khan Chak p 750 imprisoned Ali Khan intention of the Kashmiris about him p 755 Kashmir came under his power p 756 his defeat

and unprisonment was blinded p 77

Lohar Makri his share in Kashmir p 609

Lull Laund Malik made proposals of peace p 74 his imprisonment p 74 fled to Ali Khan p 748

M

Midari Ray was sent by Sultan Sikandar to Tibet his rebellion death p 640

Malho Singh received Yusuf Khan p 761

Muglith Malik father of Mahmud Khan p 1

Mohabat Khan the governor of Chandri was killed on the battlefield pp 88 53

Mohabat Khan joined Shir Khan p 56 instigated Shir Khan to battle p 566 taking the wounded Shir Khan with him fled from the battlefield p 568

Mohi ud p 618

Mohid Kokah accompanied Yusuf Khan p 761

Mahmud Molik was defeated by Jhujir Khan p 593

Mahmud Malik son of Mahi Mughlith see Mahmud Khanji Sultan Sultan of Malwa

Mahmud Sultan the ruler of Bhakkar ruler of Sind account of his reign p 786

Mahmud Sultan son of Ibrahim Sharqi succeeded his father sent an ambassador with presents to Sultan Mahmud Khalji p 43 asked permission to punish Nasir Khan Jahan for his cruelty and disobedience reply of Sultan Mahmud Khalji p 44 advanced towards Kalpi p 455 started for Kalpi to meet Sultan Mahmud Khalji sent troops to raid the country of Barhar

joined the detachment which was sent to Barhār, sent a letter to the Shaikh-ul-Islām, Shaikh Jāīaldah, p 456, his emissary was sent to Sultān Mahmūd Khaljī by Shaikh Jāīaldah with a note of advice, acceptance of the proposals, p. 457, returned to Jaunpūr, treatment of his people, conquest of Chunār advanced into the country of Orissa, period of reign, p 458

Mahmūd, Sultān, son of Sultān Firūz, Sultān of Multān, his accession, p 800, his associates, his disposition towards Jām Bāyazīd, p 801, was wounded by 'Ālam Khān, nominated amīrs to punish Jām Bāyazīd, p 802, peace with Jām Bāyazīd, p 803, a wonderful story which was narrated by Shaikh Jalāl-ud-dīn Quraishī, p 804, farmān of Bābar Bādshāh to Mirzā Shāh Husain Arghūn, collected his troops and sent an ambassador to the latter, his death, p 805

Mahmūd Barkī, Malik, was sent by Ahmad Shāh to punish Nasīr, captured Nādōt, p 199

Mahmūd Garjistānī Khwājah, sold 'Ādil Khān to Mahmūd Shāh Bahmanī, p 159

Mahmūd Gilāni, Khwājah, Malik-ut-tujjār, defeated the Mandū army, p 535

Mahmud Khaljī, Sultān, Sultān of Mālwa, on the invitation of Sikandar Khān Bulkhārī came to conquer Berār, p 70, besieged Māhur, after the arrival of 'Alā-ud-dīn Shāh, Khaljī returned towards Mandū, p 71, at the instigation of Nizām-ul-mulk Ghūrī invaded, p 87, the Deccan, fought but was defeated by Malik-ut-tujjār, p 88, appeared before Nizām Shah's army and after defeat, pursued, p 89, it as far as Bidar, on

the arrival of Mahmūd Gujrātī started for Mandū, p 90, advanced to conquer, p 91, the Deccan, arrived on the frontier of Daulatābād, heard that Mahmūd Gujrātī was approaching, marched towards Malkonda, p 92, wanted to help Rāy Kank Dās, p 225, but did not advance to support him, p 226, started to conquer Gujrāt, ordered destruction of Barnāma, invaded Gujrāt, p 227, met Sultān Qutb-ud-dīn in Kaparbanj, wrote a couplet to Sultān Qutb-ud-dīn, p 228, was defeated by Sultān Qutb-ud-dīn and went back to Mālwa, p 229, attacked Nizām Shāh, p 243, travelled by way of Gōndwāna towards Mālwa, p 244, invaded the Deccan, plundered the neighbourhood of Daulatābād, retired to his own country, a letter from Sultān Mahmūd Gujrātī, reply to Mahmūd Gujrātī, p 251, came from Mandū to Dhār and prayed for help from Muzaffar Shāh, p 305, marched with Āsaf Khān against Bhūm Karan Pūrbīa, fought, was wounded and taken prisoner, p 307, sent Sharzah Khān to plunder the towns in the territory of Chitōr, sent Daryā Khān with a message to Sultān Bahādur, p 350, conferred the title of Sultān Ghīyās-ud-dīn on his son and neglected to see Sultān Bahādur, p 352, came out to give battle, p 353, was treated with respect by Sultān Bahādur but owing to his harsh attitude was arrested, p 354, wrote a letter in reply to Sultān Mahmūd Sharqī, p 454, despatched a note in favour of Nasīr Khān to Sultān Mahmūd Sharqī, p 455, advanced towards Chandērī and Kālpī, struggle between the army of Sultān Mahmūd Sharqī, p 456,

proposing some conditions made peace with Sultan Mahmud Shahiqi p 457 was granted favours and title by Sultan Hushang p 474 Chaznîn Khan was placed in his charge by Sultan Hushang his guarantee for faithfulness to Chaznîn Khan his interview with other *sardars* p 48 his reply to Malik Uthman Jali p 486 informed Chaznîn Khan about the intention of Zafar Minjumla p 48 attended on Sultan Hushang during his last illness sent a reply to Chaznîn Khan p 488 became watchful for the death of Hushang his orders p 489 declared Chaznîn Khan as the heir of Sultan Hushang after rendering homage confirmed the accession of Chaznîn Khan p 490 result of his skill in administration p 491 his reply to the suspicions of Sultan Muhammad p 493 caused the murder of Sultan Muhammad sent a reply to Malik Bayazid Shaikhha p 494 kept his men ready fought with the amirs and defeated them p 495 sent a message to Khan Jahan p 496 accession on the throne of Malwa description of his reforms and benevolence p 497 contributions to education attempt of Hushang Shahi amirs to injure him wounded some of the conspirators p 498 punished the conspirators excused Shahzada Ahmad Khan as well as the others who took part in the conspiracy on the request of Amur Humayun sent Aman Humayun Khan Jahan to suppress the rebels of Islamabad p 500 sent out detachments to fight with Sultan Ahmad p 501 his generosity towards the poor sumraoned some amirs who were hostile to Sultan Ahmad p 502

made a night attack on the camp of Sultan Umad held a consultation and its decision p 503 sent Tuz Khan and Mansur Khan in advance of himself to Sirangpur a petition of Malik Ishaq reached him arrived at Sirangpur and conferred favours on Malik Ishaq and on others p 504 defeated and sentenced Shahzada Umr Khan to death p 505 a message from the tenlers and commanders of the army of Chandri sent his army to crush Malik Sulaiman arrived at Chandri fought with Malik Sulaiman p 506 captured the citadel of Chandri allotted Chandri as a jagir to Malik Muzaffar Ibrahim p 507 relieved the city of Narwar from the siege of Dungar Sen and returned to Shi Babai erected the tomb of Hushang Shahi and the Juma Masjid of Hushang Shah near the Ram Sarai gate p 508 petitions from the amirs of Malwa and the great men of Delhi advanced towards Delhi encamped in the village of Puna Sultan Umad took up a position with Tughlaqabad at his rear p 509 sent troops against the army of Sultan Muhammad his dream agreed to a pacific settlement with Muhammad Khan and returned to Malwa p 510 his stay and benevolences in Shadiabad advanced towards Kalpi for the destruction of Nasir Shah p 511 accepted the petition of Nasir Shah and turned towards Chitor devastated the temples encamped at Konbhalmir p 512 seized the fortifications of the Rajputs destruction of the temple and the idols of the Rajputs p 513 seized a fort at the foot of the Chitor hill besieged Chitor defeated Konbha sent

detachments for ravaging Chitōr, summoned Ā'zam Humāyūn Khān Jahān to capture the possessions of the Rājpūts, his grief on the death of Ā'zam Humāyūn, appointed Tāj Khān in the place of Ā'zam Humāyūn, p 514, opposed the attack of Kōnbhā and defeated him, returned to Shādiābād, a message from Sultān Mahmūd Sharqī regarding the religious disobedience of Nasīr, p 515, gave permission to Sultān Mahmūd Sharqī to chastise Nasīr, request of Nasīr, sent 'Alī Khān to Sultān Mahmūd Sharqī and, p 516, the latter's reply, advanced to protect Nasīr, p 517, after fighting with the army of Sultān Mahmūd Sharqī returned to Fathābād, sent Muzaffar Ibrāhīm to suppress Mubārak Khān, p 518, peace with Sultān Malumūd Sharqī, establishment of a hospital, advanced to capture the fort of Mandalgarh, p 519, agreed to a peace with the Rājpūts and returned to his own dominions, conferred favours on Sayyid Muhammad Khān, captured the town of Alhanpūr, p 520, took tribute from the Rāja of Kōtah and returned to Shādiābād, request of Gangdās, advanced to help Gangdās, p 521, besieged the town of Sultānpūr, granted rank and title to Malik 'Alā-ud-dīn, his grief on the death of Sultān Muhammad, p 522, ravaged the town of Barōda, fight with Sultān Qutb-ud-dīn and its result, p 523, appointed Sultān Ghīyāth-ud-dīn to raid the town of Sūrat, made peace with Sultān Qutb-ud-dīn, p 525, punished the Rājpūts of Mahōli, changed hostility between Yūsuf Khān Hīndāunī and the governor of Biyāna into friendship, left the government

of the fort of Rantambhōr and Hārautī in the charge of Qadam Khān, besieged Māhūr but fled, p 526, turned Mubārak Khān out of Baklāna, sent Sultān Ghīyāth-ud-dīn to put down Mubārak Khān, advanced towards Chitōr, p 527, appointed Mansūr-ul-mulk to destroy Mandisōr, took tribute from Kōnbhā and turned towards Shādiābād, his advance towards Mandisōr, his sudden advance towards Ajmīr, p 528, gave up the idea of conquering the fort of Mandalgarh and returned to Shādiābād, p 529, captured the fort of Mandalgarh, p 530, sent Shāhzāda Sultān Ghīyāth-ud-dīn to raid Kīlwārah and Dilwārah, nominated Shāhzāda Qadam Khān and Tāj Khān to capture the fort of Bündī, appointed Sultān Ghīyāth-ud-dīn and Qadam Khān to raid the countries of Kīlwārah and Dilwārah, encamped in the vicinity of Kōnbhalmīr, p 532, took tribute from the Rāja of Dūngarpūr, returned to Shādiābād, marched towards Asīr, p 533, forgave 'Ādil Khān's offences, march against Nīzām Shāh, p 534, after defeat by Nīzām Shāh retreated to his own territory, p 535, sent Maqbūl Khān with an army to suppress the disturbances in the fort of Kehrīla, advanced towards Daulatābād, p 536, having raided some villages of Mālkōnda returned to Shādiābād, sent Maqbūl Khān to plunder Elichpūr, p 537, treaty with the ruler of the Deccan, p 538, received Shaikh Nūr-ud-dīn with respect, welcomed the arrival of Maulānā 'Imād-ud-dīn, p 539, sent Tāj Khān and Ahmad Khān to put down Maqbūl Khān, started towards Mahmūdābād, appointed Malik Dāūd to chastise the tribe

which had given shelter to the Rayzada p 540 accepted the presents of Mirza Abu Sa'id and sent various gifts in return planned the erection of the fortress of Jalalpur and placed Mirza Khan in charge of it p 541 agreement with Sultan Bahul Lodi his death and period of reign pp 1-4

Mahmud Khan p 193 was nominated to proceed to the country of Sorath by Sultan Ahmad Gujrati recovered tribute from the amindars of Sorath p 199

Mahmud Khan commander of Abdil Makri p 696 his representation to Mirza Kamran p 60

Mahmud Khan Shuhzada country of Mahur was conferred on him by Ahmad Shah Bahmani p 48

Mahmud Khan Malik went in pursuit of the conspirators p 493

Mahmud Kotwal Malik p 604 was killed by Sultan Chiyath ud din p 5

Mahmud Na man Shaikh took a man to Sultan Chiyath ud din pp 548-49

Mahmud Narmi Malik Qindat ul mulk was sent by Chaznun Khan to wait on Mahmud Khan p 484 was sent a second time to wait on Mahmud Khan p 485 told the news of Mahmud Khan to Chaznun Khan p 487 was sent to Mahmud Khan with the message of Chaznun Khan p 488 took the message of Mahmud Khan to Chaznun Khan p 489

Mahmud Shah Sultan of Bangala succeeded his father p 440 (and see note 1 p 440) his martyrdom pp 101 of reign p 441

Mahmud Shah Sultan son of Mahmud Shah Shahi succeeded his father proved unfit for the throne dethronement time of reign p 459

Mahmud Shah Sultan Gujrati son of Muhammad Shah sent a letter to Mahmud Shah Bahmani giving an account of the treachery of Bahadur Gilani p 118 his flight from Amir Taimur p 181 date of accession to the throne of Gujarat p 23 attitude towards his people plot to cause disturbance p 23 ordered that the creators of disturbance be arrested and of the conspirators suppression of disturbances pp 239-24 marched in the direction of Karparkanj regulated the administration of the thanas and of the parganas started from Ahmadabad encamped on the bank of the river Khuri letter from Nizam Shah for assistance demanded to help Nizam Shah against Sultan Mahmud Khalji pp 202 and 243 directed attention towards the Deccan advanced into the country of Asir and Burhanpur encamped in the neighbourhood of Tulna army of Sultan Mahmud Khalji suffered hardships p 244 returned to Ahmadabad Jagirs of the soldiers of Gujrat the march towards the Deccan made Mahmud Khalji fly after ravaging the neighbourhood of Daulatabad turned back to Ahmadabad accepting the presents of Nizam Shah warning to Sultan Mahmud Khalji p 245 report about the infliction of the Zamindars of Bawar and of the fort of Dun punished and defeated the rebellious chiefs p 246 returned with success to Ahmadabad Bahul mulk killed Adam Silahadar p 248 execution of Imad ul mulk and Add ul mulk Malik Ikhtiyar ul mulk was made Imad ul mulk marched to conquer the fort of Karnal p 248 on the way to

Jūnāgarh ravaged the country of Sōrath, arrived near the hill of Kārnāl, p. 249, defeated the Rājpūts, ravaged the surrounding country, besieged the fort of Kārnāl, Rāy Māndalik asked for pardon went back to Ahmadābād appointed soldiers to punish Rāy Māndalik, p. 250, Rāy Māndalik was defeated by the soldiers of the Sultān and paid a tribute, p. 251, rejected the council of the amīrs in connection of the conquest of Mālwā on receiving the news of the death of Sultān Mahmūd Khājī, sent armies to plunder Sōuth, was wounded by an elephant, p. 252, advanced to conquer the fort of Jūnāgarh and the hill of Kārnāl, distribution of five lros of gold among the soldiers sent troops in every direction to plunder the country, determination for the up-liftment of Islam in Jūnāgarh p. 253, fight with Rājpūts for the fort of Jūnāgarh surrendered the fort of Jūnāgarh, besieged the hill of Kārnāl, p. 254, Rāy Māndalik became humble and surrendered the hill of Kārnāl to the Sultān, Rāy Māndalik was converted to Islām and received the title of Khān Jahān, foundation of the city of Mustafā-ābād, p. 255, gave up the idea of conquering Chāmpānī marched against the country of Kach, p. 257, accepted the excuses of the people of Kach, marched towards Sind, p. 258, possession of Sind, p. 259, marched towards Jagat to release the Musalmāns from the oppressions of the Kāsīrs, arrived at Jagat, p. 260, ravaged the temple of Jagat, started for the island of Boyt, captured the citadel of Beyt, Rāy Bhūm fled, entered the city of Beyt,

released all the Musalmāns from prison, left Malik Tūghān as the thānādar of Boyt returned to Muṣṭafā-ābād, p. 261 Rāy Bhūm was arrested and brought to the Sultān, sentenced Rāy Bhūm to death, started towards the fort of Chāmpānī, p. 262, sailed to punish the Mālabāris, arrived at the port of Kanbāvāt, attacked Chāmpānī, returned to Ahmadābād, despatched his amīrs to the thānas of various countries, p. 263, appointment of razīr and engagement with the administration, conspiracy of Khudāwand Khān with Rāy Rāvān, p. 264, effort of Rāy Rāvān to include Imād-ul-mulk in the conspiracy, confidential activities of Imād-ul-mulk against the conspiracy, p. 265, failure of the conspiracy, a rumour in Mustafā-ābād, p. 266, investigation about the rumour, made a plan to deceive his opponents and his activities according to the plan, pp. 267-269, Imād-ul-mulk disclosed the story of conspiracy, punishment of Khudāwand Khān, went to Nahrawāla, sent Imād ul mulk to conquer Jālōr and Sājōr, Mujāhid Khān murdered Qasār Khān, p. 270, punishment of the murderer of Qasār Khān, favours for the family of Imād-ul-mulk after the latter's death, famine in Gujrāt, p. 271, Rāy Batāī defeated and killed Malik Sadhā, marched towards Chāmpānī, Rāja of Chāmpānī submitted for the pardon of his offences which was not granted, encamped in the village of Kārnāl, p. 272, conflicting attitude of the Rājpūts, siege of the fort of Chāmpānī, petition of apology from Rāy Batāī to the Sultān, Rāy Batāī asked Sultān

Chiyath ud din for help p 273 after consulting the learned men Sultan Chiyath ud dn gave up the idea of helping Ray Bataī measures and activities for the conquest of the fort of Champanir conquer t of the fort of Champanir pp 24-276 gave the name of Muhammadabad to Champanir execution of Ray Bataī and Dungarsi order for the construction of citadel palaces and gardens in Champanir p 276 jagir for Khalil Khan Shahzada p 277 a farm n to the Raja of Abu in regard to the merchants who were looted by him news about the disobedience of Bahadur Gil ni p 278 sent Malik Qawam ul mulk to punish Bahadur Gilani Sultan Mahmud Bahmani marched from Bidar defeated and slew Bahadur Gilani marched towards Mahr a flight of Alf Khan sent Sharf i-Jahan to reassure Alf Khan p 279 sent Qadi Pir Ishaq to reinforce Malik Shaikha Alf Khan fought with Qadi Pir Ishaq on the request Alf Khan was excused owing to the murder of naib : ard Alf Khan was imprisoned and he died p 280 on arrival of the Sultan Akbār Khan Faruqi paid tribute and was pardoned p 281 postponed his march towards Malwa after hearing the victory of his slave Aziz over the Firangi returned from Dun to Muhammadabad Champanir p 282 agreed to bestow the dominions of Asir and Burhanpur on Adil Khan son of Hasan Khan marched towards Asir and Burhanpur heard of the activities of Hisam ud d n Maghul p 283 advanced to Thalnur sent Aṣaf Khan and Malik Aziz ul mulk to punish Malik Hisam ud din and Alam Khan bestowed the govern

ment of Asir and Burhanpur on Adil Khan p 284 marched towards Sultnpur Nadarbar p 285 after hearing of the homicidal accounts of his subordinates he ordered destruction of those who did not observe the rights of salt a petition from Zam Humayun detailing the hostile account of Shāh Elāh and Saif Khan and his siege of the fort of Asir p 287 grant of money to Zam Humayun assuming of royal aid in case of necessity to Zam Humayun request of Vizam ul mulk Bahri for Zam Khanzada p 288 reply to Vizam ul mulk Sultan Sikandar Lodi of Delhi sent presents to the Sultan travelled towards Nahrwala p 289 paid a visit to the tombs of sultns summoned Shahzada Muzaffar Khan became ill p 290 died period of reign titles after death p 291 came as a suppliant to Nāib Shah p 444 bestowed the title of Sultn ush sharq on Malik Sarwar and conferred on him the government of Jaunpur p 447 joined Sultan Ibrahim but was not honoured by the latter went to Kanauj removed the thanadar of Kanauj possessed Kanauj p 450 opposed Mallu Khan bravely came and sat on the throne of Delhi marched to engage Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi p 451 made over the government of Sanbal to Asad Khan Lodi and returned to Delhi p 452

Mahmud Shah Sultan of Gujerat p 383 son of Latif Khan son of Miran Muhammad Shah sent Mahmud Khan to Gujerat was placed on the throne of Gujerat with the title p 384 of Mahmud Shah

Daryā Khān took the Sultān to Chāmpānīr, p 385, 'Imād-ul-mulk advanced against the Sultān, advanced towards the country of Sōrath to crush 'Imād-ul-mulk, advanced towards Burhānpūr in pursuit of 'Imād-ul-mulk, Mīrān Mubārak was defeated, Daryā Khān's administration and his actions as the bādshāh, p 386, came out of the fort of Ahmadābād and went to 'Ālam Khān Lūdī, 'Ālam Khān Lūdī helped the Sultān march of Daryā Khān towards Dūlqa fight between 'Ālam Khān and Darvā Khān and the defeat of the latter, p 387 departure of messengers to bring Sultān Mahmūd arrived at Ahmadābād and flight of Darvā Khān to Shēr Khān Afgān, p 388, set himself to manage the government, favourable treatment for his men, how Burhān murdered the Sultān and others, p 389, proclamation that Burhān was the heir to the throne, murder of Burhān, period of reign, p 391, character of the Sultān, p 392, his constructive works and peculiar tastes, abolished the improper customs of Gujrāt, p 393

Mahmūd Shāh, Sultān, son of Nāsir Shāh, Sultān of Mālwa was summoned by his father, p 571 was made the heir with the title of Sultān Mahmūd Shāh, p 572, was pained at heart after the speech of Nāsir-ud-dīn Shāh, p 573, his accession on the throne, p 574, sent Jāwash Khān to crush Sultān Shihāb-ud-dīn, ascended the throne of Khājī Sultāns, p 575, a report from Jāwash Khān, entrusted the management of the affairs of the Kingdom to Basant Rāy, p 576, pride and death of Basant Rāy message

by Sadr Khān and Afdal Khān about the removal of Naqd-ul-mulk, p 577, false report of Muhibbāz Khān against Iqbāl Khān and Mukhtas Khān which incited him to issue an order for their execution, p 578, Mukhtas Khān and Iqbāl Khān escaped the deceitful attempt of Muhibbāz Khān, p 579, sat on the throne and sent Afdal Khān and Jāwash Khān to put down Mukhtas Khān and Iqbāl Khān, death of Sultān Shihāb ud dīn, p 580 title of Hūshang Shāh for the adopted son of Sultān Shihāb ud dīn, sent Nizām Khān to reinforce Dastūr Khān flight of Hūshang in the hills of Bahār Bābā Hājī, petitions from Iqbāl Khān and Mukhtas Khān about the wickedness of Muhibbāz Khān, p 581 statements of his servants about the evil aims of Muhibbāz Khān, on the order of punishment Muhibbāz Khān revolted against him and attempted to seize him, fled to the town of Ujjain, Muhibbāz Khān placed Shāhzāda Sāhib Khān on the throne, p 582, contracts of Sāhib Khān with Sadr and Afdal Khān, rise of Sāhib Khān, his victory over Sāhib Khān, p 583, advanced towards Shādībād, p 584 fought with and defeated Sāhib Khān, sent a messenger to Sāhib Khān for settlement, p 585, refusal by Sāhib Khān of his peace offer defeat and flight of Sāhib Khān, promise of Sultān Muazzaf to Sāhib Khān, p 586 evil aims and actions of Mēdīnī Rāy which promoted rebellion, ordered the execution of Afdal Khān and Iqbāl Khān rebellion of Sikandar Khān, p 587, entrusted the office of the vazārat to Mēdīnī Rāy, wrote to Mansūr Khān to put down Sikandar Khān Mansūr Khān and Sanjār

Khan joined Bihjat Khan sent Medini Ray to put down Sikandar Khan and went to Ujjain p 588 pardoned the offences of Sikandar Khan a petition reached him in Agar regarding the disturbances in Shadia bad received an unfavourable reply from Bihjat Khan petition of Bihjat Khan to Sultan Sikandar Lodi against him p 589 on the report of Bherodas collected troops and encamped in the village of Shukarpur sent Mukhtas Khan to Chand ni arrival of Sultan Muzaffar Gujrati with a view to conquering his territory p 590 retreat of Sultan Muzaffar Gujrati deputed Malik Lodha to punish Sikandar Khan in victory of Sikandar Khan over Malik Lodha p 591 advanced for the destruction of Bihjat Khan occupied himself with collecting troops in Sajanpur hearing of the encampment of Sa id Khan Lodi and Imad ul mulk returned to his own place p 592 captured the town of Bhilsa advance of Malik Mahmud towards Sarangpur and his defeat by Jhujar Khan a message of Sa id Khan Lodi and Imad ul mulk to Bihjat Khan p 593 advance of Khwajah Jahan and Muhamfiz Khan towards Shadia bad deputed Habib Khan Takhru ul mulk and Hemkaran to put down Muhamfiz Khan fatal defeat of Muhamfiz Khan submission of the rebel and his bestowals upon them p 594 dishonesty of Bihjat Khan towards Sahib Khan p 595 hearing of the flight of Sahib Khan came to Chan de i details of his tyranny on the Musalmans of his territory p 596 sent Araish Khan with a message to Madan Ray reply of the Rajputs and the proposal of Medini Ray p 597 submission of Medini Ray

accepted the request of Medini Ray disobedience of Salbahan p 598 had a consultation for the execution of Medini Ray and Salbahan combat with the Rajputs p 599 suppression of the tumult his conclusion from the message of Medini Ray being fed up with the Rajputs fled to Sultan Muzaffar Gujrati p 600 the efforts of Sultan Muzaffar brought him again to Malwa putting the enemies to death p 601 retreat of Rana Sanga p 604 invited Sultan Muzaffar to come to the fort of Shadiabad departure of Sultan Muzaffar summoned his amirs sardars and soldiers advanced to attack Hemlaran in the fort of Kakrun p 605 his defeat in the fight with Rana Sanga and the latter's kindness to him p 606 retirement of the Gujrati troops from Malwa the whole of his territory was occupied by his enemies p 608 a portion of Malwa under the possession of Rana Sanga ended the violence of Silhadi returned to Mandu submission of Silhadi p 609 showed respect to Chand Khan efforts of Radul mull to transfer the rule of Gujrati from Sultan Bahadur to Chand Khan Ratan Sen advanced into Malwa summoned Mu in Khan and Silhadi to his aid conferred a title and honour on Mu in Khan p 610 gave some parganas to Silhadi sent Darya Khan to wait on Sultan Bahadur with a message reply of Sultan Bahadur marched from Ujjain towards Satwas his servants joined Sultan Bahadur p 611 invasion of Sultan Bahadur and the latter a victory p 612 was kept in imprisonment with all his sons attack of Ray Singh on the camp of

Āsaf Khān and Iqbāl Khān, attained martyrdom, p 614, period of reign, p 615
 Mahmūd Turk, Mālik, p 203
 Mahram Bēg, was sent to conquer Kashmīr by Mīrzā Kāmrān, p 700.
 Mahta, Mālik, joined Nāsir-ud-dīn, p 558, was nominated by Nāsir-ud-dīn to crush Yakān Khān, p 560, was sent to bring Miyān Manjhla, p 564
 Majd-ud-dīn, Khwājah, p 124
 Mājhī Khōkhar, Mālik, surrendered the fort of Khānāwāl, p 793
 Makhdūma-i-Jahān, directed all her energies in furnishing the bed of equity and justice, administration of Nīzām Shāh was entrusted to her hands, p 86; refused to send Shāhzāda Fath Khān for the throne of Dāūd Shāh, p 237, design of Mahmūd Shāh for the possession of her territory, p 259
 Makna Mughal, fought with the Kishtwār army as the commander of Mīrzā Haider's troops, p 711.
 Makta, Mīr, joined Mīrzā Haider, p 716
 Mal, Rāy, Rāja of Idar, retired to the hills of Bījānagar, had a fight with Nīzām-ul-mulk, p 300, advanced to Idar, p 301, the news of his raid reached Muzaffar Shāh, his territory was destroyed by Muzaffar Shāh, p 306
 Malhū, Mālik, defeated the army of Shujā'at Khān, p 559
 Malik Shāh Turk, Khwājah Jahān, was given the title of Khwājah Jahān and sent to Tilang by Humāyūn Shāh, besieged the fort of Deor Konda, did not appreciate the opinion of Nīzām-ul-mulk, was defeated by the Rāy of Orissa, joined Humāyūn Shāh and gave a false reason for his defeat, p 79,

was made over to a jailor by Humāyūn Shāh, p 80, was made over to the army of Nīzām Shāh, p 88, seized the bridle of the horse of Nīzām Shāh and turned towards Bīdar, p 89, was sent with a large army to fight with Sultān Mahmūd Khaljī, p 90, pursued Mahmūd Khaljī, returned via Gōndwārā, ordered the Rājas of Gōndwāra to be put to death, p 91
 Mālik-ul-Mashāikh, Qādī, his son fought with Alf Khān, p 280
 Mālik-ush-shaiq, p 486, was summoned by Mahmūd Khaljī, p 502
 Mālik-ut-tujjār, the son of Mālik Nīzām-ul-mulk, and the governor of Junīr, went with his father to Gujrāt, p 75 (and see note on p 75)
 Mālik-ut-tujjār, Khwājah Jahān Khwājah Mahmūd Gilānī, plundered the Khaljī camp, p 88, was sent by Muhammad Shāh Lashkarī to conquer the territory of the Rāy of Sangēsar and Kokan, was reinforced by As'ad Khān and Kishwar Khān in Kolāpūr, fought with the enemy in the vicinity of Kaikanā, p 97, seized the fort of Rangta, captured the fort of Māchāl, message of submission by the Rāy of Sonkar, p 98, conquered the island of Goa, came to the capital where he was granted the title of Ā'zam Humāyūn Khwājah Jahān, p 99, informed Muhammad Shāh Lashkarī about the disobedience of Birkāna Ray, p 101, the territory of Birkāna Rāy was entrusted to him by Muhammad Shāh, p 102, conspiracy which resulted in his murder, p 107, his literary qualification and work, p 108
 Malitha, Jām, ruler of Sind, account of his government, p 774

Malkah i Jahan mother of Nizam Shah being apprised of the treachery of Khwajah Jahan entrusted the defence of the fort of Bidar to Mallu Khan and took Nizam Shah with her to Firuzabad p 89 (and see note 1 p 89) p 53.

Malkah i Jahan mother of Sultan Shah ud din Mahmud p 112

Malkah i Jahan wife of Sultan Husain Sharqi instigated Sultan Husain for the conquest of Delhi p 460 was seized by the men of Sultan Bahul who sent her to Sultan Husain induced Sultan Husain to fight with Sultan Bahul p 461

Mallu Iqbal Khan advanced towards Jaunpur p 448 on the way arrived at Kanauj again advanced towards Kanauj took Sultan Mahmud with him p 449 ran away from his own camp and joined Sultan Ibrahim p 450 went to Jaunpur and Delhi leaving Kanauj to Sultan Mahmud again came to besiege Kanauj returned unsuccessful to Delhi was slain by Khadr Khan p 451

Mallu Khan see Mallu Khan Qadir Shah Sultan of Malwa

Mallu Khan brother of Ibrahim Adil Khan request to Asa d Khan p 161 was made Sultan by Asa d Khan was arrested by Ibrahim Adil Khan and blinded p 162

Mallu Khan son of Mallu Khan see Mallu Khan Qadir Shah Sultan of Malwa

Mallu Khan Qadir Shah Sultan of Malwa was appointed as the defendant of the fort of Bidar by Malkah i Jahan pp 89 535 was given Sarangpur by Sultan Bahadur pp 358 616 gave protection to Imad ul mulk p 386 was appointed by Nasir ud din to defeat Sher Khan p 667 gave himself the

title of Qadir Shah took the town of Bhilsa in the vicinity of the Narbada river into his possession Bhupat Ray and Puran Mal took possession of the fort of Raisin development of his power a formal from Sher Khan of Bengal p 617 reply to Sher Khan representation of Saif Khan Dehlavi his reply to Saif Khan p 618 period of his occupation of Malwa advice of Saif Khan his submission to Sher Khan in favour with Sher Khan p 619 brought his family to Ujjain his flight from Sher Khan period of reign p 60

Mallu Qadir Khan governor of Malwa fled towards Mandu p 374

Mon Ray the Roy of Orissa left him in the fort of Rojmandri surrendered the fort to Sultan Lohkari p 104 Mandalik Ray asked pardon for his offences from Mahmud Shah the news of his pride reached Mahmud Shah who sent a strong army against him p 200 presented valuable ornaments and large tribute to the amirs of Mahmud Shah p 251 his humble representation to and the reply from Mahmud Shah p 53 fled and retired into the fort of Junagarh fight with the army of Mahmud Shah proposal of peace which was accepted surrendered the fort of Junagarh and took shelter in the hills of Karnal p 204 joined the service of Mahmud Shah and surrendered the hills of Karnal his wish to become a Musalman was granted the title of Khan Jahan by Mahmud Shah p 255

Manhi Khan was sent with a message to Nasir ud din by Ghayath ud din p 556

Manik Dev Raja of Jammu was reinforced by Adam Khan p 674

Mān Singh, Rāja, Yūsuf Khān had an interview with him, p 756

Mansūr Khān, informed Sultān Ahmad of the advance of Mahmūd Khaljī, p 504, reply of Mēdmī Rāy, joined Bihāt Khān, p 588, proclaimed Sāhib Khān as the Sultān, p 592, his agent plundered the army of Mahmūd Shāh, p 593

Mansūr-ul-mulk, was appointed to destroy Mandisōr by Mahmūd Khaljī, p 528

Maqbūl Khān, was sent by Mahmūd Khaljī towards the fort of Kehrla, p. 536, his victory over Ghāzī Khān, p 537, news of his revolt reached Mahmūd Khaljī, p 540

Marjān, Malik, was sent with presents to Sultān Bahādur of Gujrāt by Nasīb Shāh, p 444, joined Sultān Ibrāhīm, p 451

Masā'ūd Khān, fled from Mālwa and came to Ahmad Shāh for protection, p 222

Mashhadī, Sayyid Mīrzā-i., p 114

Mashīr-ul-mulk, took a message from Ghīyāth-ud-din to Nāsir-ud-din, p. 556, was sent to arrange for peace, p 561

Mashīr-ul-mulk, Malik, placed Shāhzāda Masā'ūd Khān on the throne of Mālwa, p 494, was given the title of Nizām-ul-mulk and the post of *vazīr-i* at by Muhmūd Khaljī, p 497, went in pursuit of the conspirators, p 498, was sent to reconnoitre the roads, p 505, his hostility, p 525, was sent by Mahmūd Khaljī to the Deccan for confirmation of peace, p 538

Masā'ūd, was killed by Shēr, p 660

Masā'ūd, son of Malik Kājī, attacked Iskandar Khān and was slain, p 694

Masā'ūd Khān, Shāhzāda, was placed on the throne of Mālwa by the

efforts of *amīrs* and *sardārs*, p 494, took sanctuary with Shaikh Jāildah, p 495, was sent by Sultān Ahmad Gujrātī to conquer Mālwa, p 501, Sultān Ahmad promised to recover Mālwa for him next year, p 506

Masā'ūd Nāyak, Khwājah, defeated Sankar, p. 741, slew Bahādur Khān, seized Khān Zamān, bestowal of the title of Husain Khān on him, p 744, his imprisonment, p 745

Mawadab Khān, fort of Shādiābād under his control, p 583

Mēdmī Rāy, hearing of the advance of Muzaffar Shāh proceeded to Dhār, went to Rānā Sānkā to beg for help, sent a letter to Rāy Pithorā giving an account of his preparations, p 303, brought Rānā Sānkā to aid Bhīm Karan Pūrabīa, p 307, was sent to Silhadī with a message by Rānā Sānkā, p 315, joined Mahmūd Shāh, p 583, wounded Sāhib Khān, p 585, his false representation to Mahmūd Shāh against the *Amīrs*, p 587, was made *vazīr*, his reply to Mansūr Khān, was sent to put down Sikandar Khān, p 588, his wicked instigation of Mahmūd Shāh and its results, p 596, his advice to the Rājpūts in connection with rebellion, p 597, his submission to Mahmūd Shāh, p 598, was wounded by a servant of Mahmūd Shāh, p 599, suppressed the tumult of the Rājpūts, sent a petition to Mahmūd Shāh and was reappointed to his post, p 600, went to Chitōr to bring Rānā Sānkā, p 602, request to Rānā Sānkā, p 606

Mirak Haravī, Khwājah, minister of Murtada Nizām Shāh, p 145, was given the title of Chengīz Khān, conquered Berār and annexed it to the territories of Murtāda Nizām

Gwāliar, p 479, agreement of peace with Sultān Hūshang, p 480

Mubārak Shāh Shaiqī, succeeded Sultān-ush-Sharq, p 448, collected an army to oppose Mallū Iqbāl Khān, both retired without an engagement to their countries, on hearing of the advance of Mallū Iqbāl Khān he again began to collect an army, his death, period of reign, p 449

Mubāriz Khān 'Adalī, conferred the country of Mālwa on Shujā' Khān, p 628

Mubāriz-ul-mulk, Malik, was appointed to the government of Idar by Muzaffar Shāh, heard about the bravery of Rānā Sānkā from a bard, gave the name of Rānā Sānkā to a dog and kept it tied up at the gate of Idar, p 307, sent an account to Muzaffar Shāh about the violence of Rānā Sānkā, was condemned by the *vazīrs* of Muzaffar Shāh, p 308, instead of fighting with Rānā Sānkā, he, according to the advice of the *sardārs* came to Ahmadnagar, advice of a bard to him, his reply to the bard, his fight with Rānā Sānkā in which he was wounded, p 309, retired to Ahmadābād, p 310, came with an army to Ahmadnagar to bury the martyrs, was attacked by the *kōtīs* and the *grāssias* but was victorious, p 311, advanced to fight with Rānā Sānkā, p 316

Mufarrah Pīdar Habshī, was sentenced to death, p 564

Mughīth, Malik, Khān Jahān, decided to support Sultān Hūshang, the request of Mūsa Khān, p 471, was given a title and rank by Sultān Hūshang, p 472, requested Sultān Hūshang to pardon Shāhzāda 'Uthmān Khān, kept Fath Khān, 'Uthmān Khān and

Haibat Khān in confinement under the orders of Sultān Hūshang, p 482, rendered homage to Ghaznīn Khān, was given the title of Masnad 1-Ālī Khān Jahān by Ghaznīn Khān, p. 491, was nominated by Sultān Muhammad Shāh to punish the Rājpūts of Hārūtī, p 492, his reply to Mahmūd Khān in connection with the accession to the throne of Mālwa, p 496, was given the title of Ā'zam Hūmāyūn and honour by his son Mahmūd Khaljī, p 497, requested Mahmūd Khaljī to pardon the conspirators, was sent to suppress the rebels by Mahmūd Khaljī, p 499, sent wise men with advice to Ahmad Khān, advanced to overthrow Malik Anchhā, p 500, asked the Sāiyids to describe the behaviour of Nasrat Khān, transferred the government of Chandērī from Nasrat Khān, entered the fort of Mandū, p 501

Mughīth Khaljī, Malik, p 238

Muhāfiz Khān, was put to death by Rānī Khurshīd and Shujā'at Khān, p 562

Muhāfiz Khān, Khwājah Sarā, did not allow Shihāb-ud-din to enter the gates of Nasratābād, p 574, his report to Mahmūd Shāh against the *amīrs*, p 578, instigated Mahmūd Shāh to seize Mukhtas Khān and Iqbāl Khān, p 579, was given a rank and title, p 580, his victorious revolt, placed Shāhzāda Sāhib Khān on the throne of Mahmūd Shāh, p 582, his flight from Shahrāī, p 584, his defeat and flight, p 586, his fatal defeat, p 594

Muhāfiz Khān Jadīd, was sentenced to death, p 564

Muhammad, son of Sultān Hasan, his education was entrusted to Malik Yārī Bhat, p 680

Muhammad Malik son of Ahmad
Şilah was summoned by Mahmud
Khalji p 50

Muhammad Qadi went as an ambassador to Sultan Muzaffar Gujrati his description of the palaces of the Sultans of Gujrat p 497

Muhammad Saiyid was honoured by Sultan Sikandar p 647

Muhammad Sayyd Qutb-i-Alam Sultan Quṭb ud din went to see him p 634 said to Sultan Quṭb ud din that the dynasty of Muzaffar Shah would be maintained by his younger brother p 235

Muhammad Sayyd son of Sayyd Hasan guarded Muhammad Shah p 683 his fortifications p 686 joined Fath Khan p 689

Muhammad Sultan was left in the fort of Sewi by Shah Beg was killed by Mubarak Khan p 778

Mhammad Atka Mir celebrated Khan Kalan was sent by Khalifa-i-Nau to conquer Sirohi p 413

Muhammad Bakha Malik was given the title of Chazi Khan by Mahmud Shah and was sent in attendance on Zam Humayun p 285 left Burhanpur and took his residence in Thalnur fled p 286 was slain p 287

Mhammad Baq Mirza ruler of Sind account of his reign p 785

Muhammad Bhat incited Yusuf to rebel against Husain Khan p 747 his imprisonment p 750 brought Lohar to the presence of Yusuf Khan p 757

Muhammad Chak son of Kaji Chak his death p 710

Mhammad Farmali Shaikh brought a message from Sultan Bahlul Ludhi to Mahmud Khalji p 54

Mhammad Gisu daraz Amir Saiyyad a great Sufi of the time and the

disciple of Shaikh Nasir ud din Muhammad Daudi came from Delli Sultan Firuz Shah welcomed him his holiness the Saiyyad settled down at Gulbarga p 37 the Saiyyad informed Firuz Shah that Khan Khanan Shahzada Ahmad Khan was destined to succeed him instead of his son Hasan Khan p 38

Muhammad Haider his flight p 734

Muhammad Harun advanced towards Mokran p 61 sent the letter of Hajja to Ray Dahir p 763

Muhammad Khan was directed to obey Shahi Khan p 600 was made a councilor by Sultan Zain ul abidin p 650 was appointed as the successor of Sultan Zain ul abidin p 660 was made the commander of a detachment p 696 his representation to Mirza Kamran p 700 his imprisonment p 757 was seized and punished p 758

Mul mmad Khan son of Sher Khan Fuladi came into the city of Ahmedabad and offered congratulations to the murderer of Cheng z Khan p 409 governed Bangala for a time his son gave himself the title of Sultan Bahadur and ruled there p 445

Mhammad Khan son of Sultan Ahmad Dakini was made over to Shahzada Ala ud din by Ahmad Shah p 48 (and see note 2 on p 48) was sent by Sultan Ala ud din to conquer Bijanagar p 58 (and see note 1 on p 58) put the innocent Malik Imad ul mulk to death was defeated by Ala ud din fled in disgrace p 59 received farman of Ala ud din went to Rajur and retired there p 60

Muh mmad Khan son of Adil Khan the ruler of Asir and Burhanpur was

- reinforced by 'Imād-ul-mulk Kāwīlī, p 135
- Muhammad Khān, Saiyid, rendered tribute to Mahmūd Khaljī, p 520
- Muhammad Khān, Shāhzāda, was appointed by Ahmad Shāh to inquire about the act of plundering of Kānhā, defeated the Dakīnī troops, p 213, advanced towards Daulatābād to give battle, fought with Sultān 'Alā ud-dīn and defeated him, returned from Daulatābād and halted in the town of Nadabār from where he informed his father and received his directions, p 214, received a special favour from Ahmad Shāh, sent a representation to Ahmad Shāh, p 217
- Muhammad Khān, Shāhzāda, son of Sultān Ahmad Gujrātī, his advancement towards Sārangpūr, p 503, left Sārangpūr for Ujjain, p 504
- Muhammad Khān Asīrī, waited upon Sultān Bahādur at Sambla, p 351, was posted to the west of the battery of Shāhpūr, p 353, was sent by Sultān Bahādur for the chastisement of Bhūpat and Rānā, p 362, arrived in the vicinity of Kahrār and informed Sultān Bahādur about the enemy in that place, p 363, was appointed to capture the fort of Kākrūn by Sultān Bahādur, p 367
- Muhammad Khān Chak, seized Lōhar Chak, went to Haidar Khān, p 750, slew Islām Khān, p 751, was slain, p 753
- Muhammad Khān Mākri, went with a message of Saiyid Mubārik Khān to Yūsuf Khān, p 754, joined the enemies of Mubārik Khān, p 755
- Muhammad Khān Mākri, son of Abdāl Mākri, his marriage, p 721, was granted a fief by Husain Khān, his plans against Husain Khān, p 741, his imprisonment, p 742, was blinded, p 744
- Muhammad Khān Qandahārī, Shāh, was sent to conquer Mālwa by Akbar, p 631
- Muhammad Lārī Khwāja, author of Sirāj-ut-Tawārikh, p 4
- Muhammad Mākri, fought with Kishtwārā army as the commander of Mīrzā Haidar's troop, p 711, was slain with his son, p 712
- Muhammad Nazr, Rājawī was made over to him by Mīrzā Haidar, p 712, his imprisonment, p 715, his release, p 722
- Muhammad Qāsim, 'Imād-ud-dīn, was sent to conquer Sind, p 764, his victories, p 765, defeated Bachhrā, p 766, his fight with Rāy Dāhir, p 767, conquest of Rāwar, p 770, account of his death, p 771
- Muhammad Qāsim Budhū, Shaikh, was requested by Muzaffar Shāh to pray for the victory of Islām, p 187
- Muhammad Qulī Qutb-ul-mulk, his succession to the throne, fell in love with a prostitute, laid the foundation of Bhāgnagar, his period of reign, p 171
- Muhammad Rūmī, p 718
- Muhammad Sadūr, was killed by Haidar Chak, p 736
- Muhammad Sālih 'Āqil, went as an ambassador to Yūsuf Khān, p 758
- Muhammad Samargandī, Maulānā, p 259, narrated his story to Mahmūd Shāh of having been looted, was treated kindly, sent to Ahmadābād, and helped financially by Mahmūd Shāh, was assured and consoled by Mahmūd Shāh, p 260, was sent for by the order of Mahmud Shāh from Ahmadābād, p 262
- Muhammad Shāh, son of Humāyūn Shāh, ascended the throne of Dakīn,

gave himself the title of Muhammad Shah Lask I enlisted a thousand Turk slaves among his servants granted p 93 Kawil to Imad ul mulk Junir to Nizam ul mulk and Mahur to Khudawand Khan as Jagirs p 94 appointed Malik Nizam ul mulk to conquer the fort of Kehria p 95 sent Malik ut tujjar to conquer the territory of the Ray of Sonkar and hokan p 97 Ray of Sonkar surrendered the fort of Kajlania to Malik ut tujjir p 98 conferred the title of Yuzun Huma yun Khwajah Jahan on Malik ut tujjar p 99 sent Idil Khan to capture the fort of Birakar conferred that territory on Idil Khan as Jagir p 100 Malik ut tujjir Khwajah Jahan reported about the rebellion of Birkana Ray besieged the fort of Birkana p 101 the Ray offered allegiance excused the Ray entrusted the country of the Ray to Khwajah Jahan and returned to the capital the Ray of Orissa p 102 plundered and devastated part of the Deccan and retired to his country sent Malik Nizam ul mulk to punish the Ray of Orissa instead of going p 103 towards Orissa Nizam ul mulk went towards Zirbad marched and arrived near Raj mundri left Khwajah Jahan in attendance on the Shah da went to Rajmundri arrived on the bank of the river nominated Darya Khan to pursue the Ray of Orissa encamped around the fort of Raj mundri Ray Man asked for protection and surrendered the fort confirmed Ray Man in the possession of the fort and its neighbourhood returned to the capital p 104 started for Tilang besieged the fort of Kandar thanadar of Kandar became

loyal and surrendered the fort advanced to the ports of Narsingh Ray took tribute from the Ray and retired to his capital ordered erection of a fort for hanadars 111 reported about Kanji p 105 arrived at Kanji the soldiers ravaged Kanji returned to the capital heard a rumor against Khwajah Jahan p 106 the enemies of Khwajah Jahan proved the rumor by a forged letter without asking explanation the Khwajah was put to death p 107 full and died period of reign p 109 Muhammad Shah son of Hushang Shah Ghuri Sultan of Malwa helped Ray in besieging the fort of Talsir p 108 on the arrival of Ahmad Shah's army retired to his country p 109 killed the elephant of Ahmad Shah's army p 110 treatment of his brother p 111 was declared as the heir of Sultan Hushang p 112 sent a message to Mahmud Khan p 113 having heard about the intention of the amirs sent another message to Mahmud Khan p 114 fled to Kakrun sent a message to Mahmud Khan wrote a letter to Malik Mughith p 115 enshrouded the corpse of Sultan Hushang by the order of Mahmud Khan and was proclaimed as the successor of Sultan Hushang confirmation of his accession p 116 succeeded his father by the exertions of Malik Mughith and Mahmud Khan and received the title of Mahmud Shah conferred the title of Masnad-i-Hi Khan Jahan on p 117 Malik Mughith and kept him in the rank of ta'ir shed much unrighteous blood which caused the downfall of his empire the Rajputs revolted against him nominated Khan Jahan to punish the

Rājpūts, p 492, had a conversation with Mahmūd Khān about the conspiracy of which he had heard, p 493, he was killed by being poisoned, p 494

Muhammad Shāh, Ghiyās-ud-dunyā-wad-dīn, Gujrātī, succeeded his father, description of the day of coronation, known as *Zai-bakhsh*, had a son born to him, p 223, advanced to Idar to devastate it, Rāy Hai offered his daughter in the shape of tribute, gave the fort of Idar to Har Rāy, advanced towards Bākur, Ganēsā, the Rāja of Dūngarpūr, did homage to the Sultān, returned to Ahmadābād, p 224, advanced to conquer the fort of Chāmpānī, Rāy Kank Dās fought with the Sultān but fled and re entered the fort, p 225, retired towards Ahmadābād, stopped in Kothiāh, collected reinforcements, death, period of reign, title after death, p 226

Muhammad Shāh, Mīrān, ruler of Asir and Burhānpūr, p 381, according to the wish of Sultān Bahādur, Mīrān Muhammad Shāh was selected as the Sultān, p 382, the *Khuṭba* was read and the *Silka* was struck in his name in his absence, died of natural death, p 383

Muhammad Shāh, Mīrān, son of Mīrān Mubārak Shāh, advanced to defeat Chengīz Khān, p 402, pursued Chengīz Khān as far as Nadarbār, p 403, advanced to conquer the kingdom of Gujrāt but was defeated by Chengīz Khān, p 405

Muhammad Shāh, Sultān, son of 'Alā-ud dīn Hasan Shāh, succeeded his father, assumed the title of Sultān Muhammad Shāh, p 11, advanced towards Bilampatan, seized and annexed many villages

and towns, p 13, the Rāy of Bilampatan shut the gates of the fort, conquest of the fort of Bilampatan, returned to Gulbarga, p 14, news of the rapid advance of and seizure of the Rāy of Bijānagar, p 15, advanced to punish the Rāy of Bijānagar, the Rāy fled and took shelter in a fort, besieged the fort, fought with the Rāy, and he returned after success to Gulbarga, the rebellion of Bahrām Khān and Govind Rāy, p 16, brought him to Deogarh, Bahrām Khān and Govind Rāy went to Shaikh Rukn-ud-dīn, p 17, visited Rukn-ud-dīn at Daulatābād, excused Bahrām Khān and Govind Rāy on the recommendation of Rukn-ud-dīn, Bahrām Khān and Govind Rāy went away to Gujrāt, made arrangements at Deogarh, returned to Gulbarga, pleased his subjects, account of death, p 18, period of reign, p 19, and see note 2, p 18

Muhammad Shāh, Sultān, (grandson of Bahman Shāh), succeeded Dāūd Khān, p 22, the *thānadār*, p 23, of the fort of Sāghir rebelled against him, marched against the *thānadār* and defeated him, his death, period of reign, p 24

Muhammad Shāh, Sultān, son of Sultān Hasan Shāh, Sultān of Kashmīr, attained to sovereignty, disputes between the Sayyids and the Kashmīris, p 682, banished Sayyid 'Alī Khān and other Sayyids from Kashmīr, efforts of Fath Khān to regain his ancestral dominions, p 686, fight with Fath Khān and the latter's defeat, invasions of Fath Khān, p 687, was imprisoned by Fath Khān, period of reign, treatment of Fath Khān, p 689, was released and escaped,

p 690 defeated Fath Shah and ascended the throne of Kashmir for the second time his *ta'ir* his successor not being able to oppose Fath Shah took to flight p 691 period of his reign for the second time attacked Fath Shah and defeated him his accession for the third time p 692 order for the executions of the *amirs* of Fath Shah order for the corpse of Fath Shah p 693 skirmishes with Iskandar Khan turned against Malik Kaji p 694 entrusted the post of *ta'arat* to Malik Kaji blinded Iskandar Khan his imprisonment p 695 period of his reign for the third time p 696 his accession to the throne of Ka hm for the fourth time p 699 agreement of peace with Kashgharis p 704 his death period of reign p 705

Muhammad Shah Lashkari see Muhammad Shah (son of Humayun Shah)

Muhammad Tughlaq Sultan various kinds of disturbances in his kingdom and their causes p 1 rebellion of *amirs* Sadha advanced towards Gujrat in order to suppress the rebellion sent Malik Lajin to summon the *amirs* of hundreds of Daulatabad *amirs* of hundreds slew Malik Lajin and seized all the property of Daragarh p could not suppress Ala ud din died 796 A H in the neighbourhood of Thatha pp 3 177 hearing the news of the sovereignty of Ismail Fath marched from Bahroj to put him down fought with the rebels and defeated them halted at Daragarh nominated Imad ul mulk for overthrowing Hasan left some *amirs* for protecting the fort of Daragarh marched towards Guj

rat p 9 at first wanted to overthrow *Taqi* p 10 conferred the fief of Gujrat on Zam Humayun Zafar Khan p 173 the titles which were written for Zafar Khan p 174 Muhammad Yahya Mirza fought with the Kishtwara army as the commander of Mirza Haider's troops p 711

Muhammad Yusuf Mulla the *Khatib* of the Jama Mosque of Srinagar p 709

Muhammad Z mn Mirza fled from the court of Humayun Bad h h and came as a suppliant to Sultan Bahadur p 369

Muluk Ali Khan was sent to conquer Malwa by Akbar p 631

Muhib ul mulk was sent by Sultan Bahadur to bring Latif Khan p 341

Mujahid din Habib ul lah Amur zada p 80 escaped from the prison of Humayun Shah went to the house of a barber arranged terms with Hasan Khan p 82 turned towards Bijapur Siraj Khan behaved towards him with courtesy but led him and his friends to death, p 83 separated himself from the army of Nizam Shah and defeated the Ray of Orissa p 87 (also see note 3 of p 86)

Muham was appointed as the governor of great Tibet by Mirza Haider p 712

Mu'm Khan son of Sikandar Khan of Satwas was summoned by Mahmud Shah and honours bestowed on him p 610 joined Sultan Bahadur p 611

Mu'm ud din Sanjar Khwajah Zafar Khan performed a pilgrimage to his tomb pp 179 3-1 528

Mu'm ul mulk see Taj ud-din Malik Mujahid Khan son of Sham Khan Dandan took possession of Nagor

- p 229, was unable to defeat Rānā Kūmbhā, asked help from Sultān Mahmūd Khāljī, p 230
- Mujāhid Khān, son of Khudāwand Khān, in concert with Sāhib Khān he murdered Qaisai Khān, p 270, fled with his family, p 271
- Mujāhid Shāh, son of Sultān Muhammad Shāh, succeeded his father, attitude towards his subjects, marched towards Bijānagar, p 19, age of his accession, p 19, n 1, plundered portion of Bijānagar, Kishan Rāy, p 20, became submissive and surrendered the forts of Bijānagar, on the way to his kingdom plundered the rebels who were stationed on a hill, the cause of the hostility of Dāūd Khān and its result, period of reign, p 21, difference of opinion about his reign and the real cause of enmity of Dāūd Khān, p 21, n 1
- Mujāhid-ul-mulk Gujrātī, was left in the service of Ā'zam Hūmāyūn by Mahmūd Shāh, p 285
- Mukhlīs, was sent to the frontier district of Bangāla by Sultān Fakhrud-dīn, p 419
- Mukhlīs-ul-mulk, Mālik, was sent by Ahmad Shāh to punish Nasīr, captured Nādōt, p 199, was granted Dipālpur Banharīa by Ahmad Shāh as *jāgīr* p 205, was ordered by Ahmad Shāh to attend on Zafar Khān with ships collected from all ports, came and waited on Zafar Khān with ships from various ports in the neighbourhood of Mahāim, p 215
- Mukhtas Khān, sent a message to Mahmūd Shāh, p 577, his flight from his residence, p 579, sent the corpse of Shihāb-ud-dīn to Shādiābād, p 580, sent a petition to Mahmūd Shāh, p 581, joined Mah-
- mūd Shāh, p 582, was sent with a large army to Chandērī, p 590, fled towards Chandērī, p 592
- Mūkul, Rāna, the Rāja of Dilwāra, fought with Firuz Khān, p 194, was destroyed by Ahmad Shāh, p 220
- Mūnjā Baqāl, complained to Rānī Khwāshid, p 554, was slain, p 555
- Muqbal Khān, was sent to Chāmpānīr to punish Silhadi, p 355
- Muqbil Khān, his flight from Mandesōr, p 565
- Muqīm, Mīrzā, his arrival at Kashmīr, insulted and tortured the *Muftīs* who had decided the execution of Yūsuf, p 746, his execution, p 747
- Murtada, Mīr, his designation, his actions, pp 147, 148
- Murtada Nizām-ul-mulk, succeeded his father, Khwājah Mīrak Harvī (of Heiāt) who was his minister, p 145, was known as Changīz Khān, conquest of Changīz Khān for Murtada Nizām-ul-mulk, death of Changīz Khān, relationship with Musāhib Khān, his *vakīl*, actions of Musāhib Khān towards the subjects and the *amīrs*, p 146, death of Musāhib Khān led Murtada Nizām Shāh to a state of madness, separated himself from the administration and retired in Bāgh-i-Bihisht, Khalifa-i-Ilāhī sent Pishrav Khān to the Deccan, p 147, interview of Asad Khān Rūmī with Pishrav Khān, Murtada Nizām Shāh offered his faithful services to Khalifa-i-Ilāhī, rebellion of Burhān, defeat of Burhān, Burhān received imperial favours from Khalifa-i-Ilāhī, Murtada Nizām Shāh again secluded himself in the garden in the year 996, Salābat Khān became the minister of Murtada, enmity of *Jāgīrdār amīrs* of Berār against Salābat Khān and its result, p 148,

Murtada Nizam ul mulk became ena
moured of a prostitute by the
name of Fattu Isma il became the
vali of Nizam Shah and put
Şalabat Khan in prison p 149
Isma il and Fattu assumed full
power Mirza Khan his *nayb* made
himself the *takil* of Murtada re
leased his son Miran Husain p 150
death of Murtada and the period of
his reign p 151

Murtada Sharwanı Sayid a friend of
Mirza Khan his action in a feast
settlement with Mirza Khan p 152
his duties in the fort p 153 his
decision his proclamation was put
to death p 154

Musa Maulana p 20^o his request to
Ahmad Shah not to fight with
Sultan Hushang p 203

Musa Qadi brought Lohar in the
presence of Yusuf Khan p 757

Musa Khan waa made leader by the
people of Malwa p 187 waa made
the chief of the Malwa army p 470
his disappointment and message
to Malik Muğlî p 471 evacuated
the fort of Dhar p 472

Musa Khan Fuladi joined Sultan
Ahmad p 395 the di tr ct of Pattan
as far as Kari came into his posses
sion p 398 defeated I tmad
Khan p 400

Musa Zina Idi Zina was bur ed in his
mausoleum p 720

Musahib Khan his reality 1 s relat ons
with Murtada Nizam Shah lu rank
his attitude towards the common
people and the amirs p 146 his
attacks on the amir of Berar his
death p 147

Muştafa Malik son of Shuja Khan
bestowal of the title of Shuja Khan
on him p 68 was defeated by Baz
Bahadur p 69

Muştafa Khan was put to death p 166
(and see n 1 p 171)

Muştafa Rumi p 347 he with his
men was received with favour by
Sultan Bahadur p 348

Muwafiq Khan joined Nasir ud din
p 362 was sent to conquer the fort
of Mandu p 563

Mużaffar Sultan of Gujrat was raised
to the throne p 297 distribution of
jugurs among the amirs of Gujrat
p 398 attitude of I tmad Khan
towards the Sultan and his acti
vities in administration mutiny
of the amirs p 399 went and took
up his abode in his own palace
p 410 went to Ulugl Khan at
Ghiyaspur a letter from I tmad
Khan to Sher Khan about the Sultan
p 411 Sayid Hamid rendered
homage to the Sultan p 413 period
of reign p 414

Muzaffar Ibrahim Malik Malik ush
sharq Chanderi was allotted to him
in fief by Mahmud Khanji p 507
defeated Malik Kalu seized the
inhabitents of Ratah advanced
towards Barhar p 518

Muzaffar Khan his attack on the army
of Sultan Quṭb ud din p 54

Muzaffar Khan Shahzada came from
the town of Baroda and obtained
seven *lakhs* of tankas towards the
expenses of Ā zam Humayun from
his father p 268 was summoned
by Mahmud Shah p 290

Muzaffar Shah Sultan Gujrati suc
ceeded his father sent the body of
his father to the tomb of Shaikh
Al mad Khan distributed wealth
among the deserving conferred
honours and titles upon the amirs
p 9 appointed Malik Rashid ul
mulk to the post of *va ir* sent the
amirs and *ta ir* to welcome Ladgar
Beg Qazlbash favours shown to

Qazibadur changed the name of Muhammadabād into Dānlābād, sent Mubāriz Khān to receive Shāhūb Khān, p. 293, entertained Shāhūb Khān at Baroda, ordered Qasim Khān to submit in account of the ruler of Mālwa, expressed his wish to Shāhūb Khān to recover any loss the kingdom of Mālwa from Sultān Mahmud Khān and make it over to him, p. 294 intended to punish the Rājputes who were creating disturbance, went to Ahmadābād, p. 295, advanced to Kōdhrah and collected his troops there hearing of the defeat of Amīr ul-mulk advanced towards Idar sent an army to plunder Mālwa, devastated Idar, p. 296, granted the request of the Rāja of Idar, returned to Kōdhrah, bestowed the presents of the Rāja of Idar on 'Amīr ul-mulk, sent Shāhzāda Sikandar Khān to Muhammadabād as an acting governor, ordered Qasim Khān to possess Dānlābād as far as the village of Dōvla, p. 297, advanced towards Dhārāgarh, gave assurance of safety to Harkhūkhā, did not allow his amīrs to attack the kingdom of Sultān Mahmud when the latter had gone to put down the amīrs of Chaudērī, p. 298, proceeded to Dhār, visited the tombs of Shaikhīs, the destruction of Pūrabīas by Nizām-ul-mulk greatly annoyed him, marched towards Gujrāt, p. 299, appointed Nizām ul-mulk to recover the country of Idar and make it over to Bihār Māl, proceeded towards Ahmadnagar, went to Pāttan leaving the title-holders to guard the camp, sent Bihār Māl with Nizām-ul-mulk, ordered Nizām ul-mulk not to prolong the war after recovering Idar, p. 300, celebration

of the marriage of Shāhzāda, advanced to visit Idar, after hearing of the murder of Zāhir ul-mulk by Rāy Māl sent jāmnā to Malik Nasrat ul-mulk to invade and devastate the country as far as Bijānagar, p. 301, representation from dārōjā of Dānlābād about the arrival of Sultān Mahmud Khān at previous gitā to and welcomed Sultān Mahmud as a bīl tak, p. 302, advanced into Mālwa fought with the Rājpūt near Mandū, besieged Mandū, a message from Rāy Pithorā to the Sultān, p. 303 agreed to the request of Rāy Pithorā, victorious fight with the Rājpūt of Mandū, general massacre in the fort of Mandū, p. 304, bestowed the fort of Mandū on Sultān Mahmud, advanced to meet Rām Dānkā, accepted the invitation of Sultān Mahmud and went to Mandū with the Shāhzādas, p. 305, visited the palaces and buildings of Mālwa, went back to Dhār, leaving Asat Khān Gujrāti started for Gujrāt, advanced towards Idar to punish Rāy Māl and other disturbers, destroyed the territory of Rāy Māl, came back to Muhammadabād Chāmpānīr, p. 306, went to Idar for enjoyment, entrusted the government of Idar to Malik Mubāriz ul-mulk, p. 307, went to Chāmpānīr leaving Qiwām ul-mulk at Ahmadābād for the control of grāssias, p. 308, after hearing of the treacherous activities of Rām Dānkā appointed 'Imād ul-mulk and Qasim Khān to crush him, p. 311, instructions to 'Imād ul-mulk and Qasim Khān in connection with their march towards Chitōr, wanted to march to Chitōr but postponed it at the advice of Malik Ayāz Sultān, arrived at Ahmadnagar, p. 312, sent Malik

Ayaz and Qawam ul mulk to chastise Rana Sanka sent Taj Khan and Nizam ul mulk Sultan to reinforce the Gujrati army p 313 detailed accounts of the chastisement of Rana Sanka pp 313-316 advice of Malik Ayaz to Rana Sanka came to Ahmadabad to advance towards Chitor p 317 forgave the offences of Rana Sanka present of Rana Sanka to the Sultan spent some days in Jhalawar and went to Ahmadabad bidding farewell to the son of Rana Sanka went to Kapar bhanj grieved at the death of Malik Ayaz and conferred a Jagir on his eldest son rode out from Champanur to chastise some rebels p 318 halted between the towns of Mahrasa and Harsol rebuilt the fort of Mahrasa and returned towards Ahmadabad excessive sadness on the death of a member of his harem went to Champanur to refresh himself request of Alam Khan to the Sultan and p 319 its fulfilment went through Champanur to Idar delay in fulfilling the expectations of Shahzada Bahadur Khan p 320 going round his dependencies Shahzada Bahadur Khan went to varda Delhi arrival of Bahar Badshah to conquer India fight of Bahadur Khan with the Maials p 321 bearing of the arrival of Babar Badshah and departure of Shahzada Bahadur Khan became sorrowful ordered Khudawand Khan to summon Shahzada Bahadur Khan famine in Gujrat fell ill p 322 bearing of the division of the army enquired about the arrival of Shahzada Bahadur Khan called Sikandar Khan to his presence and

gave him some advice died period of reign p 33

Muzaffar Shah Habshu Sultan of Bangala how he ascended the throne p 441 (and see n 1 p 441) his nature how he was murdered period of reign p 442

N

Najin ud din Qaran Khan Khwajah was entrusted with the duties of *ta'ir* by Humayun Shah was given the title of Malik ut tujjar p 77

Na mat ul lah Khwajah was given the title of Saif Khan by Mahmud Khalji p 59

Na mat ul lah Sayyid Shah Habib ul lah a great ancestor p 84

Na amat ul lah Tabrizi Khwajah was sent by Bahadur to ask pardon of the latter's offences from Mahmud Shah p 121 wrote to Bahadur about the acceptance of his prayer by Mahmud Shah p 122 was sent by Bahadur with a petition to Mahmud Shah p 123 made a representation to Mahmud Shah p 124

Vaqd ul mulk his flight p 577 was expelled by the amirs p 578

Narsingh Ray one of the associates of Ahmad Shah p 51 informed Ahmad Shah about the invasion of Sultan Hushang summoned Hushang to his aid when Ahmad Shah had besieged the fort of Kehria agreed to pay Hushang his daily expenses p 5 paid tribute to Muhammad Shah Lashkari p 105

Nasib Shah Sultan of Bangala succeeded his father bestowed jagirs on the amirs of Afghan and on Sultan Mahmud prayed for the hand of the daughter of Sultan Ibrahim for himself sent beautiful presents to Sultan Bahadur of Gujrat p 444

period of reign, p 445 (and see notes 1-2, p 445)

Nasū, son of 'Ādīl Khān, *see* 'Ādīl Khān, ruler of Asū and Burhānpur

Nasīr, Saīyid, at the call of Sultān Hasan he was coming to help but died on the way near the valley of Pīr Punjāl, p 681

Nāsīr the slave, ruler of Bangāla, after the death of Sultān Ahmad sat on the throne, was put to death, period of reign, p 434 (and see note 5, p 434)

Nasū Khān, (ruler of Asū), accepted the proposal of Ahmad Shāh for the marriage of Shāhzāda 'Alā-ud-dīn with his own daughter, p 45, invaded a part of the territory of the Dakīnī Kingdom, p 57, was opposed by Malik-ut-tujjār and went back to Asīr, his death, p 58, his possession of parts of Sultānpur and Nadarbār, p 196, took possession of the fort of Tālnū, invaded the country of Sultānpur, p 198, prepared to defend himself in the fort of Tālnīr, requested Ahmad Shāh to excuse his offences, was given the title of Nasīr Khān by Ahmad Shāh, p 199, gave shelter to Kānhā in his kingdom, p 213, joined Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn, fled to the hills of Kaland, p 214

Nasīr Khān, brother of Sultān Muzaffar Gujrātī, was left in the fort of Dhlār by Sultān Muzaffar Gujrātī, his treatment of the *ra'īyats* and the attack of Mālwa army, p 469, different views about his name, p 469, n 4

Nasīr Khān, son of Sikandar Khān, attacked Natū Khān, p 621, fought against Shujā 'Khān but was defeated and fled, p 622

Nasīr Khān, Sultān of Gujrāt, Bahā'-ul-mulk placed Nasīr Khān on the

throne and gave him the title of Sultān Mahmūd, *amīrs* of Gujrāt offered congratulations, 'Imād-ul-mulk comforted the *amīrs*, p 328, arrival of Bahādur Shāh in Gujrāt and the defence of 'Imād-ul-mulk, pp 329-332, period of reign, p 333

Nasīr Khān Jahān, son of Qādir Khān, on account of his cruel and high-handed actions, p 453, requested Sultān Mahmūd Khaljī to save his dominion from the attack of Sultān Mahmūd Sharqī, p 455, waited on Sultān Mahmūd Khaljī at Chandērī, p 456

Nāsīr Kiyānī, went to conquer Tibet, p 738

Nasīr Rāja Malik, *see* Adīl Khān, ruler of Asū and Burhānpur

Nasīr Shāh, son of 'Abd-ul-qādir, news of his oppression reached Mahmūd Khaljī, p 511, submitted a representation to Mahmūd Khaljī and was pardoned by the latter, p 512, a message regarding his unorthodox views reached Mahmūd Khaljī, p 515, was expelled by Sultān Mahmūd Sharqī from Kālpī, his request to Mahmūd Khaljī, p 516, rendered homage to Mahmūd Khaljī, p 517, Rātah and Mahōbah were given to him by Mahmūd Sharqī, p 519

Nāsīr Shāh, Sultān of Bangāla, the *amīrs* placed one of the descendants of Sultān Shams-ud-dīn Bhangara on the throne and gave him the title of Nāsīr Shāh, p 434, died, period of reign, p 435 (and see note 1, p 435)

Nāsīr-ud-dīn, this title was conferred on Ismā'il Fath by 'Alā-ud-dīn Hasan Bahmanī, p 8

Nāsīr-ud-dīn, Sultān, Sultān of Mālwa, took the kingdom from Sultān

Chiyath ud din on the advance of Mahmud Shah he submitted to him p 281 was given the title of Nasir Shah by Sultan Chiyath ud-din and appointed as the heir of the latter p 344 his brother Shuja at Khan p 33 his birth p 303 gained favour with his father hostility of Shuja at Khan supported his father took all the affairs of the state in his own hands an evil deed of Rani Khurshid in his court p 4 with drew his hands from the duties of the *rājā rat* Rani Khurshid and Shuja at Khan took over the management of the affair of the government of Sultan Chiyath ud din an order of Sultan Chiyath ud din to seize the murderers of Mumtaz Baqri p 30 a message of his father attended his father left his father and went towards Dhar p 306 sent a petition to his father order of Rani Khurshid for his destruction amazement of the army p 357 encamped in the town of Thalimah amirs of the Chiyath Shahi states joined him moved to the town of Rajawiyah raised the royal umbrella over his head p 308 sent Malik Malhu to chastise the troops of Shuja at Khan was reinforced by the amirs hearing of his strong position Chiyath ud din sent ambassadors to him his reply to Chiyath ud din p 309 his victories over the troops of Shah diabad p 360 failure of Shuja at Khan and Rani Khurshid in their evil attempt fight between Shuja at Khan and the effort of Sultan Chiyath ud din for peace p 361 his disputes with Shuja at Khan and their result p 36 sat on the throne of the empire made over Shuja at Khan and Rani Khurshid

to custodians appointed his heir his general announcement as the Sultan and punishment of the enemies was allowed to do homage to his father was recognized as Sultan by his father p 364 concentration of the enemies under Sher Khan hostility of Sher Khan p 365 aggression on the death of his father p 36 suppressed the disturbance caused by Sher Khan instigation of Shaikhzai has prompted Sher Khan to rebellion which caused the latter's death p 367 imprisoned Shaikh Habib ul lah occupied himself with pleasure an drinking in example of his immorality erection of a palace in Bajdh Fira p 369 built a costly and noble palace in Tigar having chastised the rebels returned to his capital accepted tribute from the Zamindars of Chitor sent Iqbil Khan Khwaja Jahan to Alir and Burhanpur rebellion of Sultan Shahi b ud din p 370 unfavourable reply of Sultan Shahi b ud din to his father p 371 removed Sultan Shahi b ud din and made Iqbal Humayun his heir various battles attacked him his councils and precepts to the amirs and Muhammad Shah p 37 his death and period of reign p 373

Nasir ud din Abd ul qadir Sultan see Nasir ud din Sultan Sultan of Malwa

Nasir ud din Abd ul daula was directed to command the force by Mumtaz Shah p 300

Nasir ud din Arab Sayyid was sent by Mumtaz Shah to Karbala to open out a stream was insulted by Sher Malik p 43

Nasir ud din Dabir Malik his treasury with Muhammad Shah p 498 was pardoned by Muhammad Shah

was given the title of Nasrat Khān and a fief by Mahmūd Khaljī, his rebellion against Mahmūd Khaljī, p 499, was relieved of the government of Chandērī, p 501

Nasīr-ud-dīn Muhammad Dāūdī, Shaikh, p 37

Nasīrat Chak, opinion of Ghazī Khān, p 729, his imprisonment, p 731, his release, went to Khān Khāñān Bahrām Khān, p 736

Nasrat Khān, his plans against Husain Khān, p. 741, his imprisonment, p 742, was blinded, p. 744

Nasrat Khān, brother of Muzaffar Shāh, was placed in charge of the government of Mālwa by Muzaffar Shāh, p 186, his harsh treatment of the *ra'īyats*, rebellion against him, was rescued by Khwājahdār and was sent to Gujrāt, p 187

Nasrat Khān, son of Iqbāl Khān, went to bring Shihāb-ud-dīn, p 580

Nasrat-ul-mulk, Malik, was left in the service of Ā'zam Humāyūn by Mahmūd Shāh, p 285; was sent to Idar, was ordered by Muzaffar Shāh to devastate as far as Bijānagar, p 301, advanced to give battle to Rāy Mal, p 306, was brought to Ahmadābād by Muzaffar Shāh, p 307, was slain, p 327

Nasr-ul-lah Dabir, Khwājah, representation of other *amīrs* through his intervention to Sultān Hūshang, p 484

Nasr-ul-lah Parmiyānī, Khwājah, in concert with other *amīrs* brought Shāhzāda Mas'ūd Khān and placed him on the throne of Mālwa, p 494

Natū Khān, was appointed to the Sarkār of Hāndiyah, p 621

Naurūz Aswad, son of Ahmad Aswad, was made the chamberlain of Sultān Hasan, p 676

Naurūz Chak, his house was burnt, p 716

Naushīrwān, the just, p 82

Nazīrī, the poet, friend, and companion of Amirzāda Habib ul-lah, p 85

Nāzī, Shāh, his statement about the death of Mirzā Haidār, p 717

Nazr Be Uzbek, was ordered to support Burhān, joined Burhān, p 158

Nāzuk Chak, his escape from Ghazī Khān, p 730, his rebellion, p 731, his execution, p 732

Nāzuk Shāh, Sultān of Kashmīr, the Kashmīris brought the family of Mīrzā Haidār to Srīnagar and divided the country of Kashmīr among themselves, his accession, p 719, an amicable settlement between Ghazī Khān and Sankar Chak, groups which exercised power in Kashmīr, p 720, power of the Chaks, the Mākrīs went to Bānkāl, p 721; release of the Mughals, skirmishes between the Chaks and the Mughals, p 722, victory of the Kashmīris over the Niyāzī tribe, p 723, hostilities among the Kashmīris, p 724, period of rule for the second time, p 725

Nāzuk Shāh, son of Fath Shāh, Sultān of Kashmīr, was given the title of Sultān by Abdāl Mākrī, p 697, accession, capital, his *vazīr*, division of the country, p 698, allotment of divisions, summoned Muhammad Shāh, accession of Muhammad Shāh for the fourth time, was appointed successor of Muhammed Shāh, period of reign, p 699, Malik Abdāl defeated Malik Kājī, Mīrzā Kāmrān sent detachments for the conquest of Kashmīr, p 700, destruction of the Kashmīris by the Mughals, retreat of the Mughals, Malik Kājī retired to Hindūstān,

Sultan Sayid Khan of Kashghar conquered Kashmir and destroyed the Kashmiris p 701 fight between the Kashgharis and the Kashmiris resulted after a great loss in peace p 703 agreement with the Kashgharis famine in Kashmir p 704 illness of Muhammad Shah and his death p 705

Nazuk Shah son of Sultan Shams ud din succeeded his father but was defeated by Mirza Haider p 707

Nehruz father of Karshashah p 633 Nizam Khan reinforced Dastur Khan and attacked Hushang p 581

Nizam Mufarrah bore the title of Ashti Khan was the governor of Gujarat under Sultan Muhammad his cruelty p 173 received a letter from Zafar Khan p 175 reply to Zafar Khan his advance to fight with Zafar Khan his murder p 176

Nizam Shah son of Humayun Shah succeeded his father administration was entrusted to the hands of Malikhuma i-Jahan p 86 marched out with his amirs for the campaign the army of Nizam Shah fell upon the vanguard of the Rays of Orissa defeated them and made them return to their capital p 87 advanced to meet the army of Mandu placed ten thousand horsemen in charge of Khwajah Mahmud Gilani made over the army of the centre to Khwajah Jahan Malik Shah Turk p 88 defeated the army of Sultan Mahmud came w th Malikah i Jahan to Firuzabad p 89 wrote a letter to Sultan Mahmud of Gujarat sent Khawajah Jahan with a large army to fight aga nst Sultan Mahmud Khalji p 90 advanced to fight with Mahmud Khalji asked help from Sultan Mahmud of Gujarat offered him thanks for his help and

died period of his reign pp 92 243 -44 and -45

Nizam Shah nephew of Chaznun Khan was blinded by Chaznun Khan p 49^o

Nizam ud din Jam son of Shah ud din ruler of Sind a count of his government p 775

Nizam ud din Jam i o Jain Vanda ruler of Sind accession on the throne of Sind account of his reign p 778

Nizam ud din Shaikh went to Cham panir from the side of Sultan Mahmud Khalji for drawing up the treaty p -3^o

Nizam ud din Ahmad the author the statement which he had heard from the friends of Shuja Khan p 626 his statement about the tree of Kashmir p 717 his statement about the rulers of Sind p 771 his statement about the Sultan of Multan p 800 his final estate mont p 611

Nizam ud din Dehlavi Sheikh issued a general invitation for dinner during the reign of Sultan Tughlaq Shah Hasan Gangu presented himself before him told Hasan Gangu symbolically that he will become a Sultan p 8

Nizam ul mulk Malik of Gujarat p 192 was sent to Badr Ala in order to assure the latter's safety by Ahmad Shah was seized by Badr Ala was released by the people of Ahmad Shah p 193 was sent to punish Malik Shah p 195 Ahmad Shah made him the regent of his kingdom during his absence and ordered him to punish the Raja of Mandal p 199 was sent to hunt in the neighbourhood of D lawara was defeated by the Parabia Rajputs p -99 was appointed to recover the country of Idar male over Idar to Bihar Mal

fought with Rāy Mal, p 300, his illness, was summonod to tho presence of Muzaffai Shāh, loft Zahīr-ul-mulk at Idāi and hastened towards Muhammādābād, p 301, was appointed to attack Muhāfi_x Khān by Sultān Bahādur, p 335

Nizām ul mulk Malik, was appointed vazīr by Sultān Shihāb ud-dīn, p 110, made an agieement with the Turkī amīrs, his fruitful flattery of Qiyām-ul mulk p 111, after the death of Qiyām-ul mulk took up the duties of vazīr, was wounded by Dilāwai Khān p 112, informed Malik Barīd about the hostile intention of Dilāwai Khān and started for Junīr p 113

Nizām ul mulk Malik fathei of Malik Badeh was sent to the *thāna* at Kīz by Mahmūd Shāh, p 263, requested Mahmūd Shāh to confer the *thāna* which, belonged to him, on his son and to take him with him for the performance of the *Haj*, was advised by ‘Imād-ul-mulk to go alone for pilgrimage on behalf of all, was greatly liked by Mahmūd Shāh, was sent to the *amīns* to demand a reply to the Sultān’s question, p 269
Nizām-ul mulk father of Malik ut-tujjār, governor of Junīr, pp 74, 75
Nizām ul mulk son of Malik Nizām-ul-mulk, informed Malik Barīd about the ambition of Sultān ‘Alā ud dīn, p 133

Nizām ul mulk Bahī a slave of Brahman was called Bahrī, his son Ahmad had the ambition to rule, vazīrs of Sultān Kalīm ul-lah made Nizām ul-mulk Bahī a prisoner and put him to death, p 136

Nizām ul-mulk Bahrī, ruler of Ahmad-nagār, his death, p 391

Nizām ul mulk Bahī ruler of Kāwil, helped Malik Hisām ud dīn Maghūl

in placing Khānzāda ‘Ālam Khān on the throne of Asīr and Burhānpūr, p 283, leaving horsemen with ‘Ālam Khān and Malik Hisām ud dīn went to Kāwil, p 284, stationed noar the border of Asīr with ‘Ālam Khān with his army, p 287, presented a petition to Mahmūd Shāh, p 288

Nizām ul mulk Dakīnī, joined Sultān Bahādur and was given the title of Muhammad Shāh by him, p 355

Nizām ul mulk Ghūrī, Humāyūn Shāh sent him to the country of Tilang, went away from the foot of the fort of Tilang p 79, fled and joined Sultān Mahmūd Khaljī, p 80, instigated Mahmūd Khaljī to invade tho Deccan, pp 87, 533

Nizām-ul-mulk Sultānī, was sent by Muzaffai Shāh to join Malik Ayāz, p 313, was sent with an army to Na’leha, p 590

Nizām-ul mulk Turk, Malik, father of ‘Ādil Khān and Daryā Khān, appointed to take charge of the left wing of the army of Nizām Shāh, pp 88, 535, was given Junīr by Muhammad Shāh Lashkarī as *jāgīr*, p 94, was appointed to conquer the fort of Kehila, pp 95, 536, attacked the Mandū army, on a petition of mercy excused the Mandū army, p 95, was made martyr by a Mandū soldier, p 96

Nizām-ul Mulkiya , list of Sultāns, p 7
Nūh bin Yūsuf-ul-mulk was given the title of Shams ul-mulk by Sultān Bahādur, p 333

Nūr, Mahk, son of Mahk Ahmad, Husam was entiusted to him by Sultān Hasan, p 680

Nūr Bakhsh, Saiyid Muhammad, sent a gift to Mahmūd Khaljī, p 539

Nūr Qutb ‘Ālam, Shaikh, p 443

Nur ud din Shaikh was respected by Mahmud Khalji p 539

P

Pandey Brij was the *tazir* of Raja Bhoj after accepting Islam he was known as Shaikh Abd ul Iah Jangal p 99

Pandus p 633

Pars Ram Raja Bakar entered the service of Sultan Bahadur p 348

Parasram Raja of Jammu took part in the murder of Sayyid Hasan p 682 was sent back with gifts p 686

Payinda Khan Afghan was permitted to go back to Jaunpur p 330

Pijsara Malik was appointed by Rani Khurahid and was given the title of Al Khan p 562 joined Sher Khan p 60

Piarah Isma'il his title p 238 his execution p 242 and see Kabir Sultan W.I.

Pir Khan fought against Maqbul Khan p 537

Pir Muhammad Khan was sent to conquer Malwa by Akbar p 631

Pir Muhammad Khan Mirza possessed Multan seized Sarang Khan p 180

Pishrau Khan had an interview with Murtada Nizam Shah conveyed the order of Khalifa i Ilah to Murtada Nizam Shah went back with the tribute presented by Murtada Nizam Shah p 148

Pitila Ray was appointed by Medina Ray to guard the fort of Mandu sent a message to Muzaffar Shah pp 303 590 602

Prithi Raj was given half of the territory of Bakar by Sultan Bahadur p 349

Punja an army was sent by Ahmad Shah to attack him p 99 his attack his submission to Ahmad

Sbah which was not accepted p 210 his death p 211

Puran Mal son of Silhadi possessed the fort of Raisin and its neighbourhood p 617

Q

Qadam Khan with the title of Sultan Ala ud din son of Sultan Mahmud

Khalji was given the command of the *amirs* of Chander p 523 was entrusted with the government of the forts of Harauti and Rantam bhor p 596 captured the fort of Bundi p 53 favours conferred on him by Sultan Ghiyath ud din p 543

Qadan Qadi surrendered the fort of Bhakkar to Shah Beg p 778

Qadi Khan fought against Maqbul Khan p 537

Qadir Khan ruler of Kalpi p 481

Qadr Khan his fight with Malik Muqarrab Ahmad Ayaz p 214

Qaiser Khan was summoned by Mahmud Shah was sent with Imad ul mulk by Mahmud Shah for the conquest of Jalor and Sajor was murdered by Mujabid Khan p 270

Qaisar Khan standard bearer of Sultan Hushang informed Ahmad Gujrati of the plan of Mahmud Khalji p 503

Qaisar Khan thanadar of Sultan Muzaffar Guarat was sent by Muzaffar Shah to Dahud 994 was ordered by Muzaffar Shah to take possession of the country as far as Devla p 297 Muzaffar Shah sent presents through him to Sultan Mahmud p 30 was appointed to crush Rana Sanga by Muzaffar Shah taking Qawam ul mulk went to Parantej p 311 was appointed to punish the rebels by Sultan Sikandar p 36 sent a message to Latif Khan to leave Champanur 336 sent a number of

retainers with Shūjā‘-ul-mulk, p. 339, was imprisoned by the order of Sultān Bahādur, p 340, welcomed Sultān Mahmūd and treated him with great respect, p 601

Qarrā Bahādur Mīrzā, was appointed the governor of Bahāimal, created disturbance against the Mughals, p 714, sent a message to Mīrzā Haidar, was imprisoned by the Kashmūris, p 715, his release, p 722, his fight with Ghazī Khān, p 737

Qāsim, Khwājah, was slain, p 716

Qāsim, Malik, was summoned by Mahmūd Khaljī, p 502

Qāsim, Mīrzā, son of Khwājah Hājī, accompanied Yūsuf Khān, p 761

Qāsim, Mulla, little Tibet was given to him by Mirzā Haidar, p 712

Qāsim, Shāh, teacher of Mīr Shams, p 689

Qāsim, Sayyid, was left behind to collect tribute in Karnāl, p 196, was sent with Shāhzāda Muhammad Khān by Ahmad Shāh, p 213

Qāsim Husain Sultān, was appointed to the government of Bahrōj by Hūmāyūn Bādshāh, could not stand the attacks of Gujātīs, went to Tardī Bēg Khān, p 377

Qassāb, the name of an elephant, under whose feet Shīr Malik was thrown by the order of Ahmad Shāh, p 43

Qawām Khān, see Yūsuf Qawām, Malik Qawām Khān Lankāh, joined Mīrzā Shāh Husain, p 806

Qawām-ul-mulk, son of Qawām-ul-mulk, was sent to encourage the citizens of Dhār by Muzaffar Shāh, inflamed the desire of Muzaffar Shāh to visit Dhār, p 298, fought with great exertion and slew many Rājpūts, p 303, was left in Ahmādābād to control the grāssīas, p 308

Qawām-ul-mulk, Malik, was sent to the town of Kodhrā by Mahmūd Shāh, p 263, crushed the Rājpūts, p 275, was sent by Mahmūd Shāh to punish Bahādur Gilānī, p 279, was sent by Muzaffar Shāh to attack Rānā Sānkā, p 304, went to Parāntēj, p 311, was sent to join Malik Ayāz, p 313, penetrated into the hills of Bānswāla and caused great destruction, p 314, opposed Malik Ayāz in making peace with Rānā Sānkā, p 316, enslaved the strangīs, p 344, was sent by Muzaffar Gujrātī to welcome Mahmūd Shāh, p 601, was sent by Muzaffar Gujrātī to punish Mēdīnī Rāy and Rānā Sānkā, p 602

Qiwām-ul-mulk, was appointed to attack Bahādur Gilānī by Sultān Shihāb-ud-dīn, p 117

Qiyā Khān, was sent to conquer Mālwa by Akbar, p 631

Qiyām-ul-mulk Turk, Malik, was appointed vazīr by Sultān Shihāb-ud-dīn, p 110, agreed to the proposal of Malik Nizām-ul-mulk, p 111; was killed by the Turkī amīrs, p 112

Qulī Khān, Shāh, was appointed to invade Kashmīr, p 760

Qulī Qutb-ul-mulk Hamadānī, Sultān, of the Quyun tribe and a vazīr of the Bahmanīs, p 167, he sold himself to Sultān Mahmūd, he took possession of Gōlkonda, period of his reign, p 168

Qutb, officer-in-charge of the island of Mahām, p 214, informed Sultān Ahmad about the tyranny and oppression of Malik Hasan, p 215

Qutb ‘Ālam Shaikh Faīd-ud-dīn Mas‘ūd Shakarganj, was sent to wait on Mahmūd Khaljī by Ghazī Khān, p 533-34

Qutb Khān, joined Sultān Bahādu, p 348, was sent by Sultān Muhammad

to fight against Mahmud Khalji
p 510

Qutb ud din Sultan son of Sultan Shams ud din Sultan of Kasunfr accession character sent Lour for the conquest of the fort of Loharkot p 64 execution of Raj Rawal and imprisonment of Hasan period of reign p 643

Qutb ud din Ahmad Shah Sultan Gujrati succeeded his father received the title of Sultan Qutb ud din Ahmad Shah currency of the rite of Vithar bestowed jagirs upon the amirs p 26 Sultan Mahmud Khalji advanced into the country of Gujrat consultation with a baqal advice of the baqal amirs took him along to carry on the war with Sultan Mahmud gained victory p 27 met Sultan Mahmud in Kaparbanj Malik Ila ud din Suhrab joined him p 28 communication with Sultan Mahmud by a couplet returned to Ahmadabad with triumph p 29 Shams Khan went to Ahmadabad conferred favours on Shams Khan and married his daughter in the nikah form sent reinforcements to Nagor devastation of the men of Nagor by Rana Kumbha p 230 advanced against the fort of Kumbha Gita D oralı from him appointed Malik Shaban Sultan in charge of the fort of Abu sent a messenger to him in Imdul mulk advanced to capture the fort of Sirohi defeated the Raja of Sirohi invaded the country of Rana Kumbha p 231 Kumbha offered tribute returned to Ahmadabad peace and settlement with Sultan Mahmud Khalji p 23 marched to invade Kumbha took the fortress of Abu delivered it to

Gita D oralı from Ihu advanced towards Kumbhalgarh Rana Kumbha retired to the fort of Chitor Rana being defeated begged for pardon returned to Ahmedabad p 233 resolved to punish the Zamindars marched to Sirohi destroyed various towns sent armies to ravage the dominions of Rana Kumbha giving up the siege of the fort of Kumbhalgarh advanced towards the fortress of Chitor to help Sultan Mahmud plundering the surrounding country went to Ahmedabad forgive Rana Kumbha at his request his illness interview with Sayid Muhannam p 234 prophecy of Sayid Muhannam date of death title after death period of reign special characteristics amirs put Shams Khan to death p 23

Qutb ud din Khan I Sultan of Multan sent a message to Shaikh Yusuf gave his daughter in marriage to Yusuf p 789 died Shaikh Yusuf and ascended on the throne of Multan sent Shaikh Yusuf to Delli p 790 raised the standard of sovereignty period of rule p 791

Qutb ud din Muhammad Khan Ghazi navi Burhan Nizam ul mulk came to him was one of the amirs of Khalifa i Ilahi p 157

Qutb ud din Sharbanji Malik his treasury towards Mahmud Khalji p 498 was p led by Mahmud Khalji p 499

Qutb ul Mulkiya list of the Sultans see p 7

Qutlugh Khan brother of Alam ul mulk p 8

R

Rabe a Bibi wife of Haider Khan her birth and death p 73

- Rādi-ul-mulk, *see* Al mad, Sultān of Gujāt
- Rādi-ul-mulk, *amīs* of Sultān Mu-zaffar, his efforts to transfer the rule of Gujrāt from Sultān Bahādur to Chānd Khān, p 610
- Rafī‘-ul-mulk, was given the title of ‘Imād-ul-mulk by Sultān Bahādur and was made ‘Ārid-i-Mumālik, p 335
- Rāja of Ābū, looted a caravan of merchants, received a *farmān* from Mahmūd Shāh, gave back what he had looted to the merchants and sent a tribute to Muhammūd Shāh, p 278
- Rāja of Badhūl, p 194, his petition to Sultān Hūshang, p 195
- Rāja of Chāmpānī, sent a representation to Sultān Hūshang, p 197, did homage to Ahmad Shāh, p 199, his submission to Ahmad Shāh, p 201
- Rāja of Gwāliar, his nephew entered the service of Sultān Bahādur, p 346
- Rāja of Idar, his rebellion, sent his *vakīls*, p 177, to Zafar Khān, p 178, agreed to pay tribute to Zafar Khān, p 180, evacuated the fort, p 181, his rebellion, fought against ‘Ain-ul-mulk, became victorious, evacuated the fort of Mahrāsa, fled to the hills of Bijānagar, p 296, asked Muzaffar Shāh to pardon him, sent a message to Muzaffar Shāh, was excused by Muzaffar Shāh, p 297
- Rāja of Kālna, sent tribute to ‘Ādil Khān, p 289
- Rāja of Karnāl, gave shelter to Shāh Malik, his fight with Al mad Shāh, his defeat, fled to the hills of Karnāl, asked pardon for his offences, p 196
- Rāja of Māhūr, joined Mīrān Muham-mad Shāh, p 402
- Rāja of Māl, did not favour Latif Khān, p 337
- Rāja of Mandal, p 194, instigated Sultān Hūshang to conquer Gujrāt, p 195, brought Sultān Hūshang to Gujāt, p 197, his rebellion, p 199
- Rāja of Mandalgarh, his fight with Zafar Khān, his defeat, promise for the payment of a tribute, p 179
- Rāja of Nādōt, p 194, his petition to Sultān Hūshang, p 195, brought Sultān Hūshang into Gujrāt, p 197, asked pardon of his offences, p 199
- Rāja of Suōhī, fought with Sultān Qutb-ud-dīn and was defeated, p 231, fled to the hills, p 234
- Rāja of Sōiath, his negligence in the payment of a tribute, p 197
- Rāja Rustam, Nizām-ul-mulk, was sent to Jālna by the Dakīnī *vazīrs*, his treatment of the Saiyyads, p 65, became afflicted with leprosy, p 66
- Rām, governor of Kākrūn, on the advance of Muhammad Khān he evacuated Kākrūn and fled, p 368
- Rām Chand Nāik, Rāy, was sent by Sultān Qutb-ud-dīn to reinforce Nāgōr, p 230
- Rām Rāj of Bijānagar, was attacked by Husain Nizām-ul-mulk, advanced to meet Husain Nizām-ul-mulk, p 141, was killed, p 143
- Rām Shāh, Rāja of Gwāliar, helped Mubārik Khān Saīwānī, p 622
- Rānā Kūmbhā, his determination to recover Nāgōr from Mujhād Khān, marched against Nāgōr, sent a message to Shams Khān to carry out his promise, on the denial of Shams Khān advanced towards Nāgōr, fought and destroyed the men of Nāgōr, p 230, his fight with Sultān Qutb-ud-dīn, p 231, after defeat paid tribute to Sultān Qutb-ud dīn, p 232, left Kūmbhalmīr and retired to the fort of Chitōr, fought and was crushed by Sultān Qutb-ud dīn,

made submission to Sultan Qutb ud din attempted to destroy Nagor hearing of the preparations of Sultan Quṭb ud din withdrew his steps p 233 was besieged by Sultan Qutb ud din in the fort of Kum bhalmer prayed Sultan Quṭb ud din for the pardon of his offences p 234 Rana Sanka p 299 helped Ray Mal took possession of the country of Idar from Bihar Mal and made it over to Ray Mal p 300 news of his arrival in the neighbourhood of Ujjain to aid and reinforce Medini Ray p 304 treated Sultan Mahmud with kindness and sent him to Mandu turned towards Idar p 307 ravaged Idar to the boundary of Sirohi came to Bakar and then to Dungarpur p 308 advanced against Idar advanced against Ahmad nagar a battle with Mubariz ul mulk p 309 ravaged Ahmadnagar advanced to Besalnagar and ravaged it p 310 went to help the *lānadar* of Mandisor p 314 sent a message to Malik Ayaz sent a message to Silhadi p 315 sent emissaries to Malik Ayaz p 316 a message from Malik Ayaz p 317 sent his son with tribute to Muzaffar Shah his offences were excused by Muzaffar Shah p 318 paid tribute to Shahzada Bahadur when he arrived at Chitor p 321 his son rendered homage to Taj Khan p 343 hearing of the defeat of Ray Pithora went back with Medini Ray and Silhadi to his own country p 604 advanced towards Kakrum defeated Mahmud Shah p 606 his kind treatment of Mahmud Shah p 607 seized a part of the kingdom of Mahmud Shah p 608

Rađjan Raja son of Raja Surdev his successor p 634

Ram 1 Raja of Idar was summoned by Firuz Khan to help him p 192 fled to the hills of Idar his treachery towards Firuz Khan p 194 brought Sultan Hushang into Gujerat p 197 asked pardon for his offences and did homage to Ahmad Shah p 193 Ran Mal Raja of Tibet reinforced Habib Khan p 758 Rashid ul mulk Malik was given the title of Khudawand Khan by Muzaffar Shah p 293 Ratan Sen son of Rana Sanka prayed Sultan Bahadur for the pardon of Jaga's offences p 349 devastated the villages of Sipla and Balavat confronted Sultan Mahmud at Ujjain p 350 waited on Sultan Bahadur at the pass of Karch obtained leave to go to Chitor p 351 advanced into Malwa p 610 made complaints about Mahmud Shah to Sultan Bahadur p 611 Rawal Ray his execution p 643 Ray of Bijanagar seized the fort of Badhul and made martyrs of Musalmans p 15 hearing of the advance of Sultan Muhammad fled and took shelter in a fort p 16 posted himself on the other side of the river Krishna to confront Firuz Shah p 30 was killed by Qazi Siraj p 31 plundered certain *parganas* of Ala ud din p 67 feeling himself unable to withstand Ala ud din asked pardon for his offences and gained safety p 69 Ray of Gwahar paid tribute to Sultan Husain p 460 Ray of Mahaur marriage of his daughter p 219 Ray of Mahur rose in rebellion was defeated by Sultan Ahmad Shah became a loyal adherent of Ahmad Shah p 47

Rāy of Orissa, defeated Khwāja Jahān and Nizām-ul-mulk Ghūrī, p 79, came to ravage Bīdar, p 86, plundered and devastated a portion of the Deccan, p 102, took the fort of Bakīr, p 105, made his submission to Sultān Husain, p 460

Rāy of Rāhal, submitted, after fighting and killing the brother and son of Dilāwar Khān, sent his daughter with a large tribute to Dilāwar Khān, p 67

Rāy of Sangēsar, sent a large tribute with his daughter to Dilāwar Khān and promised loyalty, p 67

Rāy of Sonkar (Sangēsar), p 97

Rāy Bābū, Rāja of Baklāna, his son paid tribute to Sultān Ghiyāth-ud-dīn, p 527

Rāy Singh, Rāja of Māl, p 341, sacked the town of Dahūd, p 342, suffered great loss from the invasion of Tāj Khān, p 343

Rāyān, Rāy, son of Mēdīnī Rāy, his reply to Khudāwand Khān in connection with the conspiracy against Mahmūd Shāh, swore before 'Imād-ul-mulk on the *Qurān* and achieved his agreement to the conspiracy, p 265, communicated the message of the support of 'Imād-ul-mulk to Khudāwand Khān, p 265, determination of the Rājpūts to place him on the throne, p 597

Rāymal Chitōri, his relation with Bhawānidās, p 570

Rāyzāda of Kehrla, was defeated by Tāj Khān and Ahmad Khān, p. 540

Rēgī Chak, sent a petition to Hamāyūn, p 707, joined Mīrzā Haidar, took charge of the affairs of Srinagar, p 708, his fight by the side of Mīrzā Haidar, suspicions of Mīrzā Haidar about him, joined Kājī Chak, p 709, his flight, his fight and death, p 710.

Rukn Khān, see Ibrāhīm Nizām, Sayyid.

Rukn-ud-dīn, his flight with his brother Hisām-ud-dīn to Mālwa, p 241

Rukn-ud-dīn, Shaikh, through his intercession the rebels Bahrām Khān and Govind Rāy were pardoned by Sultān Muhammad Shāh, p 17

Rūmī Khān, fired the bastions of the fort of Rāisīn, p 360, his direction of the war, p 372, joined with Khān Jahān Shīrāzī and marched towards Bahrōj, p 377

Rūpmatī, wife of Bāz Bahādur, p 631

Rustam Khān, brother-in-law of Chengīz Khān, p 398, his flight with the corpse of Chengīz Khān, p 409

Rustam Khān, governor of Sārangpūr, paid tribute to Nāsir-ud-dīn, p 559

S

Sa 'ādat Khān, united with Fūūz Khān, p 189

Sa 'ādat Sultānī, Malik, defended the fort of Tambōl, fell upon the Dakīnī army and slew many of them, attacked and defeated the Dakīnī army, p 218, was favoured by Ahmad Shāh, p 219

Sa 'ād Khān Līndī, news of his encampment reached Mahmūd Shāh, p. 592, sent a message to Bihjat Khān, p 593

Sabr 'Alī, Rājaurī was made over to him by Mīrzā Haidar, p 712, joined Mīrzā Haidar, burnt down the edifices of Sultān Zain-ul-'ābidīn, p 716, his release, p. 722, was slain, p 723.

Sa 'd Bakht, Malik, was made Burhān ul-mulk by Mahmūd Shāh, p 242

Sādāt Khān, joined Sultān Ahmad, p 395, was sent to occupy Bahdar by Shēr Khān, p 410, joined Shēr Khān, p 412

Sadhā, Malik, attacked certain villages in Chāmpānīr, fought with the Rāja

- of Champanir and attained martyrdom p 7.
- Sadhu the *thanadar* of the fort of Shahar (*Sahur*) helped Fizuz Khan in his attempt p 27
- S diq Khan was sent to conquer Malwa by Akhar p 631
- Sadiq Muhammad Khan was sent with Burhan to attack the Afghans p 157
- Sadr Jahan came to Champanir to draft the treaty on behalf of Sultan Mahmud Khalji p 23
- Sadr Jahan Makhdum Zam p 15
(and see n 1 p 120)
- Sadr Jahan Sharf ul Ulama p 124
- Sadr Khan took a message to Mahmud Shah p 577 joined Sahib Khan p 583 fled towards Chanderi p 592 decided to pay tribute to Mahmud Shah p 594
- Sadr Khan governor of Raisin advised Sultan Bahadur not to raise the siege of Chitor p 371 encouraged Sultan Bahadur p 372 was taken in the service of Humayun Badshah p 375
- Sadr ud din Qadi went as an ambassador to Ali Shah p 750
- Sad ul lah Lahori Maulana his description of the siege of the fort of Multan p 807 description about himself after the victory of Husam Mirza p 808
- Safdar Khan devastated the country of the Rays of Kokan plundered the country of Rahal p 67 was sent by Mahmud Shah to help Zam Humayun p 288 was wounded in the battle between Rana Sanga and Mubariz ul mulk p 309 retired to Ahmadabad 310 was sent by Muazzaffar Shah to chastise the Rajputs of Lakiakot after ravaging Lakiakot rejoined Malik Ayaz p 313 heard about the plan of Udaya Singh fought and defeated Udaya Singh p 314
- Safdar Khan Suljani Malik was sent by Ahmad Shah to guard the camp faced the enemies and defeated them p 208
- Safdar ul mulk p 9
- Sahib Khan cousin of Mujahid Khan assisted Mujahid Khan in the murder of Qasim Khan p 270 ran away with his family p 271
- Sahib Khan Shahzada (son of Sultan Naar ud din) was placed on the throne of Mahmud Shah by Muhammed Khan with the title of Sultan Mahmud p 582 summoned Sadr Khan and Afdal Khan his rise p 583 his flight from Shahrai p 584 received a wound in the battlefield a message from Mahmud Shah p 585 his defeat and flight interview with Ladgar Muqbul went to the village of Lorgaon p 586 was attacked by Lodha and sought shelter with the ruler of Kawil p 587 sent an army to conquer Sarangpur p 593 his grief on the death of Muhammed Khan p 594 agreed to the proposal of submission to Mahmud Shah and received favours from the latter p 595 after hearing of the treacherous plan of Bihijat Khan betook himself to Sultan Sikandar's army pp 595 96
- Sahrah Ray see Qujb ud din Lankah Sultan of Multan
- Sahum his literary work and qualifications p 658
- Saad Malik was brought by Am ul mulk to the presence of Mahmud Shah Dakini was given the title of Bahadur Malik by Mahmud Shah p 126
- Saad ul mulk Malik was sent to Badr Ala by Sultan Ahmad Shah was seized by Badr Ala p 193 investigated the news of the welfare

- of Shāhzāda Ahmad Khān and reported to Mahmūd Shāh, p 267.
- Saifī, fought with the Saīyids, p 684, obtained release and fought against Muhammad Shāh p 688, Fath Shāh's regard for him, his rank, p 689, his execution, p 693
- Saif Khān, with the help of other *amīrs* placed Shāhzāda Hasan Khān on the throne, p 75, was executed by the order of Humāyūn Khān, p 76
- Saif Khān Dēhlavī, his representation to Qādir Shāh, p 618, his advice to Qādir Shāh, p 619
- Saif Khwājah, was sent to Badr 'Alā by Sultān Ahmad Shāh, p 193
- Saif-ud-dīn, was ordered by Sultān Bahādur to be hanged, p 335
- Saif-ud-dīn, Malik, Superintendent of the elephants, was sent with presents to Sultān Shams-ud-dīn by Firūz Shāh, p 424
- Saif-ud-dīn, Malik, was given the command of the fort of Ranthambhōr by Mahmūd Khaljī, p 520
- Saif-ul-mulk, advised I'tmād to leave Ahmadābād, p 404, arrival at Ahmadābād, p 407
- Saīyid Khān was sent by Sultān Muhammad to fight against Mahmūd Khaljī, p 510
- Saīyid Khān, Sultān of Kāshghar, sent an army to invade Kashmīr, p 701
- Saīyid Khān of the Niyāzī tribe, advanced to conquer Kashmīr but was slain, p 723
- Saīyid Mīrzā, his flight to Dābil, p 715
- Saīyid Sultān, was slain by Ghāzī Khān, p 533
- Sajāwal Khān, see Shujā' Khān, Sultān of Mālwa
- Salābat Khān, original, his rank in the service of Murtada Nizām Shāh, envy of the *amīrs*, fight, victory, p 148, imprisonment, entrance into the fortress, p. 149, reply to the men in charge of the fort, p 150 (and *see note 4*, p 119)
- Šalāh-ud dīn, Jām ruler of Sind, account of his government, p 775
- Šalāh-ud dīn, Jām relative of Jām Firūz hostility with Jām Firūz, p 779, received reinforcements from Sultān Muzaffar Gujrātī, his death, p 780
- Sālār Hamza, Mashīr-ul-mulk, was sent to Jālna by the Dakmī *vazīrs*, his treatment of the Saīyyads, p 65, became afflicted with leprosy, p 66
- Sālbāhan, refused to accept the terms of Mahmūd Shāh, p 598, was killed by the servant of Mahmūd Shāh, p 599
- Salīm, Sultān, 'Alī Shāh sent the daughter of his nephew to him, p 750
- Sāīnat Rāy, Rāja of Dandwāna, was killed by the soldiers of Sultān Hūshang, pp 206, 479
- Sanbal Khān, was sent to help Jām Firūz, p 780
- Sān Dēvī, mother of Yūsuf Khān, p 683
- Sanjai, Jām, ruler of Sind, account of his rule, p 778
- Sanjār Khān, joined Bihjat Khān, p 588
- Sankai, was given a part of Kashmīr and was made the revenue officer by Fath Shāh, p 690, as the revenue minister of Fath Shāh, p 692, his imprisonment, death, p 693
- Sankar Chak, son of Kājī Chak, envy (which he bore) to Ghāzī Khān, refused the summons of Daulat Chak and Ghāzī Khān, p 720; created disturbances, p 733, his revolt, p 741
- Sarandip, Malik, plunder of the gifts sent by him to Hajjāj, p 762
- Sarang, p 697, fought against Nāzuk Shāh and was slain, p 698

- Sarang Khan was seized by Mirza Pir M hammad Khan p 180
- Sarka Raja his fort was captured by the Malik ut tujjar was imprisoned p 61 was pardoned and made the pioneer of his army deceived Malik ut tujjar and led them to the mouth of death p 62
- Sev Das Baqal was killed by Sultan Chiyath ud din p 555
- Sarwar Malik entered the service of Bahadur Shah p 331 was given the title of Khwajah Jahan hy M hammad Shah was granted the title of Sultan ush sharq hy Mahmud Sultan and later appointed to the government of Jaunpur hy him p 447
- Sha ban Imad ul mulk Malik the conspirators resolved to remove him from his office p 238 inference of Mahmud Shah from his behaviour his imprisonment order of Mahmud Shah to bring him the denial of guards to leave him without the permission of Add ul mulk p 239 was appointed by Mahmud Shah to drive away flies p 240 made an attack on the conspirators p 241 separated himself from the office of the tazarat p 242
- Sha ban Sultani Malik was entitled Imad ul mulk was appointed in charge of the fort of Ahu by Sultan Qutb ud din commenced a battle was summoned by Sultan Qutb ud din p 231
- Shadi Khan, Purabiya was sent by Ray Pithora to put down Imad ul mulk p 604
- Shahab ud din was the son of Malik Sha han Imad ul mulk p 238
- Shahhaz Khan Afghan advanced to conquer Kashm p 73
- Shah Beg Arghun ruler of Sind, conquered the fort of Sewi possessed the fort of Blakkar p 778 seized the fort of Sihwan p 779 possessed Thatha p 780 gained the rule of Sind p 781 his literary ability and bravery p 78
- Shah Malik Malik rose in revolt p 194 his flight from the battlefield a sudden attack on the camp of Shahzada Latif Khan p 195
- Shah Mir see Shams ud din Sultan of Kashmir
- Shah Mirza joined Chenguz Khan p 403
- Shah Ruhi Mirza was appointed to invade Kashmir p 760
- Shahdad Mir arrived in Multan p 303
- Shah Beg Arghun helped Jam Firuz p 180
- Shah Beg Uzbak his fight with Amir Dhualnun Beg p 781
- Shahi Khan was made locum tenens of Ali Shah p 600 retired to Sialkot p 651 joined Jasrat defeated Ali Shah entered Kashmir as Sultan p 652
- Shaikh Malik was sent by Ghann Khan to seize Zafar Minjumla p 487
- Shaikha Malik was reinforced by Qadi Pir Ishaq p 280
- Sha Khan Qadi came from the Deccan to Mahmud Khalji for peace p 538
- Sham Mir his arrival in Kashmir p 689
- Sham Chak helped Lohar his imprisonment p 757 fled from prison and joined Haidar Chak p 758 his offences were pardoned by Yusuf Khan p 759
- Sham Duhar his advice to Khan Zaman, p 743
- Sham Duhu his determination about Yusuf Khan p 760
- Sham Khan son of Firuz Khan, for fear of Mujahid Khan fled to Rana

Kūmbhā, p 229, agreed to fulfil the conditions of Rānā Kūmbhā, took possession of the fort of Nāgōr, consulted with the *amīrs* in connection with the fulfilment of the demands of Rānā Kūmbhā, refused to fulfil his promise, went to Ahmadābād to seek for help, was favoured by Sultān Qutb-ud-dīn, p 230, was put to death by the *amīrs* of Sultān Qutb-ud-dīn, p 235

Shams Khān Dandānī, ruler of Nāgōr, was appointed to the office of *iāzīr* by Tūtār Khān, p 183, was favoured by A'zam Humāyūn, p 184

Shams Mughal, Khwājah, was sent as an ambassador to Islām Khān, p 714

Shams Zīnā, his imprisonment, p 725, joined Ghāzī Khān, p 726

Shāmhēr-ul-mulk, was appointed to seize 'Add-ul-mulk by Sultān Bahādur, p 335

Shams-ud-dīn, Khwājah, was left in Multān, p 810

Shams-ud-dīn, Sultān, ascended the throne of Dakin, p 25, Shāhzādas Firūz Khān and Ahmad Khān attempted to regain their hereditary dominion, their success, p 26, period of reign, p 27

Shams-ud-dīn, Sultān of Bangāla, p 429, succeeded his father, how he passed his life, period of reign, p 430 (and see note 3, p 429)

Shams ud-dīn, Sultān of Kashmīr, his ancestry, p 633, acquired power, message of Kōpā Dēvī, became the ruler of Kashmīr, p 635, accession, suppression of tyranny, rebuilt the kingdom of Kashmīr, p 636, meted out punishment to the Lūn tribe, left all affairs to Jamshid and 'Alī Shēr, period of reign, p 637.

Shams-ud-dīn, Sultān, son of Sultān Muhammad Shāh, Sultān of Kash-

mīr, accession, disputes between Malik Kājī and Abdāl Mākī, p 706, was succeeded by his son Nāzuk Shāh, p 707

Shams-ud-dīn Shāh, Darvīsh, p 255
Shams-ud-dīn Tārmī, Malik, came to see Mahmūd Shāh, p 122

Shaif-i Jahān, was sent by Mahmūd Shāh to Alf Khān to reassure him of his safety, p 279

Sharf-i-Jahān, physician of Sultān Muhammad Lashkārī, p 109

Sharf-ul-mulk, p 313

Sharf-ul-mulk, Malik, was ordered by Mahmūd Shāh to bring Sha'bān to the *darbār*, guards did not allow him to take Sha'bān, p 239

Sharq, Malik, advised I'tmād Khān to leave Ahmadābād, p 404

Sharqī Sultāns, list of the rulers, p 447

Sharzah Khān, son of Bihjat Khān, was sent to attend on Mahmūd Shāh, p 584, was sent by his father to welcome Shaikh Aūliyā, p 595, joined Sultān Bahādur, p 612

Sharzah Khān Shāwānī, came with a message from Sultān Mahmūd to Malik Ayāz, p 315

Sharzat-ul-mulk, fled from the fort of Mandū, p 352

Shēr, was executed, p 660.

Shēr Āshāmak, was conferred on powers by his brother, p 639

Shēr Khān, asked Malik Mujāhid-ul-mulk for protection, went away to Kāwil, p 289

Shēr Khān, father of Salim Khān, Bangāla came under his possession after Nasīb Shāh, slew Jahāngīr Qulī Bēg, p 445

Shēr Khān, son of Muzaffar Khān, ruler of Chandērī, chastised Sultān Bahlūl Lūdī, pp 546-47, his advance towards Chandērī, p 565, made over Mubārak Khān and 'Ālam Khān to his men,

turned to give battle to Nasir ud din p 566 his flight a letter from Shaikhzadas of Chanderi and his advance p 567 his struggle and death p 568

Sher Khan son of Sultan Muzaffar united Firuz Khan p 189

Sher Khan Afghan received Darya Khan with favour p 388 sent a farman to Qadir Shah p 617 his successful advance towards Malwa submission of Qadir Shah p 619 gave the Sarkar of Lakhnauti to Qadir Shah his direction to Shuja at Khan p 60 hemistich composed by him on the flight of Qadir Shah gave the towns of Ujjain and Sarangpur to Shuja Khan and also the government of Malwa p 61

Sher Khan Fuladi the district of Pattan as far as Kari came into his possession p 398 arrived at Ahmadabad and offered his congratulations to Sultan Muzaffar p 399 defeated I tmad Khan p 400 sent a letter to Chengiz Khan p 401 Usmanpur Khanpur and Kalupur came into his possession p 405 sent Sadat Khan who possessed Bahdar vacated Bahdar at the arrival of Sultan Mu affar p 410 agreed with the views of I tmad Khan for suppressing the Mrzas p 411 went to Sayid Hamid Bulhari to enquire about the truth of the fact about wh ch I tmad Khan had written to him on the arrival of Khalifa Ilalu became exhausted and fled p 413

Sh rwan Khan killed Burhan p 391 Shevdas father of Bhawan das p 510 Shihab ud din Sultan brother of Sultan Husain his rebellion and imprisonment p 533

Shihab ud din Sultan son of Sultan Nasir ud din Sultan of Malwa see Niyam Majhla

Shihab ud din Sultan son of Sultan Shams ud din Sultan of Kashmir accession character and qualifications p 640 marched as far as Ashtnagar and slew his enemies submission of the Raja of Nagarkot residence p 641 his heir banished his sons founded two cities period of reign p 64

Shihab ud din Mahmud Shah son of Muhammad Shah Lashkar succeeded his father p 109 appointed Malik Qiyam ul mulk Turk and Malik p 110 Nizam ul mull as his amirs p 111 Dilawar Khan Hahshi tool permission for killing the amirs p 112 owing to the disreputable conduct of all the amirs irregularities and weakness crept in his affairs Malik Barid kept him in imprisonment became weak and the men of the city attacked him p 113 a body of ungrateful persons attacked him Aziz Khan Turk Hasan Ali Khan and Sayid Mirza i Ma hhadi fought against the rebels and saved him p 114 ordered Jahangir Khan to guard the gate and Khan Jahan to guard the city and bazar troops dispersed the rebels and destroyed them Adil Khan sent a representation about the rebellion in his territory p 115 ordered the amirs to march to the help of Adil Khan to put down the rebels and himself also started arrived in the vicinity of Rajmundry fought and defeated the rebels seized Dastur ul mulk but pardoned his offences and confirmed his rank returned to Gulbarga marched towards the fort of Sunkar besieged the fort and captured it leaving one of his

trusted men there, returned to Bidar, defined the ranks of great and noble men, p 116, hearing of the rebellion and oppression of Bahādūr Gīlānī he sent a *farmān* to Bahādūr in which he asked him to stop his oppression and to send back everything to the court of Sultān Mahmūd Gujrātī and to release Kāmāl Khān and Ṣafdar Khān, Bahādūr sent him an improper reply, p 119, advanced to punish Bahādūr, arrived in front of the fort which was in the possession of Bahādūr seeing the grandeur of his army Bahādūr fled, arranged the affairs of the place, arrived at Bōrkal Bahādūr took to flight from Bōrkal, the Rāvīs or Zamīndārs enlisted themselves as the loyal adherents of Mahmūd Shāh, the commandor of the army of Bahādūr posted himself in the fort of Mirich, his *amīrs* taking him advanced to capture Mirich, fought with the men of Bahādūr, p 120, commandant of the fort of Mirich prayed for peace, making peace with the men of Bahādūr occupied the fort of Mirich, turned towards the forts of Kalhar and Dābul, birth of his son at Mālwa, gave the name Ahmad Shāh to his son, Bahādūr asked pardon of his offences, p 121, Bahādūr was excused and was asked to render homage and to pay tribute, Bahādūr did not pay any attention to the order, advanced towards the fort of Jākīr, fight in the town of Kalhar, advanced towards Kālāpūr, p 122, received the news of the preparations of Bahādūr for war at Salāla, arrived in the vicinity of Kolāpūr, most of the troops of Bahādūr separated from him, Bahādūr took to the path of his flight, sent Malik

Fakhr ul-mulk and ‘Am ul mulk to take charge of the fort of Panāla, spent the rainy season in Kolāpūr, Bahādūr demanded, p 123, assurance of his safety and promised to remain loyal in his service, agreed to the request of Bahādūr, sent learned men to assume Bahādūr but his resolution changed again, p 124, sent Malik Fakhr ul-mulk to crush Bahādūr, Fakhr ul-mulk met with the army of Bahādūr, fought bravely and became victorious, p 125, conferred favours and the title of Khwājah Jahān on Malik Fakhr ul-mulk, entered the fort of Panāla sent Malik ‘Am ul-mulk to occupy the island of Goa and to take possession of everything belonging to Bahādūr, properties of Bahādūr were entrusted to ‘Am ul-mulk, returned towards the capital, halted in the town of Bijāpūr, p 126, showed favours to the ambassadors of Sultān Mahmūd Gujrātī, granted double the normal remuneration to the ambassadors, sent presents to Sultān Mahmūd Gujrātī, sent for all the adherents of Sultān Mahmūd Gujrātī and granted favours to them, ordered for making over twenty ships to the servants of Sultān Mahmūd Gujrātī which were taken by Bahādūr, p 127, returned from camp and took up his residence, p 129, in Bidar, sardārs went to their places, became powerless, p 130 Malik Barīd rose to power, made him into a puppet, informed ‘Imād ul-mulk who asked him to come to Kāwīl, fled to Kāwīl, was welcomed by ‘Imād ul-mulk, arrived in the city of Bidar with the soldiers of ‘Imād ul-mulk to crush Malik Barīd, p 131, joined the army of Malik Barīd, complaint about the slave

of Imad ul mulk. Imad ul mulk returned to Kawil his miserable life death period of reign p 132 purchased Adil Khan from Khwajah Mahmud Garjistani p 159 marched from Bidar to destroy Bahadur Gilani p 279

Shiraz ul mulk his petition to Mahmud Khalji p 336

Sher Malik insulted Saiyyad Nasir ud din Ahmad Shah sentenced him to death p 43 (and see n 1 p 3) Shutab Khan guardian of the seraglio p 84

Shuja Khan Sultan of Malwa was entrusted with the government of Malwa by Sher Khan appointment of Haji Khan Sultan and Natu Khan p 61 fought a victorious battle with Nasir Khan p 62 a letter from Haji Khan Sultan advanced to reinforce Haji Khan defeated Mallu Khan brought the whole of Malwa into his possession attitude of Islam Khan towards him p 623 misdeeds of Uthman Khan and the punishment which he suffered became aggrieved at Islam Khan's actions p 624 was attacked and wounded by Uthman Khan sent a message to Islam Khan p 625 sent Fath Khan to collect tribute and bid farewell to Islam Khan p 626 departed from Islam Khan and arrived at Sarangpur his declaration in connection with fighting against Islam Khan went away in the direction of Ban walah Islam Khan took possession of Malwa without causing any damage came and rendered homage to Islam Khan was given presents by Islam Khan gave jagirs to Daulat Khan Ajiyala and Malik Mustafa and Mivan Bayazid his death period of reign p 628

Sbuja at Khan had the title of Sultan

Ala ud din di puto with Sultan Nasir ud din and his flight p 55 he with all his sons was beheaded p 553 hostility with his brother p 554 took the affairs of the kingdom in his hands p 555 sent an army in pursuit of Shaikh Habib and Khwajah Subail p 557 sent a report to Chiragh ud din about the power of Nasir ud din p 559 his fight with Nasir ud din p 561 his fight with Nasir Shah and its result p 562 was seized by the amirs of Nasir Shah p 563 was made over to custodians p 564 was ordered by Sher Khan to watch on Qadir Shah p 619

Shuja ul mulk joined Latif Khan p 339

Shuja ul mulk Buharl Shaih took the administration of Sultan Husain in his hand p 806

Sikandar Sultan of Gujerat succeeded his father buried the body of his father in the town of Sarkhej p 393 arrived in the town of Batuh and visited the tombs of the holy men ill treatment of the servants of Muazzafar Shah p 394 soldiers and *ra'is* became annoyed on the unjustified bestowal of favours people tried to bring Shahzada Bahadur Khan knowing the aversive intention of Shahzada Latif Khan appointed Sharzar Khan to put him down Malik Latif Khan in pursuit of Latif Khan met with the Raja of Chitor and was slain in a battle p 325 appointed Qaisar Khan for the punishment of the Rajputs of Chitor determination of Imad ul mulk to dethrone him attempt of Imad ul mulk to murder the Sultan did not believe reports against Imad ul mulk news of the

advancē of Bahādur Shāh caused him great mental worry, saw in a dream, p 326, a number of Shaikhhs and Muzaffar Shāh, entrance of 'Imād-ul-mulk into the palace, 'Imād-ul-mulk met Nasīat-ul-mulk and Ibrāhīm, Nasīat-ul-mulk and Ibrāhīm were slain, p 327, one of the companions of 'Imād-ul-mulk made a martyr of the Sultān, period of reign, p 328

Sikandar, Sultān, son of Bahlūl, a petition from Jām Bāyazīl, his *farmān* to Daulat Khān Lūdī, p 802
Sikandar, Sultān, son of Sultān Qutb-ud-dīn, Sultān of Kashmīr, accession, p 644, sent Rāy Mādarī to Tibet, defeat of rebels, relation of friendship with Amir Timūr, p 645, Islāmic religion in Kashmīr, showed honour to Sayyid Muhammad, p 647, made arrangements for breaking images and pulling down the temples, p 648, bestowal of title and kingdom, period of reign, p 649

Sikandar Khān, incited Mahmūd Khaljī to seize the fort of Māhūr p 526, exhibited Shēr Khān's body on the gallows, p 568

Sikandar Khān, governor of Satwās, went to his *Jāgīr*, his rebellion, p 587, sought pardon of his offences, p 589, rose in revolt for the second time, p 591, returned victorious to Satwās, p 592, brought Satwās with its neighbourhood into his possession, p 608, was made over to jailors by Shēr Khān, p 620

Sikandar Khān, son of Sultān Sayyid Khān, was sent to invade Kashmīr, p 701, fought with the Kashmīris, p 703

Sikandar Khān Buikhārī, p 69, invited Sultān Mahmūd Khaljī to invade Berār, p 70, joined Mahmūd Khaljī, besieged Māhūr, after the arrival

of Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn took the path of flight, met 'Alā-ud-dīn on the way and asked pardon of his offences, p 71, raised a rebellion, went to Mālkonda, defeated Khān Jahān, p 77, was defeated by Humāyūn Shāh, p 78, had to run away to Bīdar taking Nizām Shāh with him, p 243

Sikandar Khān Satwāi, waited on Sultān Bahādur and was received with favour, p 350

Sikandar Khān, Shāhzāda, was sent by Muzaffar Shāh to act as the governor of Muhammādābād, p 297, heard the precious advice of Muzaffar Shāh, p 323

Sikandar Lūdī, Sultān, son of Bahlūl Lūdī, sent gifts to Mahmūd Shāh, p 289, sat on the throne of Delī after the death of Bahlūl Lūdī, defeated Bārbak Shāh, p 462, pursued Bārbak Shāh, possessed Jaunpūr, defeated Sultān Husain and seized his territory, p 463

Sikandar Shāh, Sultān of Bangāla, succeeded his father by the exertion of the *amīrs* with the title of Sikandar Shāh, p 424, proclaimed the gospel of justice p 425, occupied himself with the duties of the *Saltanat*, sent a tribute to Sultān Firūz Shāh, being aware of the advance of Firūz Shāh fortified himself in the fort of Ekdāla but in the end paid tribute and asked pardon of Firūz Shāh, passed his life in pleasure, p 426, period of reign, p 427 (and see note 2 of p 426)

Sikandar Shāh, Sultān of Bangāla, p 436, the *amīrs* placed him on the throne, his work as the Sultān (n 3, p 436), period of reign, p 437

Sikar son of Sultan Qutb ud din p 643
 Silhadi went to Chitor to bring Rana Sanga to the aid of Ray Pitbora p 602 occupied the boundary of Sarangpur as far as Bhilsa and Raisin p 608 end of his power and submission to Mahmud Shah p 609 was summoned by Mahmud Shah to his aid p 610 Mahmud Shah granted some *parganas* to him made complaints about Mahmud Shah to Sultan Bahadur p 611 his death p 616 Also see Silhadi Purabia

Silhadi Purabia came with Sultan Mahmud to Mandisor message of Rana Sanga to him p 315 being aware of the intention of Sultan Mahmud sought protection of Ratan Sen went to Chitor p 350 waited on Sultan Bahadur at the pass of Karchi p 351 left Bhupat at Ujjain and waited on Sultan Bahadur p 356 news of his arrest p 357 sent a message to Sultan Bahadur expressing the wish to accept Islam p 360 advised Sultan Babadur to postpone the matter of conquering the fort of Raisin which was accepted went to the fort and inflamed the feeling of Rajputs against Sultan Bahadur p 361 hearing of the death of his son fainted and was arrested p 362 fought with the Dakini army p 367 Sina Imad ul mulk Sultan p 324 S raj made Srinagar over to Ali Sher p 639

Siraj Qadi killed Ray of Bijanagar p 30

Siraj Khan received the title of Muazzam Khan treated Hasan Khan and Habib ul lah with courtesy took them into the citadel and attacked them put Amrinda Habib ul lah with his friends to

death p 83 was afflicted with leprosy p 84

Siraj ul mulk his son opposed Nizam ul mulk Turk but fled after a fight p 536

Sirdev Raja p 63 his descendants p 634 sent tribute to Dilju p 637 Sirkaja Ray paid tribute to Mahmud Khalji p 536

Siyah Bhat his oppression death p 650

Sri Bhat his request to Sultan Zain ul abidin p 653

Sufi Khan son of Ala ul mulk was summoned by Mahmud Khalji p 60

Suhail Khwajah was allotted the management of Khalsa *parganas* p 54 killed Munja Baqal and fled p 555 fled from the palace of Nasir ud din p 556 waited on Nasir ud din p 557 was nominated to crush Yakan Khan p 560 was sent by Nasir Shah to conquer the fort of Mandu p 563 favoured by Nasir ud din p 564 tool the wounded Sher Khan and fled p 568

Suhrab Duda Malik joined Sultan Husain grant to Malik Suhrab by Sultan Husain p 795

Suhrab Sultan Malik was sent by Zafar Khan to surround the country of Thana p 215

Suhrab took a message to Habib Chak was punished by Habib Chak p 728

Sulaiman Malik son of Malik Sher ul mulk Ghuri was declared to be the ruler of Chanderi by the amirs fight wth Mahmud Khalji p 506 death p 507

Sulaiman Kararani his supremacy over Bangala and Behar p 445 and Orissa assumed the title of Hadrat Ala after his death his son succeeded him p 446

Sultānī Malik Mū, was appointed by Ahmad Shāh to collect Khirāj, p 221, through his intervention Ganēsā did homage to Sultān Muhammad Shāh, had the title of Khān Jahān p 224
 Sultāns of Bangāla, list of p 418 (and see note 4 on p 415)
 Sultāns of Gujrāt list of, pp 172-73
 Sultāns of Mālwa list of, p 465
 Sultāns of Multān list of, pp 787-88
 Sultān Muhammad, his qualifications, was respected by Zain-ul-ābidīn, p 656
 Sultān-us-Salātin, Sultān of Bangāla, succeeded his father, his qualities, death, period of reign, p 429 (and see note 2 on p 429)
 Sultān-ush Shaiq Shaiqī Sultān, rise to sovereignty, extension of power, p 447, death, period of reign p 448
 Sūrā, was sent by Rāy Batāī to Sultān Ghiyath-ud-din Khaljī to ask for help, p 273
 Sūrajmal, was sentenced to death, p 562
 Syām Dās, Rāy, Rāja of Dūngarpūr, paid tribute to Mahmūd Khaljī, p 533

T

Tagħaljī imprisoned and blinded Sultān Ghiyath-ud-din, placed Sultān Shams-ud-din on the throne of Ghiyāth-ud-din, p 25
 Tagħi, revolted in the neighbourhood of Nahrwāla Pattan, took possession of that place, besieged the fort of Bahrōj, p 9, Sultān Muhammad contemplated his subjugation, p 10
 Tāhir, Mir, was sent to the fort by Mirzā Khān, p 153
 Tāhir, Mirzā, went as an ambassador to Yūsuf Khān, p 758
 Tāhir, Sāyyid, p 54
 Tāhir, Shāh came from Sultāniya to the, p 137, Deccan, became a

courtier of Burhān Shāh, adopted Imāmia religion, p 138 (and see n 4, p 137), was respected by Sultān Bahādur of Gujrāt, p 139
 Tāhir Āl, father of Shāh Mīr, p 633
 Tahmāsp, p 162, was blinded by his brother 'Alī 'Ādil Khān, p 163
 Tahmāsp, Shāh, p 148
 Taimūr Gūrgān, Amīr, his arrival in the neighbourhood of Delhī, p 180, his oppression, p 181
 Timūr, Amīr, his friendship with Sultān Sikandar p 645
 Tāj Bhat, Malik, was sent to attack Bahrām Khān p 677
 Tāj Jamāl, Malik, was sent by Bahādur Shāh with a *farmān*, p 331
 Tāj Khān, was sent by Sultān Mahmūd Khaljī with a message of peace to Sultān Qutb-ud-din, p 232, was sent to meet Rāy Batāī by Mahmūd Shāh, p 272, was sent by Muzaffar Shāh to join Malik Ayāz, p 313, advanced with a well-equipped army, p 329, to join Bahādur Shāh, p 331, saw Bahādur Shāh, p 332, was left on the bank of the river Bātrak by Bahādur Shāh, p 334, was sent by Sultān Bahādur to attack 'Imād-ul-mulk, p 335, informed Sultān Bahādur about the hostility of Ulugh Khān and Qaisar Khān, p 340, undertook the task of chastising Rāy Singh, p. 342, devastated the country of Māl, p 343, was sent by Muzaffar Gujrātī to welcome Mahmūd Shah, p 601, climbed the hill on which the fort of the enemy was built, p 603
 Tāj-ud-din, Malik, Ahmad Shāh conferred on him the title of Mu'in-ul-mulk and directed him to remain at Tālnīr, p 219, was sent to Delhī by Sultān Shams-ud-din with a tribute, p 123

Tamachi Jam ruler of Sind account of his government p 774

T m m Ansari p 772

Tardi Beg Khan was entrusted with the charge of guarding the treasure by Humayun Bad bah p 376 was appointed governor of Champanur p 377 relinquished the country of Gujarat p 378 went to Agra p 379 Tatar Khan Sultan of Gujarat *ta'ir* of Sultan Muhammad Shah p 175 came from Delhi to Gujarat owing to the violence of Mallu Khan his request to his father plundered the country of the Raja of Idar p 180 requested his father to help him in defeating Mallu Khan reply of his father p 18 accession to the throne assumption of the title of Sultan Muhammad Shah bestowal of wealth and honour conferred the office of the *ta'ir* on Shams Khan Dandani words of his monogram march from Asawal to conquer Delhi p 183 ravaged the villages and towns of Nadot halted in the town of Sanur period of his reign title of Muhammad Shah after his death after grieving for the death of Muhammad Shah A am Humayun made Malik Jalal Kokhar over to Shams Khan Dandani and again sat on the throne rumor of the latter having poisoned Muhammad Shah p 184

Tatar Khan of Malwa was ordered to bring Na ir ud din to Ch yath ud din advanced towards Barah p 557

Tatar Khan governor of the Punjab sent his army to aid the Sayyids p 685

Tatar Khan son of Sarang Khan joined Sultan Ibrahim p 451

Tatar Khan son of Sultan Ala ud din was favoured by Sultan Bahadur

p 369 seized Biana fought with Mirza Hindal s army and was slain p 371

Tatar Khan Ghuri helped Imad ul mulk in devastating the house of I tmad Khan p 396

Tatar Khan L d reinforced Barbal Shah p 793

Tawalak Imad ul mulk his address to Sultan Husain p 97 his rank in the time of Sultan Firu p 798 caused the murder of Sultan Firuz p 799 his imprisonment p 800

Tufal Khan was defeated by the minister of Murtada Ni am Shah p 146 helped Miran Muhammad Shah p 40

Tughan Mahk was made Farhat ul mulk by Mahmud Shah p 94 was appointed as the *thanadar* of Beyt by Mahmud Shah and left there p 61 was sent to the *thana* at fort Beyt and Jagat by Mahmud Shah p 63 arrived at the house of Imad ul mulk p 965

Tughlaq Jam ruler of Sind account of his government p 777

Tughlaq Khan informed Mahmud Shah about the preparations of the men of Karnal p 49

Tughlaq Shah Fuladi Mahk brought the amirs back from the way p 316

U

Udai Singh received Shahzada Bahadur with good wishes p 391 joined the service of Bahadur Shah p 330

Udaya Singh Raja of Mal was defeated by Malik Ashja ul mulk and Safdar Khan p 314

Udi Vulla was respected and favoured by Sultan Zain ul abidin p 657

Ugar Sen Purabia was wounded in the battle between Ulaya Singh and Safdar Khan went to Rana Sank

and related the story of the fight, p. 314

Ujh Bahrām, son of Mas'ūd Chak, his proposals for peace with Khūn Mirak Mīrzā, was killed by the latter, p. 710

Ulugh Khān, did not abandon his hostile attitude, p. 339, was sent by Bahādur Shāh against Latīf Khān, was imprisoned by the order of Sultān Bahādur, p. 340, was posted to Bhīlpūr by Sultān Bahādur, p. 353

Ulugh Khān, advised I'tmād Khān to leave Ahmadābād, p. 404, took Sultān Muzaffar to Dūngarpūr and made him over to I'tmād Khān, p. 406, became annoyed with I'tmād Khān came to Chengīz Khān, disapproved any idea of superiority among the servants of Sultān Mahmūd, heard of the intentions of Chengīz Khān in connection with his death, p. 407, went to the palace of Chengīz Khān, p. 408, invited I'tmād Khān to Ahmadābād, p. 409, proposed to possess Bahrōj, p. 410, resolved to put down I'tmād Khān, p. 411, hostility with Jhuhjār Khān, went to Shēr Khān and informed him of the arrival of Sultān Muzaffar, p. 412, enlisted his name in the band of the loyal servants, p. 413

Ulugh Khān, brother of Mallū Khān, was blinded by Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Khān, p. 162

Ulugh Khān Habshī, attacked Burhān, p. 391, attacked Saiyid Mubārak, p. 395

'Umar Khān, joined Sultān Bahādur and was highly honoured, p. 348

'Umar Khān, Shāhzāda, son of Sultān Hūshang, took to the path of flight, p. 495, was made the leader of rebels, p. 503, his attempt for

conquering Sārangpūr proved fatal, p. 505

'Uthmān Khān, the punishment for his improper actions, complained to Islām Khān against Shujā' Khān, p. 624, attacked and wounded Shujā' Khān, was put to death, p. 625

'Uthmān Khān, Shāhzāda, his treatment of his younger brother, p. 481, was pardoned by Sultān Hūshang, was summoned and made over to custodians by the order of Sultān Hūshang, p. 482

'Uthmān Jalāl, Malik, sent *sandārs* to wait on Mahmūd Khān, p. 485, his representation to Mahmūd Khān in favour of Shāhzāda 'Uthmān Khān, p. 486

W

Wajīh-ul-mulk, father of Zafar Khān, p. 173

Wali-ul-lah, was imprisoned in the cage of sovereignty by Malik Barīd; being led by an evil passion Malik Barīd poisoned him, period of his reign, p. 134

Y

Yādgār Bēg Qazlbāsh came as an ambassador from Irān with presents to the court of Mahmūd Shāh, p. 290, could not see Mahmūd Shāh alive, p. 291, his arrival in the neighbourhood of Muhammadābād, was welcomed by Muzaffar Shāh, p. 293, his house was looted, p. 295

Yādgār Mughul *Surkh Kulāh*, interview with Shāhib Khān, death of his retainers, p. 586

Yādgār Nāsir Mīrzā, was sent with Mīrzā 'Askarī, p. 376, was appointed to the government of Pattan Gujrāt by Humāyūn Bādshāh, p. 377, relinquished Gujrāt, p. 378, was left in Gujrāt by Humāyūn Bādshāh, p. 616

Yaha Khan the *Kotwal* of Humayun Shah seized him and put him to death p 82
 Yakan Khan was allotted the man go ment of the *Khalsa parganas* p 554 was sent to seize the murderers of Munja Baqal p 555 sent a message to Nasir ud din p 556 his fight against Na ir ud din p 560 was sentenced to death p 564
 Ya qub son of Baba Ali his arrival at Kashmir p 746
 Ya qub son of Yusuf Chak went to the court of Akbar his letter to Yusuf p 759
 Ya qub son of Yusuf Khan was sent to K hmir p 756 was made the commander of an army p 759
 Ya qub Chak his fief was confiscated p 767
 Ya qub Kashmiri Shaikh went to wait on Akbar p 758
 Ya qub Mir took the beads of Niyazis to Islam Khan p 73
 Ya qub Sayyd was seized by Idi Zina p 721 fled from custody and joined Daulat Chak p 722
 Yaqut bore the title of *Khudawand Khan* his fight his rank of service p 153
 Yam Malik brother of Malik Kaji seized Iskandar Khan and sent him to Muhammad Shah p 695 fought against Nazuk Shah and was slain p 698
 Yari Bhat Malik was sent in the direction of Delhi by Malik Ahmad p 679 defeated Tatar Khan devastated Sialkot enmity with Malik Ahmad p 680 his imprison ment p 681 was sent to ravage the place of shelter of Fath Khan p 687
 Yasir Afghan went as an ambassador to Mirza Haider p 714

Yehayyi Zina marriage of his daughter p 741
 Yusuf bin Abbasi *Mustanjad Billah* brought a mandate from Egypt conferring imperial rule upon Mahmud Khalji p 537
 Yusuf son of Ali Khan went to his father p 447 executed Ibrahim Khan p 750 was punished p 758
 Yusuf Malik was given the title of Saif Khan by Mahmud Shah and was sent in attendance on A zam Humayun p 285 entered the service of Babadur Shah p 331
 Yusuf Mulla gave the order for the execution of Yusuf p 745 Yusuf executed p 746
 Yusuf Shaikh joined Sultan Ahmad was conferred the title of A zam Humayun p 395
 Yusuf Shaikh Sultan of Multan his election as the ruler of Multan his administration message of Ray Sahrah took the daughter of Ray Sahrah in marriage p 789 message from Ray Sahrah deceitful victory of Ray Sahrah over him period of reign p 790
 Yusuf Adil Khan founder of the dynasty what he was took pos session of Sholapur p 159 also Bijapur period of his reign p 160
 Yusuf Andaz wounded Qadi Habib p 745
 Yusuf Chak his share in the division of K hmir p 719 joined Daulat Chak with an army p 741 defeated the Niyazis p 743 fell from his horse p 726
 Yusuf Khan joined Yusuf Khan p 756 his fief was taken from him p 757
 Yusuf Khan was sent to fight against Mubarak Khan by Mahmud Khalji p 527

Yūsuf Khān, son of ‘Alī Shāh, Sultān of Kashmīr, message to Abdāl Khān, p 752, attacked Abdāl Khān, buried ‘Alī Shāh and succeeded the latter, advanced against the rebels, p 753, came to Hīrah-pūr and Sayyid Mubārak Khān sat on the seat of authority, an attempt on Kashmīr, went to the village of Barsāl, message from Sayyid Mubārak Khān, p 754, intention of the Kashmīris to raise Lōhar Chak on the throne, p 755, went to Sayyid Yūsuf Khān Lāhōrī, sent Ya‘qūb to Kashmīr, the government of Kashmīr was confirmed on Lōhar, started to conquer Kashmīr, took possession of Rājaurī, p 756, entered the fort of Sūyyā-pūr, fought with Lōhar Chak, marched to Srīnagar, rebels were cast into prison, divided the country of Kashmīr, blinded Lōhar, imprisonment on suspicion, p 757, welcomed the ambassadors of Akbar, visit to Lār, p 758, sent an army to attack Haider Chak, returned victorious towards Srīnagar, defeat of Haider Chak, p 759, determination of his enemies about his son, advance of the army of Akbar towards Kashmīr, p 760, took up his station in the village of Nagar, made his submission to Akbar, p 761

Yūsuf Khān, son of Bahūām Khān, was slain, p 683

Yūsuf Khān, Sayyid, Yūsuf Khān had an interview with him, p 756

Yūsuf Khān Hindaunī, waited on Sultān Mahmūd, p 509, his dispute was changed into friendship with Dāūd Khān by Mahmūd Khaljī, p 526

Yūsuf Khān Lāhōrī, Sayyid, Yūsuf Khān had an interview with him, p 756

Yūsuf Qawām, Malik, took part in the conspiracy against Mahmūd Khaljī, was given the title of Qawām Khān and the fief of Bhīlsā by Mahmūd Khaljī, p 499, fled from the camp of Ā‘zam Humāyūn, p 500, from Bhīlsā, p 501

Yūsuf Shāh, Sultān of Bangāla, the *amīns* placed him on the throne, died, period of reign, p 436 (and see note 2, p 436)

Yūsuf Turk, Malik, joined the associates of Amīrzāda Muhibb-ud-dīn Habīb-ul-lah, passed through the gates of the citadel, p 81, cut off the head of the chief guard, released Amīrzāda Habīb-ul-lah, the sons of the Sultān, and Jalāl Khān Bukhārī, p 82

Yūsuf Zaī p 628

Z

Zabardast Khān, son of Hazbar Khān, with his help the Mālpūr gate-keeper was slain, p 563

Zafar Khān, (Gujrātī), p 184, sat on the throne in the town of Birpūr, assumed the title of Sultān Muzaffar Shāh, how he was described in the Khutba, distributed wealth and conferred honours, successive marches to the country of Mālwa, fought with Sultān Hūshang in the neighbourhood of Dhār and defeated him, p 185, put Sultān Hūshang with his adherents into prison, installed Nasrat Khān in the government of Mālwa, Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī came with the idea of seizing Delhī but owing to the opposition of Muzaffar Shāh gave it up, and went back to Jaunpūr, came back to Gujrāt, took Sultān Hūshang with him in captivity, rebellion of *ra‘iyats* and soldiers of Mālwa, p. 186, against Nasrat Shāh,

Khwajahdar rescued Nasret Shah from Dhar and sent him to Gurat people of Malwa made Musa Khan their leader released Sultan Hushang from imprisonment sent Shahzada Ahmad Khan to take possession of Malwa and to deliver it to Sultan Hushang Shahzada Ahmad Khan took possession of Malwa and delivered it to Sultan Hushang gathered a force to punish the Rajputs of Kuhnakot sent Khudawand Khan to attend on Shaikh Muhammad Qasim Budhu p 187 date of his illness at Naharwala Pattan placed Shahzada Ummad Khan on his throne with the title of Nasir ud din Ahmad Shah ordered that the Khutba should be read in the prince's name date of his death period of his reign place of his tomb title after his death p 188

Zafar Khan Shahzada received the farman of Sultan Ahmad of Gujarat at Sultanpur Nodarbar defeated Shahzada Ala ud din and the Malik ut tujjar p 56 was sent by Ahmad Shah to destroy Malik ut tujjar sent Iftikhar ul mulk and Mald Suhrab Sultani to surround Thana began to conquer the district of Thana fought with the governor of Thana and made him leave Thana left a body of troops at Thana advanced on Mahaim p 215 defeated Malik ut tujjar and the Dakini army p 216 despatched wealthy offerings to Ahmad Shah took possession of the district of Mahaim and divided it among the amirs p 217

Zafar Mumjumla went to release Uthman Khan p 487

Zahir ul mulk fought with Ray Mal and was slain p 301
 Zahir ul mulk *ia ir* of Malunud Khalji was slain by the army of Nizam Shah p 339
 Zain Qadi criticized the decision of the *Muftis* p 746
 Zain Badr pursued Adam Khan p 672 his death p 679
 Zain Khan cut off Bahadur Gilani's head and sent it to Malunud Shah p 123 was granted the horses and weapons of Bahadur Gilani p 126
 Zam ud din Hasan Qadi pp 1 & 123
 Zam ul abidin Sultan son of Sultan Sikandar Sultan of Kashmir accession extension of empire qualifications p 602 measures to stop robbery order for the benefit of public granted the prayer of Sri Bhat p 603 social religious and administrative reforms p 604 attitude towards his subjects religious freedom wealth and expenditure p 605 treatment of the learned men of Islam and logic example of his intelligence p 606 orders for the criminals his abstemious patronage of the men of skill and art his literary work p 607 educational ability gifts from various sovereigns p 609 his heir his sons p 600 grant to the sons of Sri Bhat p 661 his recovery by the science of *Yoga* p 662 defeated Haji Khan p 663 famine in Kashmir p 665 attack of Adam Khan sent for Haji Khan p 666 destruction of Adam Khan p 667 his heir p 668 arrival of Adam Khan illness rejected the suggestion of the amirs hostility among his sons his last days p 670 period of reign p 672
 Zirak servants of Fath Khan released the imprisoned amirs p 687

II GEOGRAPHICAL

A

Ābū, pp 231, 233, 278
 Adanpūr, p 717
 Āgar, pp 570, 589
 Āgra, pp 378, 379, 610, 616, 617, 618, 746
 Ahār, p 532
 Ahlan, p 738
 Ahmadābād, pp 45, 79, 92, 191, 194, 195, 196, 203, 206, 208, 209, 212, 217, 219, 221, 223, 224, 226, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 239, 241, 243, 245, 247, 250, 252, 255, 256, 260, 262, 263, 264, 267, 268, 271, 290, 295, 296, 300, 307, 308, 310, 311, 312, 317, 318, 319, 330, 332, 338, 346, 369, 376, 377, 378, 380, 381, 386, 387, 388, 393, 395, 399, 400, 403, 404, 405, 407, 409, 410, 413, 522, 523, 616, 797
 Ahmadnagar, pp 135, 137, 139, 148, 153, 157, 158, 167, 209, 210, 212, 247, 300, 309, 311, 312, 316, 391
 ‘Ajām, p 108
 Ajmīr, pp 525, 528, 530
 Ajodahan, p 451
 Alhanpūr, pp 520, 546, 547
 Amhar, p 232
 Ancha, p 160
 Ankār, p 160
 Ankōr, p 192
 ‘Arab, pp 108, 238, 659, 767, 768, 769
 Arānkāl, p 38
 Asāwal, pp 177, 183
 Āshnagar, p 641
 Āshṭa, pp 358, 506, 564, 616, 628
 Ashtanagar, p 302
 Āshṭnagar, p 641
 Asīr, pp 57, 58, 135, 157, 158, 196, 197, 213, 214, 244, 281, 283, 284, 289, 344, 355, 367, 368, 386, 527, 533, 534, 570, 576, 580, 586, 602
 Atak, p 761
 Aūdan, p 687
 Āwās, p 338

B

Bābal, p 810
 Bach̄hrā, p 766
 BadaṄkhshān, p 811
 Bādhāl, p 734
 Badhūl, pp 14, 15, 32, 194
 Badnagar, p 310
 Bādūkhī, 735
 Bagh̄dād, p 762
 Baglāna, p, 217
 Bahār Bābā Hājī, pp 581, 584, 589, 590
 Baharmal, pp 714, 715
 Bahdar, pp 408, 409, 410
 Bahmanābād, p 769
 Bahrāīch, p 447
 Bahrāmgala, p 687
 Bahramgalah, pp 709, 710, 715, 716
 Bahiārah, pp 648, 738
 Bahrōj, pp 9, 184, 189, 190, 343, 377, 396, 398, 400, 402, 403, 406, 409, 410, 413, 472
 Bakankālū, pp 557, 558
 Bākar, pp 257, 308, 343, 347, 348, 349
 Bakīr, p 105
 Baklāna, p 527
 Bākur, p 224
 Bālāpūr, p 534
 Balāvat, p 350
 Bālkōr, p 163
 Balūchistān, p 795
 Ban, pp 713, 723
 Banās, pp 285, 529
 Bāndhū, p 195
 Bangāla, pp 414, 415, 419, 420, 421, 423, 426, 430, 617, 618, 627
 Bangālah, pp 438, 445, 446, 463
 Bāngil, pp 694, 697
 Banharīa, p 356
 Bānihāl, p 723
 Bānkāl, pp 721, 744
 Bānwālā, pp 313, 314, 349, 351
 Bānwālāh, pp 623, 627
 Bārah, pp 275, 557, 727

Baramula pp 647 667 690 713 714
716 734 749 750 760
Baran p 452
Barasnor p 521
Bardah p 811
Barhar pp 456 518
Baroda pp 189 191 27 277 272
88 90 93 294 334 335 341
366 377 401 403 413 53 86
Barn m p 27
Barsal p 754
Baslur p 163
Batrak p 334
Batu p 234 321 337 401
Baukala p 163
Bawar p 240
Bedbanagar p 141
Behar pp 494 44, 448
Behalshtpur pp 57 574 583
Behrah pp 70° 793
Bonares pp 460 50
Bengal pp 017 708 811
Berar pp 70 146 148 157 , 6 534
538
Bevalnagar p 310
Beyt pp 61 263
Bhagnagar p 171
Bhalikar pp 778 779 784 786 788
80
Bhalor p 309
Bhandir pp 517 567
Bhulpur p 353
Bhilsa pp 358 359 367 400 00
501 505 547 588 593 595 608
609 617 6 8 6 9
Bhilwarah p 6 3
Blam pp 481 482 51
Blumbar pp 64 664 68 707 710
Blana p 371
Blanah p 452
Bidar pp 3 45 87 88 90 5 105
117 130 13 134 164 44 279
34 534 535
Bihat 1 p 667 7-8 757
Bihut p 683
Bijagarkh p 550
29

Bijanagar pp 19 20 8 30 3 34
44 59 69 39 181 26 300 301 306
Bijapur pp 83 88 1-6 17 158
160 167
Bilampatan p 13
Bir pp 83 713
Birakar p 99
Birkina pp 101 10
Burpur pp 185 404
Biyana pp 479 5-0 5-6 512 517
Bombay p 50
Borkal p 120
Brahmanabad pp 765 769
Bundi p 532
Burhanpur pp 135 157 1-8 196
213 214 283 284 85 286 289
355 360 374 377 384 385 386
388 401 400 510 60 015

C

Ceylon p 76
Chakdhar p 70
Chalpur p 7-2
Champanir pp 10 106 199 01
203 204 217 22 23 247 262
263 269 27 273 274 270 278
281 282 85 39 301 306 308
317 318 319 3-4 3-8 329 332
334 336 338 341 343 346 348
3-4 355 368 369 375 370 377
378 379 38 386 396 398 521
551 5 586 601 614 615 616
Clanab p 801
Chanderi pp 298 367 373 456 499
501 503 505 506 507 516 517
518 523 5 4 53 517 53 56
567 568 571 579 583 584 588
590 599 593 595 96
Chaul p 8
Chinab p 7-3
Chitor pp 33 34 30 312 314
317 3-1 3-2 330 3-0 3-1 3-7
359 360 368 369 371 372 311
312 314 51 52 5-7 531 570
60 606 607 616 017 632
Chunar p 405

D

Dābal, p 97
 Dabīl, p 715
 Dabōhī, pp 257, 347
 Dābul, pp 117, 118, 121, 159, 279
 Dahūd, pp 274, 294, 297, 342, 591,
 601, 615
 Dahūl, pp 187, 225
 Dāiyālah, p 737
 Dakin, pp 1, 4, 6, 8, 10, 13, 22, 32, 81,
 219
 Dal, p 730
 Dāmpūl, p 728
 Danduka, p 398
 Dandūqa, pp 331, 387
 Dandwāna, pp 179, 206
 Danīl, p 712
 Dār, p 711
 Dārāpūr, p 649
 Darbadū, p 718
 Dataibār, p 709
 Daulatābād, pp 2, 3, 8, 9, 10, 18, 92,
 213, 214, 216, 245, 293, 336, 537
 Dēbul, pp 762, 764, 765, 768
 Deccan, pp 3, 4, 53, 54, 88, 89, 90, 92,
 102, 118, 135, 136, 138, 139, 144,
 147, 151, 156, 157, 158, 160, 197,
 214, 215, 216, 218, 219, 220, 243,
 244, 245, 260, 279, 288, 345, 346,
 392, 480, 527, 533, 534, 536, 538,
 540, 587, 798, 811
 Dēhī, p 336
 Dehlī, pp 7, 37, 127, 173, 175, 177,
 180, 181, 182, 183, 186, 206, 222,
 277, 289, 321, 322, 326, 381, 391,
 392, 415, 422, 423, 424, 444, 448,
 449, 451, 452, 453, 460, 461, 462,
 463, 468, 509, 542, 547, 548, 561,
 592, 628, 641, 642, 643, 647, 652,
 680, 681, 693, 697, 774, 787, 788,
 789, 791, 793, 794, 805, 811
 Delhi, pp 127, 594, 680
 Deogaīh, p 17
 Deorkonda, pp 47, 77
 Dēvla, pp 297, 302, 306, 351
 Dēvsar, p 719

Dhail, p 755

Dhāmōd, p 203

Dhamōnī, p 595

Dhankōt, pp 793, 795

Dhanūra, p 285

Dhāl, pp 185, 187, 190, 298, 299, 303,
 305, 306, 355, 356, 357, 469, 470,
 472, 474, 525, 537, 559, 560, 566,
 571, 588, 590, 602, 604, 605, 612,
 615, 621

Dhāmagaih, pp 2, 8, 9, 298

Dhōl, p 313

Dhōlpūl, p 480

Dib, p 215

Dibālpūl, pp 352, 356, 467, 566, 583,
 588

Dibālpūl Banhaiya, p 604

Dilāwarā, p 299

Dilāwarah, pp 352, 590

Dilwāra, pp 179, 220

Dilwarah, p 532

Dip, pp 181, 242, 282, 317, 330, 344,
 347, 369, 375, 380, 381

Dipālpūl Banhaiya, p 205

Dōhut, p 711

Dūlāpūl, p 678

Dūlqa, pp 387, 398, 404

Dūmīah, p 731

Dūn, pp 246, 282

Dundāh, p 479

Dūngāipūr, pp 220, 308, 313, 330,
 331, 404, 406, 533

E

Egypt, pp 537, 639

Ekdāla, pp 423, 426, 443, 446

Elichpūl, pp 157, 534, 537, 538

Elij, pp 456, 457, 517, 518, 567

F

Fathābād, pp 518, 542

Fathpūr, p 756

Firūzābād, pp 36, 89, 90, 244, 535

G

Ganesa pp 0 4
 Ganges pp 449 451
 Garjistan p 19
 Ghati Bawah p 0
Ghan p 041
Ghuyaspur p 41-
 Ghogha p .08
 Gilan pp 19 0 9
 Gilwara p 300
 Gita Deorah pp 231 -33
 Goa pp 99 101 1 6
 Golkonda pp 160 168 169
 Gondwana pp 214 360 500 88
 .6 6
 Gondwara pp 90 6 537
 Gosawar p 687
 Goswa p .60
 Gujerat pp 3 4 6 18 0 .4 .00
 9 107 117 118 1 7 1.7 173
 17 170 180 181 184 186 187
 160 19 107 199 .00 .01 206
 .07 .08 1.7 .10 .18 .00 .1
 .0 .0 .7 3 237 .4.0 .01
 52 .71 76 80 .94 29.0 99
 30.0 306 316 321 3 .0 326 328
 330 338 339 348 3.00 3.0 3.7
 359 38.0 364 307 308 309 374
 375 376 377 378 379 380 38.
 384 380 387 39.0 393 39.0 397
 398 400 402 40.0 410 412 413
 414 449 407 469 470 47.0 473
 474 4.0 494 506 .0 .0 4 .026
 597 586 .91 601 603 604 665
 607 608 610 613 616 617 623
 631 63 7.0 780 781 797 798
 811
 Gulbarga pp 8 9 16 14 16 18 .7
 37 38 4.0 46 47 .0 .0 97 116
 1.9 213 .17
 Gwalhar pp 400 479 480 67 .08
 6 0 6 6 4 6 7 6 9

H

Hairan Ba r p 748
 Hidol pp 3 8 341

Handiyah pp 6 1 6 .0 628 020
 Hanspur p 560
 Harauti pp 5 6 .0 8 .30
 Harpur p 2 0
 Harsol p 319
 Haruti p 49.
 Hasamabad p 10
 Haswas p 681
 Hatiyapol p 6.4
 Hatmati p 09
 Hind pp 392 763
 Hindaun p 509
 Hindiah p 566
 Hindu Koh p 811
 Hindukush p 641
 Hindustan pp 13 191 3 1 4 0 .01.
 .0 8 541 .97 671 6.0 691 69.
 694 099 760 .01 708 7 0 7.7
 73 737 7.0 768 816
 Hirakpur pp 088 001 710 740 7 4
 Hirapur p 710
 Hirpur pp 664 087
 Hormuz p .00
 Hurinuz p 161
 Hushangabad pp 483 499 500 501
 5 0
 I
 Idar pp 177 180 181 19.0 194 269
 210 211 1.0 .4 247 48 .57
 .90 300 301 306 307 308 369
 343 347 .0.1
 Indarkot pp 714 716 710 718 719
 India pp 381 39.0 468 600 675 677
 .61 787 788
 Indus 608
 Iraq pp 108 137 161 647 689
 Islamabad pp 367 499
 Itawah pp 447 448 449
 J
 Jagat pp 2 9 60 .61 .03
 Jajnagar pp 0.0 08 421 4 3 47
 4.6 477 479
 Jak p 730
 Jakdar p 648
 Jakar p 1.

Jālālpūn, p 541
 Jālandai, p 686
 Jālna, pp 62, 65, 72, 216
 Jālōr, p 270
 Jalwāra, p 179
 Jamalnagari, pp 698, 750
 Jamjah, p 731
 Jammū, pp 650, 651, 674, 680, 682,
 688, 713, 756
 Jamuna, pp 452, 461, 517
 Jar, p 178
 Jārūd, p 722
 Jātba, pp 481, 482, 483
 Jaukas, p 751
 Jaunpūn, pp 186, 322, 330, 446, 447,
 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454,
 456, 457, 460, 462, 463, 467, 481,
 515, 516, 793
 Jāwai, p 609
 Jhālāwāi, pp 318, 386, 472
 Jhālū, pp 711, 728
 Jharō, p 724
 Jhavail, p 756
 Jhēlum, pp 667, 683, 728, 757
 Jinūr, p 203
 Jūnāgarh, pp 196, 248, 253, 254, 264,
 277, 379, 398
 Jūnīr, pp 75, 94, 95, 97, 113, 137
 Jūthānah, p 400

K

Kach, pp 187, 237, 795
 Kachwārah, pp 541, 542, 569
 Kābul, p 723
 Kadrūlā, pp 629, 630
 Kahrār, pp 362, 363, 700
 Kahtwārah, p 750
 Kahunahāmū, pp 732, 733
 Kaikāniā, pp 97, 98
 Kaitūr, p 631
 Kākrēj, p 399
 Kākrīa, pp 407, 408
 Kākrūn, pp 307, 367, 368, 479, 488,
 605, 606
 Kākpūr, p 755
 Kālāchabūtiā, p 139

Kalahmāt, p 732
 Kaland, p 214
 Kālāpūn, p 122
 Kalhai, pp 121, 122
 Kāliādah, pp 199, 474
 Kālinjar, p 623
 Kahyādah, p 569
 Kālna, p 289
 Kālpī, pp 452, 453, 454, 455, 456,
 457, 458, 480, 481, 507, 511, 515,
 516, 518, 519
 Kālūpūr, pp 404, 405
 Kambāyat, p 215
 Kampīlah, p 447
 Kamrūj, pp 666, 667, 673, 706, 710,
 719, 721, 722, 746, 749
 Kanauj, pp 449, 450, 451
 Kanbal, p 504
 Kanbāyat, pp 175, 177, 189, 263,
 268, 343, 344, 346, 347, 351, 356
 Kanbāyat, 369, 375, 411
 Kandāu, p 105
 Kandāsah, p 575
 Kandūyah, pp 558, 587, 588, 591
 Kanjī, pp 105, 106
 Kānkriā, p 318
 Kankūla, p 66
 Kānthā, pp 205, 406
 Kānthū, p 176
 Kāntū, p 202
 Kānūr, p 367
 Kapaibanj, pp 228, 243, 252, 318,
 523
 Karbala, p 43
 Kāschī, pp 349, 351
 Karī, pp 398, 400, 479
 Kārītha, p 203
 Karkhī, p 611
 Kārmā, p 677
 Karmal, p 708
 Karnāl, pp 195, 196, 248, 249, 250
 253, 254, 255, 277
 Kārnāiā, p 272
 Karsawāi, p 687
 Kāshghāi, pp 701, 703, 704, 710, 716,
 723, 728

Kashmir pp 63- 635 636 637 639
 643 647 659 661 662 663 664 665
 668 659 661 662 663 664 665
 671 675 676 681 68 683 686
 687 688 689 690 691 69² 694
 695 697 699 700 701 04 706
 707 708 713 71² 717 719 720
 73 78 734 737 738 749 740
 741 74 743 746 747 749 750
 751 754 756 757 760 761 811

Kat Lal p 630

Kavri p 404

Kawah p 99

Kawil pp 94 111 113 131 13
 83 84 89 34² 387 389

Kehrla pp 36 5² 0² 447 480 536
 38 349

Khalidgarh pp 716 724 731

Khalipur p 317

Khalipur p 8

Khanawal pp 79- 793 79²

Khanpur pp 334 347 40 410 3
 716 717

Khari p 243

Khari nadi pp 393 404

Kharkun p 580

Khawah p 77

Khawar p 70

Khawaryurah p 49

Kharar p 619

Khod p 735

Kholahuyah p 691

Khurasan pp 108 161 647 07 69
 796

Khushab p 79

Kilwara pp 21² 0

Kilwarah 53

Kal tvar pp 637 639 711 718 750

Kishun p 557

Kiz p 63

Kodhra p 63

Kohrah pp 96 97

Kokan p 97

Kol pp 447 448

Kolapur pp 97 98 1-3

Konbhalmir pp 51 3 63

Kosur p 710

Kothar p 7-0

Kothrah p 2-6

Kotkaror pp 793 79

Kotli Bira h p 6 9

Krishna pp 16 19 21 30 59

Kulinal ot p 187

Kumayun p 811

Kumbhalmir pp 231 233 34

L

Lachmanagar p 64²

Lahore pp 381 6 7 707 749 803
 810 811

Lakhnauti pp 4-0 421 42- 4 0
 418 6 0

Laklal ot p 313

Lalipur 737

Lar pp 701 710 711 7-7 738

Larkot pp 64 643 663 681 684
 69² 699

Lorgon p 386

Lulpur p 694

Luni ot p 7-3

M

Machal pp 98

Madanjah p 73²

Madwar p 713

Maham pp 0 214 21² 216 217
 218 28²

Mahesar p 471

Mahim pp 0 118

Mahindpur p 205

Mahindr pp 197 203 334 396 398
 406 ...

Mahusra p 205

Mahmudabad pp 331 378 397 39
 403 404 411 597 538 540

Mahobah p 519

Maholi p 5-6

Mahrasa pp 19² 193 197 279 96
 313 318 319 331 33- 348 473
 474

Mahr pp 48 71 94 34 5 6 3-7

Mal pp 33 343

\valdirak p 59
\arbada pp 197 283 306 333 379
617

\varwar pp 307 508
\asratabad pp 160 336 374 384

Naurozket p 737

\ausari p 377

Naushahr pp 673 670 68 698 741
700

\ausahrah p 713

Nawil p 671

Nilab p 668

Nilwara p 100

\r p 730

Nirun pp 760 766

O

Orissa pp 57 100 446 448 449 160
811

P

Pahalwania p 303

Pakli pp 71 773

Pal p 396

Pallasila p 663

Panala pp 1 3 1 1 1 6

Pandua p 4 6

Panduah p 443

Panipat p 694

Panna p 609

Parantej p 311

Patlad p 411

Pattan pp 175 176 177 178 179
181 18 184 188 190 21 290
291 300 300 377 398 399 413
470

Pattana p 730

Persia p 163

Peshavar p 641

Pir Pinal p 681

Punch pp 667 67 715

Punj p 708

Punjab pp 647 0 650 68 696
700 793 802 803 80 810

Q

Qabq p 7 6

Qadipur p 779

Qandahar pp 634 037 611 778 779
780 781
Qanouj p 182
Qutb ud dmpur pp 666 670 071

R

Rudhanpur pp 398 333

Rauchur p 18

Rajur pp 48 60 61

Raisin pp 308 309 300 368 367
373 374 300 608 610 010 017
6 8 6 9

Rajauri pp 051 680 680 058 03-
634 008 71 713 710 734 741
74 700 706

Rajawiyah pp 508 003

Rajkonda p 47

Rajmandri pp 104 116

Rakhial p 260

Ran p 257

Rangta p 98

Rantambhor pp 0 0 0 7 0 1

Ranthambhor pp 0 0 0 3 0 0 0 71
083

Ranthambor p 340

Rapri p 448

Rasulabad p 337

Ratah pp 407 018 010

Rathor p 0 1

Ravi p 803

Rawar p 740

S

Sabarmati pp 191 1 0 0 308 40

Sa dulpur pp 300 307 008

Sa_hir p 24

Sahyun p 334

Sajanpur p 0 0

Sajor p 270

Salahi p 746

Salala p 1 3

Samarqand pp 60 498 647 6 0

Sambla p 3 1

Samnal p 7 4

Sanbal pp 401 011

Sangesar p 61

Sanur 1 184

- Sarābah, pp 579, 580.
 Sārangpūr, pp. 206, 207, 350, 358, 372,
 478, 479, 503, 504, 505, 512, 523,
 540, 559, 567, 593, 608, 609, 615,
 616, 619, 621, 627, 628, 629, 630,
 631
 Sarkēj, p 292
 Sarkhēj, pp 242, 265, 323, 337, 412
 Sarsati, palace at, p 563
 Satwās, pp 587, 589, 591, 592, 608,
 610, 611, 622
 Sāwal, p 402
 Sēwī, pp 778, 779, 789, 803
 Shādiābād, pp 491, 501, 508, 511, 514,
 515, 519, 521, 522, 525, 526, 527,
 528, 530, 532, 533, 537, 538, 541,
 542, 557, 559, 560, 561, 566, 567,
 569, 570, 574, 575, 580, 583, 584,
 585, 589, 594, 596, 604, 605, 614
 Shahahābād, p 588
 Shāhbang, p 668
 Shāhpūr, pp 353, 454
 Shahrāi, pp 584, 594.
 Shakar, pp 27, 29
 Shērkōt, p 733
 Shīhabpūr, p 642
 Shīhab-ud-dīnpūr, p 716
 Shīkārpūr, p 590
 Shīrāz, pp 498, 764
 Shōlāpūr, p 159
 Shōr, pp 792, 793, 794, 796, 802, 803,
 804, 805
 Siālkōt, pp 651, 680, 713, 745, 756
 Sīhwān, pp 766, 779, 780, 784
 Sīkandarpūr, pp 672, 676
 Sīlī, p 283
 Sind, pp 258, 259, 640, 647, 652, 763,
 764, 768, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775,
 777, 778, 780, 781, 782, 784, 786,
 787, 793, 795
 Sipla, p 350
 Siprī, pp 571, 572
 Sirōhī, pp 231, 234, 257, 413
 Sirōnj, p 593
 Sirsiah, pp 584, 585
 Sisams, p 767.
- Sītpūr, p 795
 Siwālik, p 647
 Sīwistān, pp 766, 767
 Sōmnāth, pp 178, 181
 Sōnāigāon, p 420
 Sōnkara, p 202
 Sonkhera, p 204
 Sonkhr, p 263
 Sōrath, pp 196, 199, 227, 249, 252,
 253, 277, 312, 377, 379, 386, 398,
 410, 811
 Sīnagar, pp 639, 682, 686, 687, 698,
 699, 706, 708, 709, 710, 716, 717,
 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 732,
 734, 735, 740, 741, 746, 748, 750,
 757, 760, 761
 Sūdpūr, p 352
 Sultānābād, p 204
 Sultānpūr pp 50, 196, 219, 243, 245,
 280, 284, 285, 325, 329, 338, 341,
 473, 522
 Sundarsi, p 559
 Sūnkai, pp 116, 375
 Sūnat, p 525
 Sutlej, p 641
 Sūyyāpūr, pp 667, 677, 716, 721, 733,
 747, 757
 Syria, p 764

T

- Tahrād, pp 398, 399
 Tālnīr, pp 198, 199, 219, 244, 402, 403
 Tambōl, pp 54, 196 197, 218, 219
 Tāptī, pp 281, 525
 Tar, p 178
 Tārāpūr, pp 206, 478, 501
 Taiwāra, pp 398, 399
 Thahnah, p 558
 Thālnī, pp 284, 286
 Thāna, pp 215, 216
 Thatha, pp 3, 10, 345, 756, 780, 784,
 795, 805, 810
 Tibet, pp 645, 652, 660, 663, 701, 710,
 712, 716, 723, 727, 738, 739, 740,
 749
 Tilang, pp 46, 60, 79, 80, 105, 111
 Tīptī, p 217

Tirhut pp 448 4-9
Tuslaqabad p 309

U

Uch pp 496 798
Ucha p 789
Uchh p 639
Ujjain pp 20a 266 304 3-0 3-0
357 468 474 478 48 561 562
569 566 569 58- 583 588 589
60² 664 611 615 616 619 6-0
6 1 6 7 6-8 6-9

Usmanpur p 460

V

Visalnagar pp 10 11
Vitasta p 667

W

Wahl p 719
Walipur pp 638 677
Wantaj pp 190 19
Warangal p 79

Y

Yachiyypur p 633

Z

Zainnagar pp 678 70-
Zaingar p 73^a
Zaingarh pp 736 741
Zampur pp 741 744 748
Zirbad p 104

